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Military Review

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Cover Photo: U.S. Army CPT Paul Goodfellow speaks to a family about any concerns they may have during a cordon and knock operation in Tikrit, Iraq, 2 May 2008. (U.S. Air Force, SSG Micky M. Bazaldua,)

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INTERAGENCY REFORM: The Congressional Perspective

Congressman Geoff Davis

Remarks as delivered by Congressman Geoff Davis at the Project on National Security Reform/Reserve Officers of America luncheon, 8 May 2008.

THANK YOU for the opportunity to join you today. National security organizational reform is of vital importance to our nation. As a member of the House Armed Services Committee and Co-chair of the House National Security Interagency Reform Working Group, furthering such reform is one of my highest priorities as a member of Congress. It is also a priority that is shared by distinguished colleagues on both sides of the aisle. This afternoon I would like to share my perspective on one essential component of a major reform initiative—national security interagency reform to ensure more effective interagency operations.

In beginning my discussion, it may be useful to define interagency operations in the simplest possible terms. The definition I prefer is "operations conducted by two or more federal departments or agencies in support of a national security mission."

Significantly, these departments and agencies include those that are not commonly associated with overseas deployment for national security operations. Examples include the Departments of the Treasury, Justice, Agriculture, HHS, Transportation, Education, and Homeland Security.

Next, a simple definition of the problem is in order. Simply stated, our current interagency process is hamstrung and broken. There are regulatory, legislative, budgetary, resource, and cultural impediments to effective interagency operations. These problems are independent of personalities, policies, and particular presidential administrations. In order to protect the United States' interests and citizens, it is critical to reform the executive and legislative branches to allow better coordination and communication between currently stove-piped departments and congressional committees. Indeed, our agency community needs to pass through an organizational and process transformation similar to the American manufacturing transformation of the 1980s and 1990s in order to make our agencies leaner, flatter, and more agile.

Effective interagency operations must be based upon the principle that the application of non-military, or "soft" power, should be effectively integrated with military power. A successfully integrated interagency process will empower the U.S. to more effectively deploy our non-military instruments of power abroad. This ability will allow the U.S. to more effectively fulfill its interests while reserving the use of lethal military force as a last resort. In fact, leaders and policy makers need two things:

- An overarching national strategy that frames the intent of all policy.
- A tool box of resources that can be configured – hopefully in a preventive way—to fulfill our strategic objectives.

Congressman Geoff Davis represents Kentucky's 4th District. He holds a B.S. from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. Congressman Davis served as an Assault Helicopter Flight Commander in the 82d Airborne Division and later served in the Middle East where he ran U.S. Army aviation operations for peace enforcement between Israel and Egypt.

PHOTO: U.S. Navy Sailors take part in an emergency replenishment working party onboard the USN Whidbey Island Class Dock Landing Ship USS *Tortuga* while underway off the Gulf Coast during the Hurricane Katrina relief efforts, 3 September 2005. A USN Sea Dragon helicopter awaits directions in the background. (U.S. Navy, JO3 Brian P. Seymour)

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Effective interagency operations must be based upon the principle that the application of non-military, or "soft" power, should be effectively integrated with military power.

The interagency system was devised over 60 years ago for a different era and based on a very specific national strategy, when national security was primarily a function of military capabilities wielded by one department in overseas missions. At the time, major combat operations and nuclear deterrence were the principal focus of U.S. national security strategy. This system required only limited coordination of activities between vertically structured military and civilian departments and agencies.

Today, national security involves a much wider array of issues that can be addressed only with a broader set of capabilities that are highly synchronized and carefully calibrated. Since the end of the Cold War, the national security environment has changed in five significant ways:

- First, today's environment is both less structured and more interdependent, making it less amenable to management through conventional military force alone.
- Second, the shared threats of the Cold War (including the threat of nuclear war) resulted in fixed alliances which, with the end of the Cold War, no longer constrain state behavior as they did in the last century.
- Third, states are often less susceptible to diplomatic pressure alone and the United States needs a wider array of tools to avoid resorting prematurely to major military force.
- Fourth, non-state actors and individuals wield influence that is far greater than any other time in human history.
- Fifth, globalization creates potential for transfer of disease, technology, ideas, and organization that never existed before.

In one sense, our global advances in technology and connectivity have the potential to cause us to regress to an era prior to the Treaty of Westphalia, an era in which the acceptance of the nation-state was effectively codified.

This makes it imperative that the United States is able to interact effectively with institutions below the national level. For example, in Iraq, the United States must be able to interact effectively with provincial, local, and tribal leaders to accomplish security goals. We must prepare to do so in a dynamic, less predictable environment, where issues and geographic areas move rapidly from obscurity to strategic significance and national boundaries are highly permeable. We must have the ability to customize solutions on a diverse and massive scale—often in the same region. For example, a structure that may work in Mosul may not be suitable in Najaf, but each can fulfill the intent of the strategic objective.

Frequently, the United States will be unable to anticipate the exact capabilities it will require in advance of a crisis, necessitating the ability to rapidly matrix capabilities from different sources. The United States will no longer be able to separate national security from homeland security.

Many agencies are not conscious of or prepared to act in their national security roles. Many civilian departments and agencies do not believe they have a role in the national security system, and the cultures of these organizations produce few incentives for staff to participate in national security missions. These agencies often lack "expeditionary" capabilities. Even if they have the desire to help, they may be prevented from doing so by a combination of factors including personnel shortages, lack of other resources, lack of statutory authorizations, and regulatory constraints. They may also lack the ethos and structure required to sustain an embedded culture that enables continuous and adaptive operational planning, both long term and contingency.

There are also disparate departmental approaches to deployments and risk management. For example, the reluctance of departments and agencies to contribute

Frequently, the United States will be unable to anticipate the exact capabilities it will require in advance of a crisis...

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personnel to the Coalition Provisional Authority, because of the factors I have cited, caused the CPA to operate throughout its tenure with approximately two-thirds of its required personnel.

Additionally, interagency operations are not governed by standard concepts and procedures. For example, during the 1994 invasion of Haiti, the lack of standard interagency concepts and procedures caused many departments and agencies to not even be aware other departments and agencies had arrived in the country.

Without standard concepts and procedures, interagency operations tend to be very ad hoc in nature. For example, Paul Bremer, head of the Coalition Provisional Authority in post-war Iraq, believed he reported to the President, through the Secretary of Defense, and did not want to be bogged down with the interagency process. CPA staff was ordered not to respond to requests for information from other departments or agencies. State Department employees detailed to the CPA were forced to conduct backchannel communications via personal Hotmail accounts, and National Security Advisor Rice's senior deputies checked the CPA web site every day to see what new orders Bremer had issued. Such ad hoc arrangements are enormously inefficient and liable to produce erratic outcomes.

The multinational coalition in Iraq suffered from a lack of unity of command. One result was a contentious relationship between the senior civilian official in Iraq (Paul Bremer) and the senior U.S. military commander in Iraq (Lieutenant General Sanchez). The fact that U.S. military forces in Iraq learned of the unilateral disbandment of the Iraqi Army—the cornerstone of all U.S. security planning—through a cable news report is indicative of the disconnect between the Coalition Provisional Authority and the U.S. military command.

We must also ensure that civilian agencies have the resources required for effective integration with the Department of Defense. For example, the State Department's Foreign Service is too small and is not designed to effectively meet the demands of interagency deployments. Nor is it prepared to support field efforts. Agencies like the Departments of Agriculture, Justice, and Treasury are not allocated resources or staffed with national security interagency operations in mind. Think what could have been done to deter the growth of criminal militias if the Department of the Treasury had assisted in the rapid implementation of simple electronic banking systems to get money and payroll to the people of Iraq during the post-conflict stabilization period.

A National Security Act is needed to update the organization and procedures created by the National Security Act of 1947. Such overarching legislation has the potential to, in simplest possible terms, speed awareness and reaction to the spectrum of threats America faces. We must codify an adaptive approach that flattens, simplifies, and integrates the agencies of the executive branch and the committees of Congress.

While it would be premature for me to detail the specifics of a National Security Act, there are some basic considerations that should underlie legislation that is intended to amend the national security interagency system to make it more responsive to the strategic environment of the 21st century. In the interests of time, I will briefly address three areas that should be carefully considered with regard to any such future legislation.

First, we must ensure a system that assures proper planning guidance is issued to all departments and agencies that have national security roles, including specific objectives, roles, and responsibilities for fulfilling mission requirements. If done right, this planning guidance should enable subordinate departments and agencies to produce departmental and agency national security implementation plans. Additionally, operational plans and planning procedures must be constantly updated through regular scenario simulations that test ideas and processes in order to expose problems and constraints early so that the desired outcome can be achieved.

Second, we should require that personnel who are selected for senior executive service positions, in departments and agencies with national security roles, have the professional development via institutional training and/or operational assignments in agencies other than their own to effectively participate in the national security interagency system. There is a precedent for such professional development within DOD. The most talented officers are inculcated with the knowledge, skills, and abilities required for effective participation in joint service operations. DOD's approach to joint service operations was reformed as a result of Goldwater-Nichols.

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The reformed approach was exemplified by one scene from post-Hurricane Katrina recovery operations. Some of you may remember an Army assault helicopter battalion landing on a carrier in the Port of New Orleans. That would not have happened 20 years ago. That was the fruit of reform, including major changes in DOD personnel policies in support of joint service operations.

Third, we should strive to build regional expertise across departments and agencies to ensure a bench of personnel with the knowledge and skills required to accomplish departmental and agency missions in all regions of the world that are of national security significance. For example, we should consider better regional alignment between DOD and the State Department. An example of this issue is that the Commander, U.S. Central Command, must interface with four State Department bureaus, making coordination redundant and cumbersome.

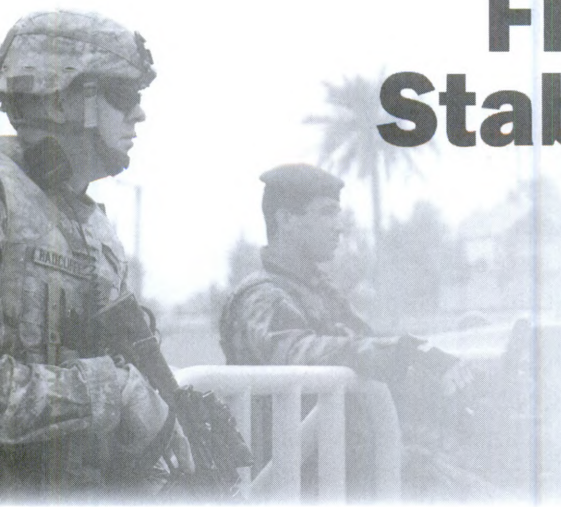
...we should strive to build regional expertise across departments and agencies to ensure a bench of personnel with the knowledge and skills required...

As my colleagues and I undertake the challenge of crafting reform legislation, I welcome the opportunity to interface with DOD, State, and DHS officials to gain their insights on the way ahead for reform.

While I am prepared to answer your questions, this afternoon I am primarily interested in getting your insights on this vital and complex issue. ***MR***



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Field Manual 3-07, Stability Operations:

UPSHIFTING THE ENGINE OF CHANGE

Lieutenant General William B. Caldwell IV, U.S. Army, and Lieutenant Colonel Steven M. Leonard, U.S. Army

Lieutenant General William B. Caldwell IV is commander of the Combined Arms Center (CAC) in Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. A 1976 graduate of the United States Military Academy, he holds masters degrees from the Naval Postgraduate School and the School for Advanced Military Studies. He also attended Harvard University as a senior service college fellow. LTG Caldwell commanded infantry units at all levels, to include the 82d Airborne Division. Prior to assuming command of CAC and Fort Leavenworth, he was deputy chief of staff for strategic effects and spokesperson for the Multi-National Force–Iraq.

Lieutenant Colonel Steven Leonard, an Army strategist, is the chief of operational-level doctrine for the Combined Arms Doctrine Directorate at CAC, and the author of Field Manual 3-07, Stability Operations. *A 1987 graduate of the University of Idaho, he holds masters degrees from Murray State University and the School for Advanced Military Studies. LTC Leonard has served in various command and staff positions in the continental United States, Europe, and Iraq.*

PHOTO: SGT Matt Radcliffe, 3d Special Troops Battalion, 3d Brigade Combat Team, 4th Infantry Division, and an Iraqi Army soldier from the 42d Brigade, 11th Iraqi Army Division, provide security at an Iraqi Army patrol base in the Sadr City District of Bagdad, Iraq, 19 April 2008. (U.S. Air Force, TSGT Adrian Cadiz)

THE RELEASE OF Field Manual (FM) 3-07, *Stability Operations*, in the coming months will acknowledge and stress the criticality of the "whole-of-government" approach essential to achieving sustainable success in an era of persistent conflict. This approach is the key to operating in the uncertain future before us. The new doctrine will also represent a number of important firsts. It will be the first stability doctrine—service or joint—to answer the immediate needs of the force already actively engaged in ongoing operations. It will be the first doctrine of any type to undergo a comprehensive joint, service, interagency, intergovernmental, and nongovernmental review. It will also mark the first time any service has attempted to capture and define a national approach to conflict transformation in doctrine, and to do so with the broad support of the agencies, organizations, and institutions that share in that approach.

The publication of FM 3-07 will fill a critical void in our knowledge base at a key moment in the history of our Army and our Nation. At a time when we find ourselves engaged simultaneously in the Middle East, the Far East, and Latin America, the new manual will provide the intellectual underpinnings needed to deal comprehensively with the uncertainty, chance, and friction so common to operations conducted among the people.

A Brave New World

The forces of globalization and the emergence of regional economic and political powers are fundamentally reshaping the world we thought we understood. Future cultural and ethnocentric conflicts are likely to be exacerbated by increased global competition for shrinking natural resources, teeming urban populations with rising expectations, unrestrained technological diffusion, and rapidly accelerating climate change. The future is not one of major battles and engagements fought by armies on battlefields devoid of population; instead, the course of conflict will be decided by forces operating among the people of the world. Here, the margin of victory will be measured in far different terms than the wars of our past. The allegiance, trust, and confidence of populations will be the final arbiters of success.

America actually possesses a rich and proud history of success and learning in wars among the people—what we recognize today as stability operations.

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However, from our colonial roots, when Congress appointed military commissioners to negotiate peace treaties and land purchases with Native American tribes, to our contemporary experiences in Iraq and Afghanistan, our most enduring tradition has been an inability or unwillingness to institutionalize the lessons of those experiences. In a cruel twist of fate, the answers we so desperately sought in recent years were collecting dust on bookshelves half a world away; the distant lessons of a remarkably successful Vietnam-era civil-military program sat largely forgotten, save by those few who had lived those experiences.

CORDS: A Classic Approach to a Modern Challenge

At the height of the Vietnam War, we faced an enemy who hid among the people. That enemy had evolved from the one first confronted by American ground forces in 1965 to become a complex mix of guerrilla forces, political cadre, and conventional regulars. In a few short years, the enemy had adapted, changing from a strategy focused on main-force engagement to one that stressed insurgency, guerrilla tactics, and, most important, patience. The enemy had learned the hard-fought lessons of jungle warfare against a better equipped, technologically advanced opponent. By the time General Creighton W. Abrams assumed command of Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (MACV) in the summer of 1968, the enemy had evolved, and so had the war.

Two years earlier, General William C. Westmoreland, Abrams's predecessor as MACV commander, had recognized that a fundamental shift in effort would be necessary to achieve any lasting degree of success. Ultimately, that success could only be attained through deliberate integration of the various political, military, security, and economic programs ongoing in South Vietnam. To that end, President Johnson signed National Security Action Memorandum 362, *Responsibility for U.S. Role in Pacification (Revolutionary Development)*, on 9 May 1967, thus establishing the Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support (CORDS) program. Through CORDS, the efforts of the Departments of State and Defense were integrated under a "single manager concept" that empowered Ambassador Robert W. Komer as the deputy for pacification within MACV. Komer's appointment effectively unified the civil-military effort in South Vietnam.

The CORDS program leveraged an unprecedented ability to project significant manpower and resources into the Vietnamese countryside. It targeted the growing insurgency at the local level while focusing on the security and well-being of the people themselves. By 1969, with over 7,600 advisors assigned to pacification teams and economic assistance flowing into key programs and the provinces, CORDS began to hit its stride. The program's advisory effort was instrumental in fielding significant numbers of trained Regional and Popular Forces, which maintained security in villages and hamlets. USAID land reforms orchestrated through CORDS were accompanied by an economic revival spurred by the reestablishment of effective rural administration.

But for all its success, CORDS was too little, too late. Limited in scope, it was not engineered to bolster the legitimacy and effectiveness of the central government, a need critical to consolidating and sustaining the transitory effects of programs at the local level. Moreover, even as the pacification effort achieved broad success across South Vietnam and, by all indications, brought the Viet Cong insurgency to its knees, American popular support for the war had evaporated. The national will necessary to maintain the momentum gained through CORDS could not be regained; the initiative was lost and so, eventually, was the war.

In the aftermath of Vietnam, we failed to capture and integrate the most important lessons of the war into our training and education. We turned away from the bitter experiences of that time and left behind a rich body of lessons learned, especially the tactics, techniques, and procedures necessary to conduct successful counterinsurgency. The remarkable insights concerning the necessity and efficacy of unity of effort would never be institutionalized in doctrine or law, and the lessons of that experience would soon be lost to time and a far more insidious threat to national security, the Soviet Union.

Afghanistan and Iraq: New Versions of an Old Song

Winning wars is easier than winning the peace. This became abundantly clear following combat

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operations in Afghanistan and Iraq, where initial, overwhelming victories against organized enemy forces were not consolidated in the immediate aftermath of conflict. In Afghanistan, remnants of the decimated Taliban and Al-Qaeda were able to withdraw across the porous border with Pakistan, from where they vowed to continue the fight. A seemingly glacial coalition response to the needs of the Afghan people allowed the Taliban to reconstitute and reemerge as active, aggressive opponents of the government. In Iraq, de-Ba'athification policy and demobilization of the national army sowed the seeds of a popular insurgency more complex than any in our history. The coalition failure to quickly contain rampant looting became symptomatic of a lethargic and disorganized approach to civil administration, an approach that left vast swaths of the population without dependable power, health care, and basic civic services. Unemployment, black marketing, and corruption soared while the economies collapsed.

In the wake of *shock and awe*, we faced disenfranchised populations neither shocked by our victory nor awed by our presence. We failed them in many ways, and much of our focus remained on applying the lethal and destructive aspects of our military might rather than the nonlethal, constructive capabilities so vital to success in operations conducted among the people. Our inability to exploit time effectively ceded the initiative to a course of events already spinning out of control. We won the war, but were quickly losing the peace.

As the Iraq insurgency continued to evolve, haunting parallels from South Vietnam grew difficult to ignore. Then, the threat came from a dangerous combination of guerrillas, political cadre, and North Vietnamese regulars. Now, the threat reflects a complex mix of outside foreign influences epitomized by Al-Qaeda irregular forces, sectarian militias, and terrorist extremists supported by a "third wave" of self-recruited fundamentalists who exploit the information domain to garner additional support and sympathy for their adopted cause.[1] However, in sharp contrast to the jungles of Southeast Asia, this insurgency was spawned in one of the world's most volatile cultural fault zones.

Doctrine: The Engine of Change

As the insurgency in Iraq began to gain momentum in 2004, the Army's leadership recognized the need for a different approach. But without a shared recognition of this need by the various agencies of the U.S. government, devising that approach would prove challenging. An important step in the process of building that interagency understanding came when Deputy Secretary of Defense Gordon England signed Department of Defense Directive (DODD) 3000.05 in November 2005, fundamentally changing the military's concept of, and approach to, stability operations. No longer secondary to combat operations, stability operations were recognized as an essential capability on par with the traditional destructive cornerstones of military strength, offense and defense. The directive emphasized that stability operations were no longer secondary to combat operations:

> Stability operations are a core U.S. military mission that the Department of Defense shall be prepared to conduct and support. They shall be given priority comparable to combat operations and be explicitly addressed and integrated across all Department of Defense (DOD) activities including doctrine, organizations, training, education, exercises, materiel, leadership, personnel, facilities, and planning.[2]

As stability operations gained in emphasis and focus over the next two years, the Army became the first of the services to institutionalize the tenets of DODD 3000.05 in doctrine.

A new generation far removed from the Vietnam experience understood that war's lessons and the need for change, and it initiated efforts to resuscitate a counterinsurgency doctrine relegated to obscurity for more than three decades. The publication of FM 3-24, *Counterinsurgency*, in 2006 launched a doctrinal revival that resounded across the force.[3] Counterinsurgency became the coin of the realm, and the hard-won lessons of the Vietnam War gained a new foothold in the twenty-first century. Even as the Army's new counterinsurgency manual gained popularity with the military forces of other nations, a single vignette on the CORDS program from that manual revived a memory of another time and another place, where effective interagency integration—

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a true whole-of-government approach—offered the best solution to insurgency and best hope for lasting success.

While FM 3-24 drove changes that proved critical in stemming the tide of the insurgencies in Iraq and Afghanistan, we have learned since that any doctrine focused solely on a narrow band of activities cannot begin to address the seemingly insurmountable challenge of rebuilding a fragile state. Stability operations are lengthy endeavors, and they must be approached with a focus toward long-term sustainment rather than short-term gains. They aim not necessarily to reduce the military presence quickly, but to achieve broader national policy goals that extend beyond the objectives of military operations. The more effective those military efforts are at setting the conditions that facilitate the efforts of the other instruments of national power, the more likely it is that a long-term commitment of the military will not be required.

With the February 2008 publication of FM 3-0, the Army formally elevated stability operations to coequal status with offensive and defensive operations, thus acknowledging that the effects attained through stability tasks are just as important, if not more so, to securing enduring peace and stability in areas torn by conflict. In effect, the Army recognized that shaping the civil situation through stability operations is often more important to lasting success than winning battles and engagements.[4]

In many ways, this recognition reflected similar observations made by General Westmoreland years earlier, when he noted that offensive actions alone could not secure the future of South Vietnam. Nevertheless, Westmoreland chose to pursue a strategy of attrition rather than leverage the constructive capabilities of his forces to launch a pacification campaign like the one that would prove so successful under General Creighton Abrams.[5] Four decades after Westmoreland's departure from MACV, military and civilian leaders were relearning the same lesson he had ignored at the height of the Vietnam War.

This lesson—that forces "must address the civil situation directly and continuously" while simultaneously conducting combat operations against enemy forces—now forms the core of Army doctrine, the operational concept posited by FM 3-0.[6] It is fundamental to full-spectrum operations.

FM 3-0 is our Army's "blueprint for an uncertain future." It focuses on human solutions to the challenges of tomorrow, emphasizing that "Soldiers will consistently operate in and among the people of the world, conducting operations in an environment fundamentally human in character."[7] In this environment, the military must focus its efforts primarily on the local populace. These efforts—stability tasks—improve the people's safety, security, social well-being, and livelihoods. In a contemporary parallel to the CORDS program, they shape a whole-of-government approach that integrates interagency efforts toward a common goal.

The manual also sets the context for the broad definition of stability operations set forth by DOD:

> Stability operations encompass various military missions, tasks, and activities conducted outside the United States in coordination with other instruments of national power to maintain or reestablish a safe and secure environment, [and] provide essential governmental services, emergency infrastructure reconstruction, and humanitarian relief effort.[8]

Just as CORDS realized unity of effort through interagency integration, FM 3-0 forges unity of effort by directly linking the Army's primary stability tasks (establish civil security, establish civil control, restore essential services, support governance, and support economic and infrastructure development) with their complementary U.S. government stability sectors as set forth in the State Department's *Post-Conflict Reconstruction Essential Tasks* (see figure 1).[9] This ensures that the execution of stability tasks is fundamentally linked to a broader interagency effort, fulfilling the spirit–if not the letter—of DODD 3000.05. FM 3-0 recognizes the effort required to fully implement the broad goals of the directive; it paves the way for further development of stability operations in doctrine and concepts.

Forging a Whole-of-Government Approach

FM 3-0, *Operations*, continued a doctrinal renaissance that is reverberating across the Army and setting in motion forces that will fundamentally alter our concept of stability operations. In turn, FM 3-07 will effect sweeping change in approach, knowledge, and

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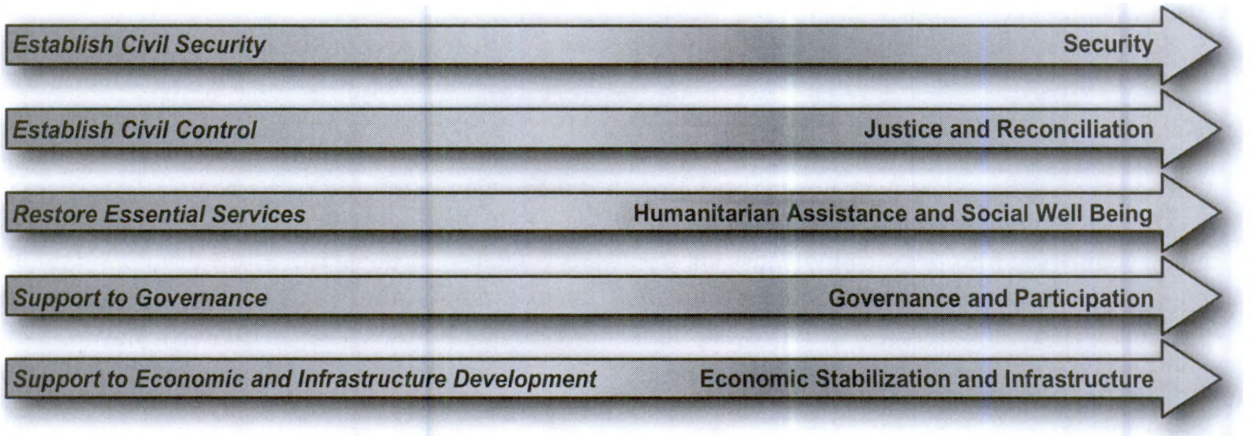


Figure 1. Linkage between Army Stability Tasks (left) and U.S. Government Stability Sectors (right).

understanding; when implemented, it will achieve the broad changes in doctrine so essential to establishing the cooperative, collaborative environment that enables the success of the other instruments of national power. Ultimately, FM 3-07 will be the driving force behind our ability to forge a whole-of-government approach to stability operations.

Today, the Army is undertaking the most comprehensive revision of stability operations doctrine it has ever attempted. Ultimately, it will publish not just a typical Army field manual, but a single-source, "how-to" guide for stability operations. FM 3-07, *Stability Operations*, will contain information that the joint force, sister services, interagency and intergovernmental partners, nongovernmental community, and even the private sector can refer to and put to use. It will be the first such publication to thoroughly address the broad spectrum of activities required to conduct successful stability operations.

In the current conflicts, our inability to achieve interagency unity of effort, to forge a whole-of-government approach founded on shared understanding of a common goal, is the single most significant obstacle to our attaining sustainable, enduring success. *Unity of command* has long been central to exercising the military instrument of national power. More than just a principle of war, it is fundamental to coordinating the actions of all military forces, regardless of service, toward a single objective. In the absence of such command authority, leaders strive for *unity of effort* through coordination, negotiation, and consensus building. Appropriately resourcing and integrating the diverse activities of all the instruments of national power—diplomatic, information, military, and economic—requires a collaborative environment in which individual agendas are subordinated to a common goal. Such is the challenge of achieving unity of effort.

We began writing FM 3-07 with the ambitious aim of developing doctrine that not only provides the intellectual underpinnings needed to leverage the constructive capabilities of the force, but also sets the foundation for unity of effort across all forces, agencies, and organizations involved. Such a goal is only attainable with the consent and support of those stakeholders, and gaining both requires investing time and patience to build trust and confidence among diverse and often divergent personalities. We began with just 12 months to achieve this goal. Time was a resource in short supply.

Writing and coordination proceeded along parallel lines of effort. The endeavor began in earnest in October 2007, after an agreement brought together the other government agencies and several nongovernmental organizations. This collaborative network facilitated the sharing of concepts, products, and lessons from a broad community of practice with a range of experience that spanned the spectrum of conflict. Although Army doctrine authors would serve as the lead writers, they worked with fundamentals and principles representing a substantial body of people and knowledge.

The new FM 3-07 places engagement and intervention activities on a spectrum (figure 2) adapted from the precepts presented in *Fragile States Strategy*, published by USAID in 2005. In

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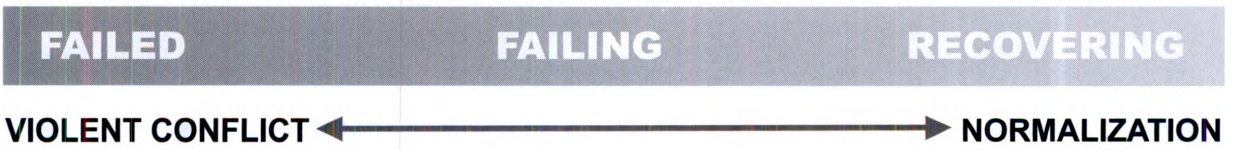


Figure 2. The Fragile-States Spectrum.

doing so, FM 3-07 aligns Army doctrine with the National Security Strategy, which addresses the threat to national interests posed by failed and failing states. The spectrum defines a state according to two quantifiable, related factors: the amount of violence within its borders, and the degree of normalcy otherwise apparent in the country and its government.

Intervention can occur at any point along the spectrum, regardless of the conditions of the operational environment. The state of conflict within the country may be irrelevant; what we are now concerned with primarily is the viability of the host-nation, i.e., Is this state on the verge of falling apart and falling prey to actors hostile to the United States? If it is, then our intervention is warranted.

As a heuristic, the fragile-states graphic is simple, but it provides leaders and planners a way to think about what an intervention in a particular state ought to look like. After gauging the conditions of an operational environment, planners can formulate an engagement methodology and then begin to consider what progress toward success might look like.

The graphic also underscores the importance of security. In his book, *Losing the Golden Hour*, former USAID Mission Director James Stephenson notes, "Security trumps everything. It does little good to build a school if parents are afraid to send their children to that school because they may not come home."[10]

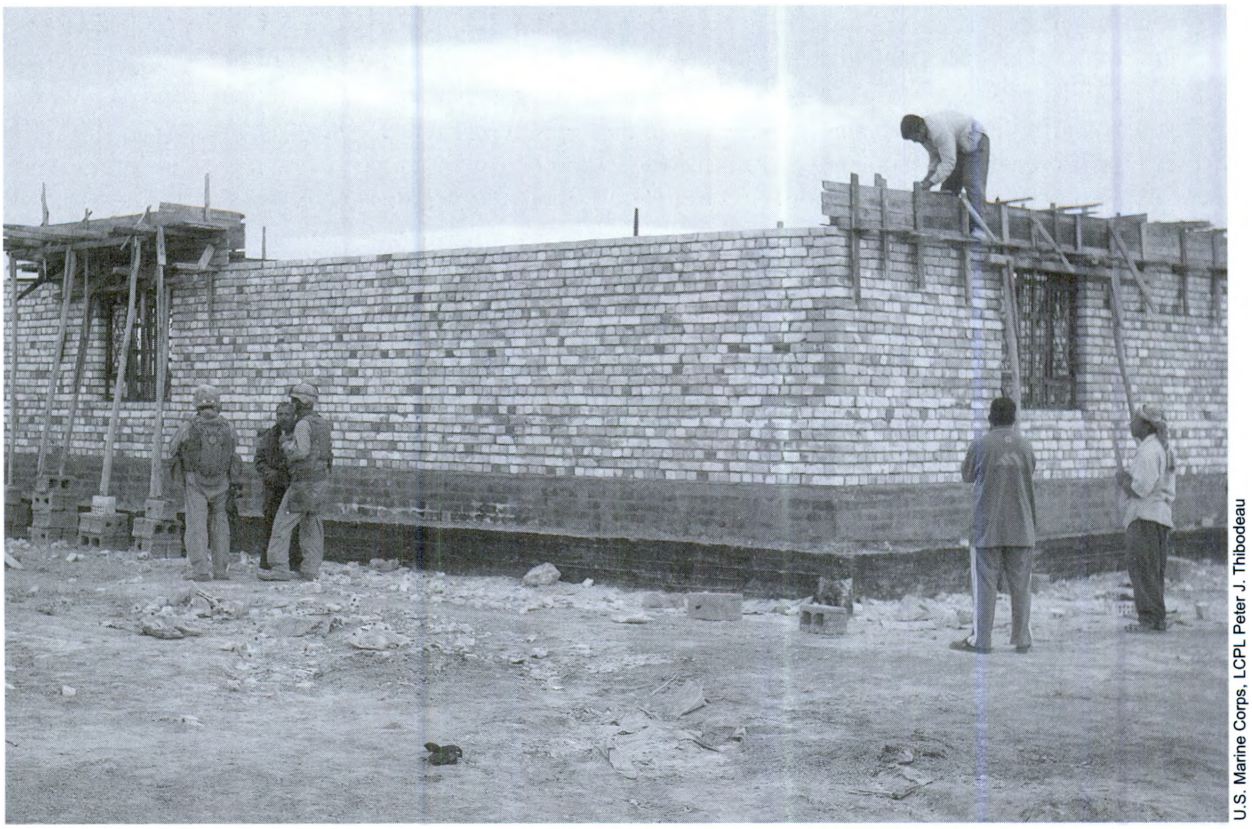
Stephenson further emphasizes the need to make quantifiable improvements in the security situation within the "golden hour" –that limited amount of time in which we enjoy the forbearance of the host-nation populace. Thus, we must plant the seeds for effective civil security and civil order *during*, not after, a conflict. The military instrument, with its unique expeditionary capabilities, is the sole U.S. agency with the ability to affect the golden hour *before* the hourglass tips.

In other words, the military can take decisive action before security collapses altogether and the civil situation completely deteriorates. The military can leverage both its coercive and its constructive capabilities to establish a safe and secure environment; promote reconciliation among local or regional adversaries; reestablish political, legal, social, and economic institutions; and facilitate the transition of responsibility to legitimate civilian authority. Military forces perform stability operations to establish the conditions that enable all the instruments of national power to succeed. By providing security and control to stabilize the situation and restore civil order, military forces provide a foundation for transitioning control to interagency civilians and eventually to the host nation.

In *Post-Conflict Essential Tasks*, the State Department breaks down post-conflict stability operations tasks into three categories: initial response, transformation, and fostering sustainability. These categories encompass the full range of military missions, tasks, and activities conducted in conjunction with the other instruments of national power during stability operations. However, while adopting the same task framework, FM 3-07 redefines initial response tasks as actions taken during conflict to influence conditions before hostilities end. Such anticipatory actions are essential to enable the success of the other instruments of national power and to secure space and access for nongovernmental organizations already operating in the area. These actions enable military forces to focus on maintaining security and civil order and facilitate the ability of civilian agencies and organizations to reduce the force's humanitarian issues burden.

FM 3-07 lists essential stability tasks that the force must execute to accomplish the mission. Conducting such operations requires a combination of knowledge and understanding, the ability to achieve unity of effort, and cultural acumen. A finite amount of combat power is available to apply to essential stability operations tasks. Essential stability tasks

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U.S. Marine Corps, LCPL Peter J. Thibodeau

Iraqi construction workers build a new police station in Zaidon, Iraq, 19 November 2007.

lay a foundation of security and civil order so that the other instruments of national power can come in and do their work. This foundation must also support the burdens of governance, rule of law, and economic development that represent the sustained future viability of the host nation.

Security Sector Reform: First Among Equals

According to James Stephenson, "Establishing security involves domestic security, secure borders, and relatively accommodating neighbors... Domestic security is the most important and often the most difficult to achieve."[11] A decorated Vietnam veteran well acquainted with the challenges of stability operations, Stephenson often highlights the necessity of security for lasting success. But even the largest occupation force cannot provide sustained security across nations as vast as Afghanistan and Iraq; in such situations, establishing domestic security depends on the early, continual involvement of the host-nation's security forces. Just as in Southeast Asia, developing host-nation capacity for civil security and control requires a dedicated advisory effort focused on organizing, training, and equipping indigenous security forces.

This is the essence of "security force assistance," a relatively new term for a concept that pre-dates even the CORDS effort. FM 3-07 introduces security force assistance into Army doctrine under the umbrella of security sector reform, which is the reestablishment or reform of the institutions and key ministerial positions that provide oversight for the safety and security of the host nation and its people. The advisory effort central to security sector reform extends beyond the military training teams that conduct security force assistance. It encompasses police training teams, provincial reconstruction teams, and civil affairs functional area specialists, all engaged in a broad effort to reform the entire security sector.

Of the myriad activities conducted in a stability operation, security sector reform requires the sustained integration of the instruments of national power, and it depends wholly on unity of effort for success. Because the security sector is closely tied

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to each of the other sectors, efforts to reform it create ripples that affect the entire stability operation; typically, activities that reinforce progress in security contribute to success in the others. While sustaining successful development in the other sectors is not possible without an established foundation of security, persistent security is not possible without effective rule of law, a transparent judiciary, legitimate governance, economic prosperity, and a contented host-nation populace whose essential needs have been satisfied.

Ultimately, successful security sector reform is the proving ground for an effective whole-of-government approach. It requires the active, dedicated participation of all U.S. agencies to achieve success. Such success is not attainable without unity of effort across multiple lines of operations. It requires a willingness and ability to share limited resources—financial, military, intelligence, law enforcement, diplomatic, developmental, and strategic communications–while working toward a common goal that supports U.S. interests.

Institutionalizing Hard Lessons

In the years after the fall of South Vietnam, we failed to institutionalize perhaps the most important lesson learned: the need for broad unity of effort among all agencies of government in operations conducted among the people of a foreign nation. Instead, we turned away from the bitter experiences of that time, and in many respects abandoned the rich body of lessons learned and tactics, techniques, and procedures that we assumed we would never need again.

To that end, the new FM 3-07 institutionalizes the enduring successes of our past and embraces the hard-won lessons of our contemporary operations. It recognizes that military force alone can never win the peace, even if we win every battle and engagement. The new doctrine aims to bring the efforts of military forces together with the other instruments of national power to form a whole-of-government approach to engagement in an era of persistent conflict. In doing so, it holds the key to operating in the uncertain future before us. ***MR***

NOTES

1. Marc Sageman, "The Next Generation of Terror," *Foreign Policy* (March/April 2008): 37.

2. Department of Defense Directive 3000.05, "Military Support for Stability, Security, Transition, and Reconstruction (SSTR) Operations," 28 November 2005.

3. Field Manual (FM) 3-24, *Counterinsurgency*, was developed under the direct guidance of then-LTG David H. Petraeus, who commanded the Combined Arms Center at Fort Leavenworth, KS. In a unique approach to doctrine development, Petraeus assembled a select group of writers from the Army, the Marine Corps, academia, and the civilian sector. The development of FM 3-0 followed in an even more robust fashion, with the writing team assembled from among recent combat veterans educated through the School of Advanced Military Studies, with very thorough vetting done within the interagency, media, and think tanks. The writing of FM 3-07 has been shaped by even more extensive interagency, intergovernmental, and nongovernmental organizational involvement, and it will undergo the most thorough vetting of any Army field manual.

4. FM 3-0, *Operations*, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office [GPO], 28 February 2008), vii.

5. Dale Andrade and Lieutenant Colonel (Retired) James H. Willbanks, "CORDS/Phoenix: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Vietnam for the Future," *Military Review* (March-April 2006).

6. FM 3-0, vii.

7. General William S. Wallace, "FM 3-0: Resetting the Capstone of Army Doctrine," *Army Magazine,* March 2008, 37.

8. Joint Publication (JP) 1-02, *Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms* (Washington, DC: GPO, 4 March 2008).

9. Department of State Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization, "Post-Conflict Reconstruction Essential Tasks" (Washington, DC: GPO, April 2005).

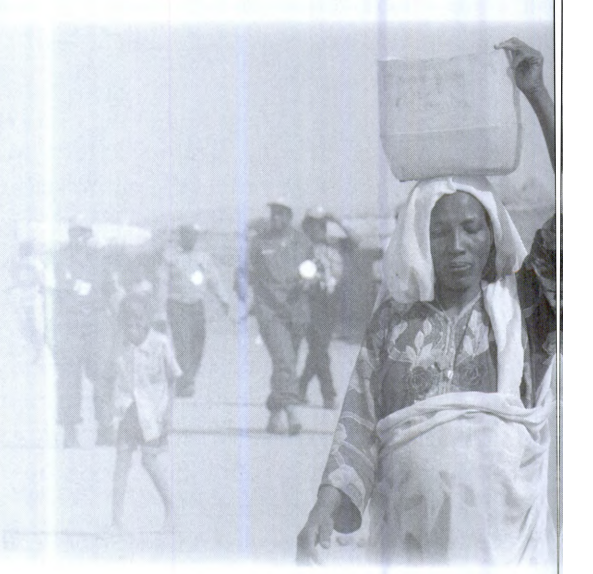
10. James Stephenson, *Losing the Golden Hour: An Insider's View of Iraq's Reconstruction* (Washington, DC: Potomac Press, 2007), 98.

11. Ibid., 21.

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DARFUR and Peacekeeping Operations in Africa

Lieutenant Commander Patrick Paterson, U.S. Navy



THE CRISIS IN DARFUR, which the United States has labeled genocide and the United Nations has called "the world's gravest human rights abuse," has revealed glaring weaknesses in the African Union's (AU's) ability to conduct its own peacekeeping operations.[1] The situation also reflects a larger, more serious problem: since the end of World War II, Africa has been the site of the world's worst violence. An estimated 8 million Africans have died in war since 1945, and 9.5 million other Africans remain displaced from their homes, accounting for one of every three refugees on the planet.[2] Vicious acts of genocide in Rwanda and Darfur have killed one million.[3] Now, new peacekeeping demands in Sudan, Chad, Somalia, and the Central African Republic will require 30,000 to 35,000 more troops over the next 6 to 12 months.[4] The current situation is poised to overwhelm an already exhausted international peacekeeping system that has seen demand for forces increase 600 percent since 1998.[5] The subsequent gap in peacekeeping abilities could spawn an era of ultra-violence on the continent affecting American interests across the globe.

History of African Peacekeeping

Wars of independence and civil conflict filled the power vacuum left by the post-World War II withdrawal of colonial powers from Africa. Since then, 17 of 46 (or almost 40 percent) of all UN peacekeeping operations (PKO) have occurred in Africa.[6] The continent currently hosts nearly half (8 of 18) of all active UN peacekeeping missions; 81 percent of the 54,000 UN peacekeepers are serving in Africa.[7] Of the UN missions created in the last 10 years, 60 percent have been in Africa, including four of the five largest operations—with over 50,000 PKO troops in Congo, southern Sudan, Liberia, and Cote d'Ivorie.[8]

Peacekeeping operations are expensive. The cost of fielding a typical UN peacekeeping force is about $45,000 per soldier per year. Peace*making* operations, the forceful separation of warring factions, are even more expensive, requiring about 10 times more personnel and equipment than a peacekeeping effort.[9] The United States, Japan, and European countries mainly bear the cost of financing all these UN operations—more than $5 billion per year. The United States pays 26 percent of the annual UN peacekeeping bill. Experts expect recently proposed UN operations in Somalia, Chad, Darfur, and the Central African Republic to add $3.3 billion to the UN's annual peacekeeping costs.[10]

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PHOTO: A woman refugee walks past a United Nations peacekeeping police patrol in the Abou Shouk refugee camp in North Darfur, Sudan, 27 January 2008. The patrol was one of the first to re-enter Darfur's refugee camps since the United Nations took over peacekeeping to try to end five years of violence. (AP, Alfred de Montesquiou)

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While the United States has made significant financial contributions to the UN, the U.S. does not send military forces for use in UN operations. As of July 2007, only 307 U.S. personnel deployed for the UN; most were police forces and only 10 percent were working in Africa. The current administration does not consider it politically or militarily acceptable for U.S. personnel to operate under another nation's military leaders.[11]



DOD, Jaime L. Wood, U.S. European Command Public Affairs

U.S. European Command deputy commander Army General William E. "Kip" Ward, accompanied by U.S. Ambassador to Liberia Donald E. Booth (left), conduct a pass and review of Liberian soldiers upon the general's arrival at the Monrovia airport, Monrovia, Liberia, 18 April 2006. Ward was in Liberia to sign an Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement with the Liberian Minister of National Defense.

Nevertheless, the United States clearly sees the need for security on the continent of Africa. United States involvement on the continent has increased due to post-9/11 fears of terror-sponsoring nations. In 2002, the U.S. established its first permanent military base in Africa (in Djibouti) to intercept terrorists fleeing the Middle East into the Horn of Africa. The U.S. European Command (EUCOM) headquarters runs Operation Enduring Freedom, one part of which is a trans-Sahara counterterrorist program in nine Saharan nations and the third largest U.S. military operation after Iraq and Afghanistan.

African terrorists have participated in terror attacks against U.S. and Western targets. In August 1998, Al-Qaeda exploded two massive car bombs outside the U.S. embassies in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and Nairobi, Kenya, killing 224 people (including 12 Americans) and injuring 5,000. In 2003, four suicide bombers attacked Jewish, Spanish, and Belgian sites in Casablanca, Morocco, killing 33 people. African jihadists carried out the 11 March 2004 train bombings in Madrid, Spain, killing 191 people, and wounding 1,400 others. "We're trying to prevent Africa from becoming the next Afghanistan or Iraq," General James Jones, former head of EUCOM, explained.[12]

U.S. foreign assistance to Africa has tripled in the past six years to $4 billion a year.[13] In December 2006, the U.S. assigned its first ambassador to the African Union. In February 2007, the White House announced the stand-up of the African Command (AFRICOM), a U.S. military regional headquarters dedicated solely to security issues in Africa. A four-star general will run AFRICOM, which will be operational by October 2008. Now located in Stuttgart, Germany, the joint services staff, heavy with interagency representatives, hopes to move onto the continent in the next few years.

U.S. humanitarian efforts in Africa have had mixed results. The Somalia relief effort in 1993, Operation Continue Hope, was to bring humanitarian relief to hundreds of thousands of Somalis caught between fighting local warlords. However, when American TV viewers saw the bodies of U.S. service members dragged through the streets following the Battle of Mogadishu in October 1993, approval ratings for President Bill Clinton's handling of the situation fell to 30 percent. The operation cost the lives of 43 Americans and was the worst foreign policy setback since the Vietnam War. The President withdrew U.S. peacekeepers a week later.[14] In a decision former President Clinton considers one of his greatest policy regrets, the resulting fear of commitment in Africa caused him to delay peacekeeping assistance to Rwanda until after Hutus killed 800,000 Tutsis and others in genocide there the following year. Clinton later said, "We did not act quickly enough after the killing began. We did not immediately call these crimes by their rightful name: genocide. We cannot change the past. But we can and must do everything in our power to help [Africa] build a future without fear, and full of hope."[15]

The nations of Africa have recognized the need for their own response force. In January 2004,

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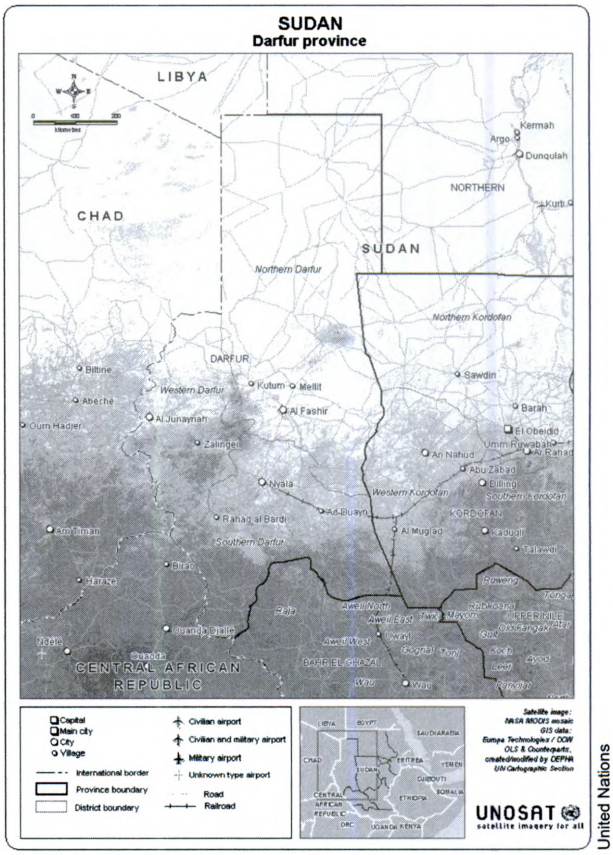
representatives from each of the 53 African nations met at AU headquarters and agreed to develop an African peacekeeping force to ensure rapid humanitarian assistance during disasters. The new force, known as the African Standby Force (ASF), has five regionally based brigades of 3,000 to 4,000 troops and a sixth force based at the AU headquarters for a total of 15,000 to 20,000 peacekeepers.[16] The AU forces have had limited success, and the recent deployment of 7,000 AU troops to Darfur has revealed significant problems in the program.

The Crisis in Darfur

The major crisis in Africa today is the genocide occurring in the Darfur region of Sudan. Over 200,000 people have died in the violence and another 2.5 million left homeless, 90 percent of them women and children.[17] A rift between the Arab Sudanese government and the Christian/animist people of Darfur dates back to 1983, the start of the 20-year civil war that eventually took the lives of 2.2 million Sudanese. The current conflict began in February 2003 when rebel groups attacked military posts in the region, accusing the central government of ignoring the region and discriminating against its inhabitants. The government struck back by employing local Arab militias, known as the *janjaweed* (men on horseback) to attack the rebel forces and loot villages. With government support and weaponry, the janjaweed used brutal terror tactics—burning villages, raping women, and massacring civilians. By late 2006, the janjaweed had destroyed over 2,000 villages in Darfur.[18]

In September 2004, the United States finally labeled the atrocities "genocide," the first time U.S. officials had done that since the Holocaust of World War II.[19] That same month, the European Union (EU) declared that the Sudanese government's actions were "tantamount to genocide" and threatened to impose sanctions.[20] This classification was important because, under UN guidelines, countries have a duty to interfere to stop genocide.

The janjaweed have been brazen in their attacks against foreigners, too. Since AU personnel deployed in 2004, 32 peacekeepers have been killed, over half of them in 2007. Additionally, 69 aid workers have been abducted, 37 relief convoys have been attacked, and 61 humanitarian vehicles hijacked.[21]



United Nations

The conflict in the Darfur region of Sudan has taken the lives of over 200,000 people since violence broke out in 2003. African Union troops, forced to patrol an area the size of Texas with only basic equipment, have been unable to stop what the United States has labeled genocide.

The conflict has spilled over into neighboring Chad and the Central Africa Republic where thousands of refugees fled to avoid the bloodshed. In the Central African Republic, 200,000 people have been forced out of their homes near the Sudanese border. An additional 236,000 refugees have crossed into Chad to avoid the bloodshed in Darfur. Chad declared a state of emergency and accused Sudan of supporting the rebels that attacked the Chadian capital in 2006. John Prendergast of the International Crisis Group sounded the alarm in the international community, saying, "The international community is actually missing the potential enormity of the crisis as it metastasizes to Chad and the Central African Republic."[22] Calls to action like Prendergrast's have driven European peacekeepers into motion. In late November 2007, EU officials met in an emergency planning session and voted to send 4,000 European troops to Chad and the Central African Republic to help refugees there.[23]

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Fears of foreign interference in African politics have made many African leaders reluctant to accept outside assistance. South African President Thabo Mbeki visited President George W. Bush in June 2005 and insisted that Africans could handle the problem in Darfur, saying, "It's critically important that the African continent should deal with these conflict situations on the continent. And that includes Darfur . . . We have not asked for anybody outside the African continent to deploy troops in Darfur. It's an African responsibility and we can do it."[24] Others did not feel as confident. Senegal's Foreign Minister Cheikh Tidiane Gadio said, "We are totally dissatisfied with the fact that the African Union . . . has asked the international community to allow it to be an African solution to an African problem and unfortunately the logistics from our own governments did not follow. The UN Security Council, the European Union, the African Union, the United States—we should all come together in a new way of dealing with the suffering of the people of Darfur—we have to do something."[25]

African Union peacekeepers began arriving in the region in 2004. The AU Mission in Sudan (AMIS) consists of about 7,500 soldiers and police from Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, and South Africa. Their mandate, to "provide a safe and secure environment for the return of internally displaced persons and refugees," has them spread across 34 refugee camps, some containing as many as 120,000 people. However, the forces lack the communications, vehicles, airlift, logistics, and intelligence capabilities to stop the militia attacks.

The AU deployment to Darfur, the first significant test of AU forces, has been a failure. Relegated to protecting heavily populated refugee camps in an area the size of Texas, the AU forces lack the arms and equipment of the government-supported militia forces. Their vehicles and radios are rarely operable and they lack sufficient manpower, weapons, and logistical support. Their rules of engagement do not allow them to challenge rebel roadblocks, and their most successful role to date is to protect groups of women from the janjaweed as the women collect firewood needed to fuel their open-pit fires. Many AU soldiers are not paid and do not receive regular food and water shipments. Corruption also presents a problem; in October 2006, two AU vehicles were intercepted while being illegally loaded on a plane for Nigeria. "As the security situation steadily worsens, AMIS's credibility in Darfur as a military and civilian protection force is at an all-time low," said a March 2006 International Crisis Group report. Villagers in the area seemed to agree, "I have given [the AU] so many reports but [they] did nothing. Many rape cases were reported and [they] conduct many patrols. But [they] have done nothing," said one village chief to an AU patrol leader.[26]

In June 2006, the UN and AU agreed that a UN force should take over peacekeeping in Darfur. However, the Sudanese government, led by President Omar al-Bashir, refused to cooperate with the



U.S. European Command

Nigerian troops working for the African Union head for Darfur aboard a U.S. Air Force cargo plane.

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UN, claiming that a foreign force on its territory would violate its sovereignty. Al-Bashir has the attributes of many African autocrats that preceded him. A former general in the Sudanese Army, he seized power in a bloody coup in 1989, overthrowing President Sadiq Al-Mahdi's democratically elected government. Once in power, Al-Bashir aligned himself with Islamic fundamentalists and implemented sharia law. In the mid 1980s, he gave refuge to Osama bin-Laden until international criticism forced him to withdraw the amnesty. In 1995, the United Nations levelled sanctions on Sudan for its role in an attempted assassination of Egypt's President, Hosni Mubarak. Since then, Sudan has dodged additional international condemnation by wooing influential international sponsors like China with its oil revenues, which now provide $1 million per day.

In the Darfur crisis, Al-Bashir plays to local fears, declaring, "The UN forces have a hidden agenda in Sudan because they are not coming for peace in Darfur. They want to recolonize Sudan."[27] His government has pledged to disarm the janjaweed during seven separate rounds of peace talks over the past three years but repeatedly failed to do so.[28] There is also fear in Khartoum that many Sudanese government officials may face war crimes charges by the International Criminal Court, which opened an investigation into the atrocities in June 2005.

On 31 August 2006, the UN passed Security Council Resolution 1663, which calls for a 20,000-man force to deploy to Darfur by October 2006 to assist the AU. The force was supposed to have consisted of 17,300 military personnel and 3,300 civilian police officers under UN command with the African Union running day-to-day operations. The UN already has a 10,000-man force in southern Sudan (called the UN Mission in Sudan) to maintain the peace there after the two-decade long civil war. This new resolution in Sudan (called the UN-African Union Mission in Darfur or UNAMID) would have made it the largest UN PKO in the world, eclipsing the 17,500 men in the Congo.

However, disagreements among AU, UN, and Sudanese representatives blocked the deployment of the forces. In June 2007, after nearly four years of bloodshed, the Sudanese representatives finally agreed that an international peacekeeping force could deploy to the region. UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon welcomed the decision, saying it would send a "clear and powerful signal [of Sudan's commitment] to improve the lives of the people of the region and close this tragic chapter in Sudan history." A light support package of police advisers and staff has already been deployed to Darfur in the first phase of the UNAMID mission. However, the second phase of deployment will take months to execute because the UN has no standing army and must rely upon the goodwill of its 192 members to send troops.[29] The third and final phase will be a combined AU and UN operation in Darfur using armed vehicles and aircraft to protect civilians.

The euphoria about the breakthrough agreement didn't last long. On 29 September 2007, hundreds of rebels in 30 heavily armed trucks overran an AU base in eastern Darfur, killing 10 soldiers, kidnapping 50 others, and seizing tons of supplies including heavy weapons. Some AU soldiers ran out of ammunition during the attack, which was the deadliest on AU troops since they arrived there three years earlier. One relief worker in the region said of the rebel attack, "It's indicative of complete insecurity. These groups are attacking anybody and everybody with total impunity."[30]

Local authorities blamed the attack on renegade factions of the two rebel groups trying to gain legitimacy prior to peace talks in Libya. Others said the rebels wanted to punish AU troops who they thought were collaborating with the government. Still others think the attack was only an effort to seize weapons.

To make matters worse, cease-fire negotiations in Libya between rebel leaders, Sudanese government officials, and UN and AU representatives broke down when several leaders failed to appear. United Nations officials had described the cease-fire effort as a "make or break moment for Darfur."[31]

As the turnover date for the UNAMID force arrived on 31 December 2007, the mission seemed more in jeopardy than ever. The Sudanese government continued to drag its feet on critical elements of the UN deployment, rejecting Norwegian, Swedish, Nepalese, and Thai members of the force, refusing to turn over land necessary for bases, denying overflight authorities for UN aircraft, and impounding communication equipment. In its most blatant act of aggression, the Sudanese Army fired

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on a UN convoy of 20 vehicles carrying rations for UN soldiers, critically wounding one driver, and destroying a fuel tanker.[32]

As a result of the threat posed to peacekeepers, the African Union forces were banned from operating in certain areas of Western Darfur.

"This is the moment of truth for Darfur," said Jan Egeland, the UN undersecretary general for humanitarian affairs, in Khartoum. "We are playing with a powder keg. It could definitely get worse." Egeland said Darfur's crisis has recently worsened and now four million people depend on international aid to survive.[33]

"We are playing with a powder keg. It could definitely get worse."

—Jan Egeland

Problems with African Peacekeepers

Washington recognizes the desperate need for peacekeepers in Africa. In March 2007, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice sent an urgent diplomatic cable to all U.S. ambassadors saying that the United Nations would soon approve peacekeeping efforts in Darfur, Chad, the Central African Republic, and Somalia. The peacekeeping operations would require 30,000 to 35,000 additional troops at a cost of $3.3 billion. In her opinion, the "UN is already hard-pressed to meet existing demand and will face significant challenges staffing these new missions." Secretary Rice later said efforts to recruit additional PKO forces for duty in Africa received a "lukewarm response," a dangerous situation that could result in unchecked violence and conflict across Africa.[34]

Other crises have frequently derailed efforts to bolster peacekeeping forces in Darfur. On 5 June 2006, the UN Security Council approved Secretary General Kofi Annan's request for an additional UN force in Cote d'Ivorie. However, the approval for 1,500 new police and soldiers was less than half of the 3,400 that the Secretary General had requested, reflecting a lack of availability of trained forces. The next month, the EU sent a 2,000-man force to the Democratic Republic of the Congo to safeguard the presidential elections, the first democratic elections in 40 years. The EU force complemented an existing 17,000-man UN force, at the time the biggest in the world, that kept peace between rival factions since a bloody civil war from 1998 to 2002 left over two million dead—the worst violence in any country since the end of World War II.[35] The Congo operation has been an expensive venture for the United Nations, costing the UN and its donor nations $450 million.[36]

In December 2006, Ethiopia's invasion of Somalia resulted in a U.S. call for an international monitoring force of 8,000 in Somalia to separate warring factions there. In early May 2007, AU Chairperson John Kufuor of Ghana expressed frustration in his efforts to recruit PKO forces for Somalia, saying, "The AU wants to send 8,000 peacekeepers [to Somalia] as soon as possible but we are having trouble finding the troops." Only Uganda had provided troops, but in a disincentive for other African nations, AU headquarters had yet to pay their forces.[37] The situation only got worse. In May 2007, Somali gunmen attacked and killed four Ugandan peacekeepers. Former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations John Bolton summarized the philosophy of involvement in African hotspots like Somalia or Sudan: "Sudan is a case where there's a lot of international rhetoric and no stomach for real action."[38]

The prevalence of AIDS on the continent is another serious problem that plagues African peacekeeping forces. Sub-Saharan Africa has just 10 percent of the world's population but contains 60 percent of all the people living with HIV—over 25 million persons. Southern African nations are the most affected. Life expectancy has dropped below the age of 40 in nine countries. Four countries have declared HIV/AIDS the biggest threat to their national security.[39] HIV infections are prominent in the armed forces of these countries. The military and police are especially susceptible to HIV infection because of long deployments away from family,

"Sudan is a case where there's a lot of international rhetoric and no stomach for real action."

—John Bolton

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access to cash, the tendency to use prostitutes, drug and alcohol use while off-duty, and the plenitude of soldiers from poor and uneducated backgrounds.[40] In 2003, Malawi Defense Force chief General Chimbayo said that troop strength in the country was down 40 percent due to AIDS deaths. China expelled over a third of the Zimbabwean officers sent for training in 2004 because of their HIV infections. The head of the police force in Mozambique said the country was no longer able to recruit and train police officers fast enough to replace those dying of AIDS. In July 2004, a survey of South African National Defense Force personnel revealed that 87 percent were infected with HIV. Some African countries have refused peacekeepers from southern Africa on the grounds that they would cause higher rates of infection in their civilian populations.[41]

U.S. Efforts to Train African Peacekeepers

Before the Group of Eight (G8) industrialized nations in June 2004, President Bush announced a $660 million program to train and equip 75,000 peacekeepers around the world over the next 5 years. He said, "The Global Peace Operations Initiative (GPOI) was necessary because we believe in human dignity. The world must have more effective means to stabilize regions in turmoil and halt religious violence and ethnic cleansing. We must create a permanent capacity to respond to future crises."[42]

The 2007 GPOI budget lists peacekeeping efforts in Africa as its biggest priority. Well over half ($47.5 million) of the $81 million annual GPOI budget goes toward peacekeeping programs in Africa. The funding for African PKO efforts is more than all the other areas of the world combined.[43]

The African branch of the GPOI is the African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance Program (ACOTA). The objectives of the ACOTA program are to develop and improve African military capacities to deploy and conduct peace support and humanitarian relief operations in Africa and other areas of the world. Thirty thousand African peacekeepers will train in basic military skills such as military policing, infantry tactics, human rights awareness, and engineering. By improving their military skills, the African peacekeeping forces hope to be able to respond quickly to crises to provide humanitarian or peace support operations. Once trained, forces combine into multinational units to conduct operations under the auspices of the AU, the UN, or regional security organizations. The Department of State oversees the program, and the geographic combatant commanders—U.S. European Command across mainland Africa and U.S. Central Command in the Horn of Africa—execute it. The AFRICOM will assume responsibility for the program once it becomes mission-capable in October 2008.

Another important goal of the ACOTA program is to improve interoperability and facilitate regional operations among African partners. When feasible, one of five regional security brigades that make up part of the African Standby Force (ASF) is supposed



U.S. Air Force, SSGT Bradley Church

Rwandan soldiers line up to board a U.S. Air Force C-17 at the Kigali International Airport, Rwanda, for transportation to the Darfur region of Sudan, 17 July 2006. Their deployment is part of a multinational effort to improve security in Darfur.

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to address these problems. The ASF headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, has representatives from each of the regional security brigades: in the North, the Community of Sahel-Saharan States; in the West, the Economic Community of West African States; in Central Africa, the Economic Community of Central African States; in the East, the Inter-Government Authority on Development; and in the South, the Southern African Development Community. Of these forces, the Economic Community of West African States is the most advanced.[44]

Since its inception in 2004, ACOTA has trained 6,800 personnel (27 battalions), 200 cadre, and 100 command and control experts at the brigade level. These soldiers have deployed to monitor conflicts in Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivorie, Liberia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi, Guinea-Bissau, the Central African Republic, Ethiopia-Eritrea, Sudan (Darfur), and Lebanon. The ACOTA goal is to train and equip sufficient numbers of African peacekeepers, including the 25 infantry battalions required to staff five Regional Economic Community (REC) stand-by brigades.

To date, 19 African nations have received ACOTA training.[45] The training involves tactical field training for soldiers and command and staff training for officers. The typical six-week battalion-training program includes a command post exercise, field training, and human rights topics such as AIDS awareness and prevention, gender rights, and rules of engagement. Overwhelmed with a resilient insurgency in Iraq and a re-emerging Taliban threat in Afghanistan, the U.S. military has few forces to dedicate to peacekeeping training across 53 countries in Africa. For that reason, the Department of State has hired private contracted companies to conduct most of the training since September 2001.

However, there is a risk in providing military training to nations with poor human rights records. Heavy-handed tactics and atrocities against civilians could delegitimize the national army and further destabilize the region. Six of ten African nations that the Pentagon provided training for in 2006 (Algeria, Cameroon, Chad, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, and Tunisia) have poor human rights records.[46]

Solutions for Africa

African countries are being asked to solve their continent's security problems as many Western nations, entrenched in a global conflict against Islamic extremism, are increasingly reluctant to move farther afield to provide PKO in areas seemingly devoid of strategic objectives for their own countries. Nevertheless, the problem remains that African nations are unprepared for peacekeeping duties. Almost all African militaries lack the capability in training and equipment to perform this security role. Those who do have the capability do not have the resources to sustain the deployment very long. In addition, African leaders' collective lack of political will threatens to jeopardize future efforts to equip these PKO battalions. Even with external assistance, prospects for success are limited. There is little reason for optimism.

Six of ten African nations that the Pentagon provided training for in 2006...have poor human rights records.

The U.S. must collaborate with its allies to promote security in Africa. The French have conducted Reinforcement of African Peacekeeping Capacity (RECAMP) exercises since 1998 to train African peacekeepers. The bi-annual event focuses peacekeeping training on the REC. Standby brigades and 12 to 15 other European nations send mentors and advisors to the RECAMP exercise. Like ACOTA, RECAMP can provide multi-national training to the standby brigades that are supposed to respond to crises within their geographic regions.

A critical element of the African Standby Force is a rapid deployment capability (RDC). Currently, no means exist to send AU forces expeditiously into a conflict zone. In July 2007, AU representatives met at AU headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, to identify RDC requirements and parameters. Participants concluded that an AU RDC should deploy within 14 days, provide urgent assistance to existing peacekeeping forces, and be able to conduct self-sustained autonomous operations for 30 days. The conference forwarded the proposal to all AU nations' heads of defense for ratification.

The idea of a deployable peacekeeping force has been around for a while. President Clinton had proposed a similar type of UN RDC force in 1993.

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During a speech before the UN General Assembly, President Clinton called for the "creation of a genuine UN peacekeeping headquarters with a planning staff, access to timely intelligence, a logistics unit that can be deployed on a moment's notice, and a modern operations center with global communications."[47] In his book, *An Agenda for Peace*, then UN Secretary Boutros Boutros Ghali recommended a "rapid reaction force" of battalion-sized units stationed in their own countries with common training, procedures, and equipment, and operating costs of $1 billion per year after start up, extremely modest compared to the $6 to 8 billion per month operating costs for Iraq.[48]

NATO has developed a rapid response force and tested its capabilities in exercises in Africa and Europe. For its part, NATO has expanded from a traditional role of defending territory in Europe to managing threats around the world before they can reach the European shoreline. The NATO Response Force, a 25,000-strong body which became operational in October 2006, is designed to respond to crises in five days, fight its way into hostile areas, and operate autonomously for one month before needing to resupply. While NATO has already formed its RDC, the UN and the AU seem unable to implement this and other strategies because of lack of troops.[49]

Conclusion

At the UN Summit in October 2005, United Nations representatives pledged to "protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity" by passing Resolution 1674, the "Responsibility to Protect."[50] Likewise, the U.S. must do more to prevent a terror-sponsoring nation from appearing on the African horizon. The attacks of 9/11 showed the world the destruction that can emanate from a single failed state like Afghanistan. Although the U.S. Department of Defense designates peacekeeping as a "core military mission," the quagmire in Iraq has absorbed military assets that Africa needs: the annual Global Peace Operations Initiative budget for Africa would last just five hours in Iraq.

The difficulty of training foreign peacekeepers is evident in the current conflict in Iraq. A recent report from the U.S. Congress House Armed Services Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee stated that, despite $19 billion spent on organizing, training, and equipping Iraqi military and police personnel, the effort has yielded only "mixed results."[51] According to the Iraq Study Group report, U.S. military forces, "stretched nearly to the breaking point by repeated deployments to Iraq," will find it difficult to send adequate troops to African nations that have an immediate need for training and advisement.

... the annual Global Peace Operations Initiative budget for Africa would last just five hours in Iraq.

The situation in Africa presents a difficult dilemma for foreign policy experts. As Rear Admiral Richard W. Hunt, former Commander of Joint Task Force—Horn of Africa put it, "Africa is the new frontier that we need to engage now, or we are going to end up doing it later in a very negative way."[52] Yet the military peacekeeper solution is only one element of a more complex problem. Regarding Darfur, Former Secretary of State Colin Powell has said, "In my mind, there would never be enough troops to impose order on this place. The only way to resolve this problem is for there to be a political settlement between the rebels and the government."[53]

Bogged down in unpopular wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, the United States has little political or diplomatic capital to spend to stop the Sudanese genocide in Darfur. Yet, genocides committed in locations such as Rwanda and Darfur demand an international response. The potential for terrorist training in failed states such as Somalia or Sudan is a threat that could have repercussions in Europe or the United States. American intentions in the region are suspect; suspicion runs deep among African nations with large Muslim populations. Furthermore, many Americans do not see a need to help Africa and see no strategic imperative worth defending to justify sending American troops there. Former U.S. Senator John Danforth, appointed by the Bush Administration as special envoy for Sudan, echoed this sentiment, saying, "This isn't a country that has much strategic interest for the United States."[54]

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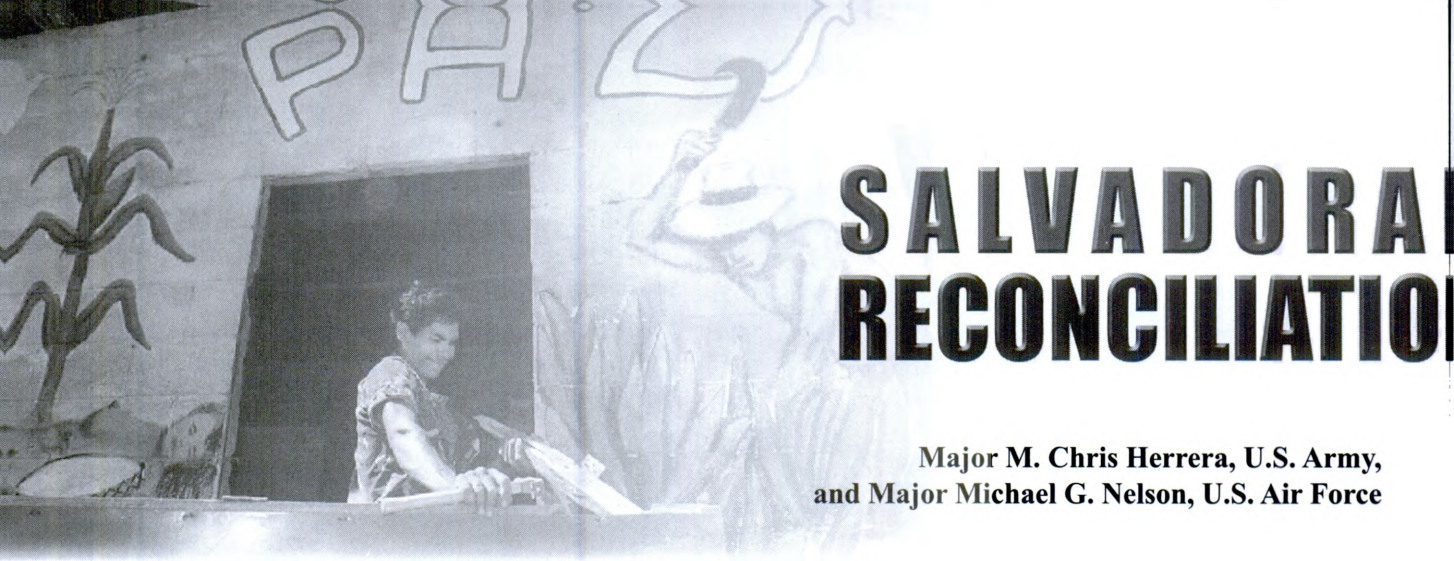
President Bush himself expressed his aversion to peacekeeping operations in a speech at The Citadel. "The problem," Bush said, "comes with open-ended deployments and unclear military missions. In these cases, we will ask, 'What is our goal, can it be met, and when do we leave?' We will not be hasty. But we will not be permanent peacekeepers, dividing warring parties. This is not our strength or our calling."[55]

Regardless of the assistance the United States and other industrialized nations provide for peacekeeping in Africa, the 21st century promises to be a challenging one for Africans. Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for African Affairs Theresa Whelan described the mission for the U.S. military in Africa: "We want to prevent problems from becoming crises and crises from becoming catastrophes."[56] For now, the hopes are slim that Africa's own peacekeepers can prevent continuing genocide in Africa. ***MR***

NOTES

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SALVADORA RECONCILIATIO

Major M. Chris Herrera, U.S. Army,
and Major Michael G. Nelson, U.S. Air Force

WHEN THE BRUTAL 12-year civil war between the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and the El Salvador Armed Forces (ESAF) finally ended in 1992, it had claimed more than 75,000 mostly innocent civilian lives and left another 8,000 missing.[1] In its later years, the fighting had bogged down. Neither the FMLN nor the ESAF could muster enough offensive strength to win decisively, so battles increasingly involved irregulars who demonstrated little regard for civilians. Eventually, a UN-sponsored negotiated peace process paved the way for amnesty, reintegration, and reconciliation (AR2).

At times the AR2 approach worked well and showed progress, but at other times it fell far short of potential—in part due to a poorly applied amnesty program. Ultimately, however, even though the process failed to mend the rift completely between the warring factions, an effective reintegration plan did achieve a measure of reconciliation between the two sides. This article examines the implementation of AR2 in El Salvador as a study of conflict resolution.

Interdependent societal dimensions discussed in previous *Military Review* articles about AR2 can serve as analytical reference points to explain El Salvador's partially successful process. These societal dimensions include a security aspect, a political aspect, and an economic aspect. As any review of El Salvadoran history will reveal, these dimensions directly influenced the conflict and the country's ultimately tentative post-conflict stability.

Background

Since El Salvador's inception as a Spanish colony, its demographics have reflected the legacy of European cultural domination over a dispossessed native population. The particular socioeconomic byproducts of cultural and racial chauvinism familiar to the hemisphere's history have complicated and retarded El Salvador's political and economic development. As with other nations in the Americas, a post-colonial oligarchic social structure constricted upward mobility for the poor and poorly served. El Salvador has thus suffered from a deep-rooted division between the economic and political elites of European extraction and the *campesinos*, the impoverished, mostly native working class.[2]

As is often the case, class division translated into oppression. Oppression was so much a way of life in El Salvador that it became an expectation. In 1985, Clifford Krauss claimed in *The Salvadoran Quagmire*, "El Salvador is

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PHOTO: Santiago de Jesus Cordero, a former guerrilla, does carpentry work, 23 December 1992. In the background is a peace mural. (AFP, Rutilio Enamorado)

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today what it always has been: a nation of betrayal and terror, where military strongmen, wealthy oligarchs, and village thugs seek final solutions of one political extreme or another."[3] The general tenor of Salvadoran society circa 2008 reflects the echoes of this dominion of thuggery. Thus, Salvadoran history serves as the lens through which this article attempts to analyze conflict resolution under the rubric of an imperfect AR2 process.

The Salvadoran Truth Commission and Amnesty

Given El Salvador's history, it is not surprising that the nation's efforts toward conflict resolution bore mixed results, even though the UN oversaw the process. In the security sphere, all issues were resolved with relative success. Politically, reforms succeeded in creating institutions necessary for democracy, but the participants exploited the reforms to their own advantage. Economically, reforms substantively changed the Salvadoran domestic economy for the good, but an economic regression could play a key role in any future destabilization.

Analysis of AR2 effectiveness requires definition of the terms *amnesty*, *reintegration*, and *reconciliation* as they apply to El Salvador. *Amnesty*, in this case, follows the legal definition from the *Oxford Essential Dictionary of the U.S. Military*: "An official pardon for people who have been convicted of political offenses." In the case of El Salvador, the amnesty was preemptive in nature. *Reintegration* includes the totality of institutional reforms aimed at incorporating the disenfranchised back into a healthier Salvadoran civil society. *Reconciliation* denotes the process of forgiveness, whereby aggrieved people voluntarily choose not to pursue remedies for perceived or actual offenses committed against them during the conflict.

Theoretically, achieving a full measure of reconciliation requires a pragmatic application of amnesty as a necessary precursor to reintegration. In El Salvador's case, an inappropriately timed and too-generous amnesty denied the nation a proper closure. Even though truth commission trials put the country in position to achieve fuller reconciliation, hasty government action truncated the AR2 process prematurely, preventing it from realizing greater benefits.

The truth commission. The Chapultepec Peace Accords of 1992 directed the creation of a truth commission under the oversight of the UN's Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL). This measure had the potential to serve as the foundation for real reconciliation. Unfortunately, the commission's mission and scope were flawed from the start. As Judge Thomas Buergenthal, one of the commission's three members, pointed out, truth commissions themselves lack any true measure of judicial authority; most simply exist as fact-finding bodies, with some even lacking the authority to name names when appropriate (though the Salvadoran commission did retain this power).[4] To achieve accountability, a court of law must act upon the commission's findings and recommendations. In the Salvadoran case, the commission reported to ONUSAL and was not supplemented by any international or domestic court that could translate its results into punitive measures.[5] Given the Salvadoran government's later implication in upwards of 95 percent of extra-judicial killings, a specific requirement to address commission findings in the nation's own judicial system would likely have doomed the peace accords.[6]

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Nevertheless, the commission's mandate stipulated that all major human rights violations be investigated. Deliverables included recommendations to help the country achieve reconciliation.[7] While the commission's findings did not claim to serve as a complete record of abuses that took place during the 12-year war, the group went so far as to identify, by name when evidence was sufficient, individuals responsible for particular human rights violations.

The amnesty. Any real impact the truth commission report could have had was superseded only days after its release when the legislature approved a sweeping amnesty law.[8] That legislature was controlled by the Alianza Republicana Nacionalista (ARENA), a right-wing party in power since 1989 whose founder, Roberto D'Aubisson, had been credibly linked to death squads.[9] According

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to ONUSAL, the amnesty effectively preempted any practical attempt to identify and prosecute individuals associated with extra-judicial killings during the war.[10]

The amnesty law thus provided the Salvadoran government an expedient vehicle for distancing its criminal past while still fulfilling the accords' letter. The state avoided a long, drawn-out battle between factions looking to place blame, and it escaped having to challenge its heretofore protector, the army, over allegations of excessive violence. To be fair, rumored threats of a military takeover probably led the political establishment to approve the excessively generous amnesty as an act of self-preservation.[11]

Furthermore, by foregoing justice in the name of reconciliation, the law denied the populace any deterrent to the commission of future violations.[12] It also demonstrated the vulnerabilities inherent in ONUSAL's oversight: its already weak authority could be circumvented by passage of a domestic law. In any event, the Salvadoran people felt the general amnesty's greatest impact, since it eliminated any legal recourse for civil war victims and drastically reduced the chances for a full national reconciliation.[13]

Limited success. Measures to establish official state recognition of accountability have not improved in the last decade, probably signaling a permanently truncated AR2 process. In fact, as late as 2003, government officials testified in front of the UN that the three most publicized killings (those of Archbishop Romero of San Salvador, six Jesuits priests, and the massacre at El Mozote) were still under investigation, even though the truth commission had effectively established accountability.[14] According to the officials, only the investigation into the murder of Archbishop Romero had met with any success—and that marginal, with the murder attributed to the actions of one lone man. Given the killing's patently political motive, this was hardly a convincing conclusion.[15]

If these officials reflect the nation's unwillingness to adjudicate past crimes, it appears that progress in El Salvador is over. The state's power brokers feel no compelling need to reconcile their society's disparate segments. In short, by failing to provide even limited avenues of redress to the aggrieved, the government's hasty amnesty undercut reconciliation. Amnesty set the conditions under which the reintegration process could proceed, but it forestalled full reconciliation. The interconnecting influences across El Salvador's societal dimensions illuminate this partially successful but truncated AR2 process.

Security Dimension

The Chapultepec Accords directed the FMLN to disarm and demobilize, a prerequisite for peaceful transition. Conducted in five stages, the process was declared complete by the UN in 1993.[16] FMLN demilitarization ended the military standoff and ensured that the civil war did not resume. It also laid the foundation for transitioning guerrilla forces into society. In exchange, the ESAF relinquished its role as a domestic law enforcer and assumed a defensive stance against external threats.[17]

The accords also laid out a plan to reform the government's forces. First, the ESAF was directed to establish an ad hoc commission to purge its officer corps of members linked to extra-legal killings during the war.[18] It was also directed to dismantle its covert intelligence service, the National Guard, and the Treasury Police while reducing the army's size by 50 percent. Finally, the military was placed under civilian control.



AFP, Francisco Campos

The counterinsurgency Jose Arce Battalion performs a final exercise 6 February 1993. The battalion was the last to disband, reducing the Salvadoran armed forces from 63,000 troops to 31,500 as provided for in the peace agreement between the government and rebel groups.

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These measures met with varying degrees of success. The commission removed complicit officers from the command structure, the intelligence service was disbanded, and the army was reduced; however, the National Guard and Treasury Police were never dismantled—the ESAF merely renamed them and transferred their entire structures into the regular army.[19] Additionally, it took several years for the military to hand over control of intrinsically nonmilitary government institutions to civilian authorities.

The disparity between the letter and spirit of the accords and their results is attributable to the leverage the military continued to exercise over politics and the economy. Not only did the army retain great sponsorship in the legislature, but most of the ad hoc commission's members came from the military. Moreover, the commission exercised its responsibilities after the FMLN de-armed;[20] thus the ESAF, with its long-time enemy bereft of military strength, felt no immediate need to show good faith and air its dirty laundry. The reforms were meant to redefine and transform the military—they were vital for reconciling both the guerrillas and the ESAF with the rest of society. Piecemeal implementation by the government would set the conditions for an unenergetic reconciliation process.

The Chapultepec Accords also called for dissolution of the *Policía Nacional* (PN) and establishment of a new force, the *Policía Nacional Civilista* (PNC). The founding of the PNC marked the "first time that internal security was separated from the military."[21] Sixty percent of the new force was composed of civilians who were not associated with the conflict, while 20 percent came from the old PN and 20 percent from the FMLN.[22] It was a creative way to develop a buffer between the people and the state while also limiting the economic impact of the expected influx of ex-FMLN fighters (many of whom lacked any basic skills beyond those required for waging war) into a state system that was experiencing a nearly one-in-five unemployment rate.[23] However, in keeping with its historical reluctance to change, the Salvadoran government delayed PNC activation, blaming a lack of funds to train and deploy the force.[24]

At this juncture, ONUSAL—and the reform process—lost traction. Mandated to monitor and verify changes, not enforce them, ONUSAL could do little to keep the reform ball rolling. It also had to contend with a perception problem; for example, if it pushed for security changes to move forward, it ran the risk of seeming to favor the FMLN, a perception that could have undermined the mission's domestic and international credibility.[25] The government exploited the mission's vulnerability to perception and its lack of judicial teeth by using the amnesty law to shroud its degree of complicity in the killings from the international community. The government found it could declaw ONUSAL's security recommendations by delaying or relaxing standards as it saw fit. Caught between the Scylla of judicial impotence and the Charybdis of fragile credibility, ONUSAL could only stand silently by and watch the government procrastinate. It took obvious, direct violations of the accords to elicit a confident ONUSAL censure.

Over time, fears that the government's machinations would prevent full reintegration and reconciliation have given way to a sense that security concerns, at least, have been alleviated. Simultaneously, reformation of the ESAF has contributed to political reconciliation by halting the violence and by giving the populace an objective civilian law-enforcement unit that buffers them from military authority and allows for economic revitalization. The security dimension's primacy in the peace process, therefore, allowed political and economic reforms to develop, albeit at a laggard's pace.

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Political Dimension

Given El Salvador's oligarchic history, the FMLN probably chose its ideology, Marxism, because it was appropriate to the socioeconomic nature of the group's dissent. It was also convenient: Marxism was the politic *du jour* in the 1980s, and adopting it allowed the guerrillas to tap into a continuous flow of tangible support from ideological sympathizers, namely Cuba, Nicaragua, and the Soviet Union. Put

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simply, Marxism was an understandable, pragmatic response to an oppressive situation; it was the form the FMLN insurgency took, not the motivator of that insurgency. Under the Chapultepec Accords, the FMLN's transition from an outlaw organization to a legal political party has borne this out: opposition to economic injustice has proven far more important than adherence to ideology.

Despite the peaceful political transition, however, El Salvador has yet to realize true political reintegration. By forming coalitions with tangential political entities, ARENA has dominated the legislature and the presidency and continues to maintain a steady grip on political leadership.[26] The party has been known to control its coalitions using patently corrupt measures.[27] The FMLN, which is excluded from these coalitions, lacks any true measure of power on the national level. Thus, while El Salvador maintains the trappings of democracy, real political competition at the national level has proven elusive.[28] Flawed implementation of the Chapultepec Accords has done virtually nothing to mend the economic fractures and political discontent that gave rise to the FMLN and the war; the process simply established structural avenues by which the FMLN could espouse and legally seek political support for its views. It legitimized the opposition, but could not empower it. As a result, political reconciliation in El Salvador has not led to the birth of any true spirit of democracy. This failure was apparent in 2004, when the FMLN boycotted President Antonio Saca's inauguration.[29]

Such circumstances should come as no surprise to those familiar with El Salvador. The country's history resonates with examples of power brokers using the political process to defend their selfish interests at the expense of mutually beneficial policies issuing from a more enlightened self-interest. Their narrow agendas inevitably involve hoarding political power in order to accumulate wealth.

Economic Dimension

Economic exploitation lay at the root of the El Salvadoran conflict, and it continues to limit reconciliation. Historically, the country's rich elite manipulated the economic and political dimensions of society for their own benefit while using the army for protection. Elizabeth Wood described the pre-1992 Salvadoran government as "coalitions of economic elites and military hardliners [defending] labor-repressive institutions and practices until the civil war."[30] Moderating influences have been slow to gain traction in the Salvadoran government.



AFP, Edgar Romero

Elias Antonio Saca, of the right-wing Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA), holds a press conference in El Salvador to explain the final stages of his presidential campaign, 19 October 2004.

These conditions originated in the oligarchic politics of the colonial era, when a few Salvadorans were very rich, a multitude were very poor, and there was virtually no middle class.[31] Although similar class strata had developed in other Latin American countries, El Salvador by the mid-80s became known as the region's poorest country. As late as 2002, 48 percent of the populace still lived in poverty.[32] Economic improvement, like political progress, has been slow in coming.

Today, El Salvador has the second-highest GDP in Central America, but that testifies less to its economic health than to the moribund economic conditions of the region's other, similarly exploitative, economies.[33]

Another failure of the Chapultepec Accords was land reform. In the 1930s, coffee became El Salvador's major export. Economic dependence on the crop created intense competition for land in a country with little arable turf. Consequently, the rich few—10 percent of the population—bought up or otherwise acquired all the land. Land-reform movements prior to the civil war sought to rectify this inequity with a constitutional amendment that limited private landowners to 245 hectares. Unfortunately, though predictably, government leaders ignored this provision, since enforcing it would have adversely affected their own wealth and power base.[34] After the Chapultepec Accords,

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land reformers (led primarily by FMLN leaders) sought to implement the constitutional restriction. Mass protests eventually forced the government to partially comply with the constitution, but movement leaders shifted emphasis: having obtained land for themselves in exchange for assuming debt, they dropped land redistribution as an issue in favor of debt relief. Land reform essentially halted.[35]

The reform that did occur caused havoc with the fragile economy. In many cases, the new landowners became subsistence farmers, something for which the government had failed to plan. The economy's perpetual heavy reliance on coffee exports therefore compounded and encouraged continuing poverty, even after dilatory attempts at economic reform. From a macroeconomic standpoint, land that once contributed to the nation's overall wealth and indirectly fed many, now fed only those who farmed it. The percentage of agriculturally productive land dropped precipitously. Only then did the government modify its conservative economic policies to account for the new reality.[36]

Fortunately, by the time these marginally progressive land reforms and overdue, relatively meager economic measures were enacted, the security and political dimensions had changed enough to ensure stability that could withstand prolonged economic recalcitrance. On the downside, there was little impetus from those dimensions to push through with timely and serious economic reform.

From the viewpoint of the AR2 framework, security assurances came first; the most visible political reforms then followed (at a leisurely pace). Political restructuring created just enough space for confrontation over pertinent economic issues. In lieu of effective economic reform, however, an unprogressive stagnation ensued. El Salvador still faces obstinate political and economic challenges, many of them due to the quick, immoderate amnesty that short-circuited the overall reconciliation effort. That all parties to the agreement were so quick to meet the letter of the law and then act so slowly in implementing meaningful change toward reconciliation reveals volumes about their self-interested, inherently flawed approach to AR2.

Conclusion

Analysis of the AR2 process in El Salvador suggests that certain salient factors affected outcomes:

- The lack of a real mechanism to enforce the findings of a truth commission or other such investigative body derailed real reconciliation and reform. In El Salvador, ONUSAL was mandated only to oversee, not enforce, reforms—it was basically an impotent spectator whose recommendations were opposed by entrenched parties. ONUSAL's need to appear neutral further weakened its effectiveness. When the mission confronted a societal context that actually favored a strong central government, its limitations became insurmountable. An armed reconciler is probably a necessity for effective AR2.
- The government's linear algebra of sustained selfishness consistently frustrated attempts at reform. AR2 is more art than science, and it requires an integrating calculus of enlightened self-interest, not the defense of entrenched interests. A government's performance in AR2 depends almost entirely upon its *raison d'être*. The Salvadoran case demonstrated a need not only for structural reformation of a narrowly self-interested government, but also for a shift in philosophy that would enable the intended spirit of the reform to be realized along with the letter. This moral epiphany did not occur in El Salvador.
- The government's quick amnesty put the AR2 process on a bad footing from the outset. Although this amnesty applied only to government misdeeds—the FMLN's misdeeds were never even brought to light—the inherent unfairness of this prospect still does not absolve the government from enacting amnesty in a socially conscious fashion. Amnesty cannot be viewed in isolation; it must be considered within the context of the overall AR2 objectives. Amnesty may be a prerequisite for reintegration, and both may be necessary to achieve genuine societal reconciliation, but a full and properly pragmatic consideration must be given to what each step entails. How amnesty is applied remains as important a decision to the end of the AR2 process as it is to its inception. In the Salvadoran example,

El Salvador still faces obstinate political and economic challenges...

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blanket amnesty may have created the conditions for reintegration, but it covered guilty tracks and clouded the transparent process of reconciliation. In doing so, it adversely affected the degree to which real reconciliation was possible. Even wholesale reintegration could not overcome the lingering resentment born of an immoderately quick and pervasive amnesty.

- Placing the onus of change upon parties complicit in the original conflict—effectively leaving the former combatants to their own devices—is not the most efficacious way to proceed. The fact that there was no decisive winner in this conflict further highlights the issue. This point is a corollary of the need for a potent, armed reconciler.
- The heart of conflict resolution involves adequate redress of grievances. In this case, the driving grievances, or root causes, involved economic inequity. To the extent El Salvador does not maintain an economic balance, there exists a chance for resumption of violence.

If nothing else, the Salvadoran case study shows that reconciliation is an ongoing process, dependent on the effective application of amnesty and reintegration across the security, political, and economic dimensions. ***MR***



AFP, Orlando Sierra

An agent of the National Civil Police walks next to a charred Toyota Land Cruiser where three Salvadoran deputies of the Central American Parliament were assassinated and torched by alleged hit men 20 February 2007, in El Jocotillo, El Salvador.

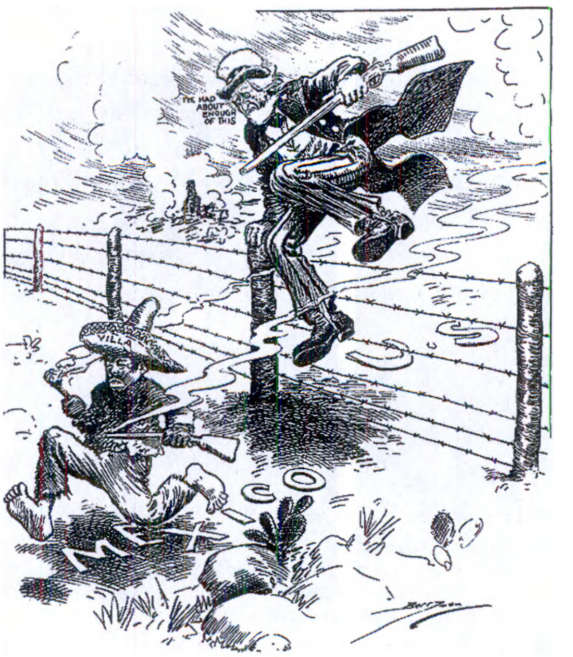
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7. Buergenthal, 218.
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12. Mike Kaye, "The Role of Truth Commissions in the Search for Justice, Reconciliation and Democratization: The Salvadoran and Honduran Cases," *Journal of Latin American Studies* (1997): 695.
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14. United Nations Human Rights Committee.
15. Up until his death, Archbishop Romero was an outspoken defender of the poor and a vehement activist who publicly criticized the government's oppressive tactics. During a mass celebrating the life of a radical journalist's mother, an assassin stepped into the center aisle and shot him through the heart with a high-powered rifle. The assassin was never found, but later investigations attributed the murder to the activities of a right-wing element within the government. For more information regarding the government's role in this murder, see Krauss.
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17. *The United Nations and El Salvador (1990-1995)*, United Nations Blue Book Series (New York: United Nations Department of Public Information, 1995).
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A TROUBLED PAST:
The Army and Security on the Mexican Border, 1915–1917

Thomas A. Bruscino Jr., Ph.D.



IN JUNE 2006, the United States dispatched military forces to its southern border to help stem the tide of illegal immigration from Mexico. The tempestuous historical relationship between the United States and Mexico meant that this was hardly the first time the Army went south to effect security along the border. The issues along that frontier have always been complex, and bringing in trained (or untrained) soldiers means inserting them into a very difficult and potentially violent situation. At no time was that made more apparent than in the mid-1910s, when the Army on the border found itself caught up in a mishmash of border security, local violence, guerrilla warfare, racial politics, and state diplomacy.

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PHOTO: "I've had about enough of this!" –This 1916 cartoon by graphic political commentator Clifford K. Berryman depicts Uncle Sam pursuing Pancho Villa across the U.S.-Mexico border. (NARA)

Background

By the turn of the 20th century, the traditional hostility between the United States and Mexico had cooled, due in no small part to the relative stability afforded Mexico by the long reign of Porfirio Diaz. That peace came at a price: Diaz was a military officer who seized power and ruled as a de facto dictator for most of the years between 1876 and 1911. Mexico began to modernize under the Diaz regime, but his heavy-handed tactics, Mexico's heavy dependence on foreign investment, and the poor condition of the country's lower classes led to a loss of popular support for the aging general. When Diaz backtracked on his promise to step down from power and allow a fair election in 1910, a new revolution and struggle for power began. Among the prominent Mexican leaders who emerged from that struggle were Francisco Madero, Victoriano Huerta, Venustiano Carranza, Francisco "Pancho" Villa, and Emiliano Zapata.[1]

The instability created by the Mexican revolution led to an increased Army role on the border. In the spring and summer of 1911, the War Department placed several undermanned Regular Army units near the frontier, based in the towns of San Antonio and Galveston, Texas, and San Diego, California. The troops withdrew in the latter part of the year, but smaller Army units remained and ran patrols along the border to keep an eye on the situation to the south.[2] In 1913, the War Department reorganized the military in the continental United States into a series of departments and districts. The new Southern Department, headquartered at Fort Sam Houston, Texas, encompassed Louisiana,

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NARA

General Francisco "Pancho" Villa with his general staff, 1913. Villa, fourth from the left, is flanked on his right by General Rodolfo Fierro, Villa's chief staff. To his left are General Ortega and Colonel Medina.

Arkansas, Oklahoma, and the border states of Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico. Brigadier General Tasker Bliss became the first commander of the department, and had the unwelcome task of trying to patrol the border with three undermanned cavalry units.[3]

Across the border, Francisco Madero came to power when he was elected president in 1911, but forces led by General Huerta deposed and murdered the new president the next year. Huerta set up a new dictatorial regime, and Carranza, Villa, and Zapata launched a rebellion against the general. President William Howard Taft, nearing the end of his term in 1913, once again moved troops south to Texas to help stabilize the frontier, but diplomatic events soon overtook this precaution.

The manner of Madero's removal from power so displeased new American president Woodrow Wilson that he felt compelled to intervene in Mexican affairs. In February 1914, he allowed the shipment of arms to anti-Huerta forces in Mexico. When Mexican Huertista soldiers arrested a group of American sailors at the port city of Tampico in April, Wilson reacted by ordering the bombardment and partial occupation of the city of Veracruz—an occupation that would last until November.[4] Huerta resigned the presidency under pressure from forces inside and out of Mexico, and Carranza emerged as the most likely candidate for leadership of Mexico.[5]

But even the fall of Huerta did not entirely please President Wilson, who did not formally recognize Carranza as Mexico's new leader.[6] Villa and Zapata almost immediately turned against Carranza, which led to a widespread civil war and the most violent period of the Mexican Revolution. Wilson, hoping for a coalition government in Mexico to prevent any one actor from wielding too much power, did not offer strong support for or opposition against anyone in the conflict. The occupation of Veracruz and Wilson's picayune objections alienated the Mexican people and their leaders, and helped set the stage for a series of violent disputes along the border between Mexico and the United States.[7]

The Plan of San Diego

Even Diaz's relatively stable reign had barely concealed the discontent among the people along the border between the United States and Mexico. The conflicts between the two countries involved more than politics at the national level. The shifting frontier meant that Americans and Mexicans with different priorities, loyalties, and prejudices found themselves living side by side. Even though Mexicans and Mexican Americans outnumbered Anglo Americans on and across the border, the Anglo Americans dominated the political and economic landscape. Mexicans and Mexican Americans in these border regions faced the difficult question of how to deal with the institutions and culture of their new neighbors. As one historian has written, they embraced "four basic tactics: withdrawal, accommodation, assimilation, and resistance."[8] The majority withdrew, accommodated, or assimilated, but some did resist, and some resisted with violence. As a result, the 19th and early 20th centuries saw the outbreak of countless fights along the border and in the border states.[9]

The Mexican Revolution made the situation worse. Unrest along the border, especially in the Lower Rio Grande, opened the door for lawbreakers to engage in criminal activities, especially livestock rustling. In the first half of 1915, raids and attacks on farms and ranches all along the border increased markedly.[10] But there was more going on than just banditry.

In January, a group of Mexicans and Mexican Americans devised the Plan of San Diego, so-called because it had allegedly originated in the town of San Diego, Texas (although it more likely came from Monterrey, Mexico). The plan called for the reclamation of the southwest United States for Mexico through race war, promising that "every North American over 16 years of age shall be put

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...the Plan of San Diego... called for the reclamation of the southwest United States for Mexico through race war...

to death, and only the aged men, the women and children shall be respected; and on no account shall the traitors to our race be spared or respected." Mexicans and Mexican Americans were not to be alone in the fight—the plan counted on an alliance with Indians, African Americans, and Japanese. Once the revolutionaries had achieved victory, they would set up a new independent republic and arrange to create a separate republic for the blacks who participated.[11]

The creators of the plot had little success in the early part of 1915, and their followers took months to get organized. Two American citizens from the Brownsville, Texas area, Luis de la Rosa and Aniceto Pizaña, played the key role in putting the plan to work. In the early summer of 1915, they went to Mexico and began to recruit troops. They organized the recruits, many of whom had once fought for Carranza, into units of 25 to 100 men and, in July 1915, started launching attacks. At first, the raids looked like a continuation of the earlier, homegrown banditry. As such, the new commander of the Southern Department, Major General Frederick Funston, believed that the responsibility for policing the bandits belonged to the local authorities, not the Army.[12]

The nature of the raids and the raiders indicated why Funston might be so confused. The attacks blended in with criminal activities, and it was unclear who was responsible for anything. The instability in Mexico meant that the leaders who controlled the border regions—Carranza in northeast Mexico and Villa in northwest Mexico—did so only nominally. The Carrancistas along the border with Texas came under the more direct control of General Emiliano Nafarrate, who was not particularly obedient to Carranza. Some of the bandits were Mexican citizens living both in Mexico and the United States; others were Mexican Americans who lived on either side of the border. Some were motivated by revenge against the prejudice of Anglos in the United States. Others acted under orders from Carrancista officials in Mexico. A few were simply robbers out to make money in the chaos. Historian James Sandos correctly warned against giving any one group total responsibility for the attacks:

> The Plan began with followers of Huerta, then was taken over by Germans, who later shared their control with Carranza. But this point must be underscored—the backers did not make the Plan work; they served only as a catalyst. The instability and unpleasantness of border life gave the Plan a semi-independent existence and the backers exploited this situation in rendering support.[13]

As a result of all of this confusion, it took some time before the Army and federal officials recognized the depth of the problem.

The raids picked up in frequency and intensity throughout July. As one historian has written, Plan of San Diego "followers attacked Anglos; attacked symbols of change in the valley such as equipment associated with the railroad, telegraph, automobile and irrigation; and visited reprisals on Mexicans and Tejanos who helped Americans."[14] On 4 July 1915, roughly 40 Mexican bandits entered the United States and killed 2 men during a raid on a ranch near Lyford, Texas.[15] On 9 July, a foreman of a large ranch killed a bandit in an attack.[16] Historian Charles Cumberland described what happened next:

> The following week another raid in the same vicinity emptied a country store and post office; on 17 July marauders killed a youth near Raymondville; and that same night a posse fought a pitched battle with another band. Eight days later, south of Sebastian, raiders numbering approximately 30 burned a bridge; on 31 July, Rancho de los Indios suffered the death of an employee through a raid; on 3 August raiders burned another railroad bridge; and 3 days later, after robbing a store and seizing firearms from individuals, a small band of raiders deliberately executed 2 men.[17]

On 3 August, at Los Tulitos Ranch, 18 miles north of Brownsville, troopers from the 12th Cavalry fought a heated battle with 25 to 50 bandits, only to have the Mexicans escape after nightfall.[18] Five days later, 60 raiders attacked the Norias Ranch 70 miles north of the border, which was defended by a

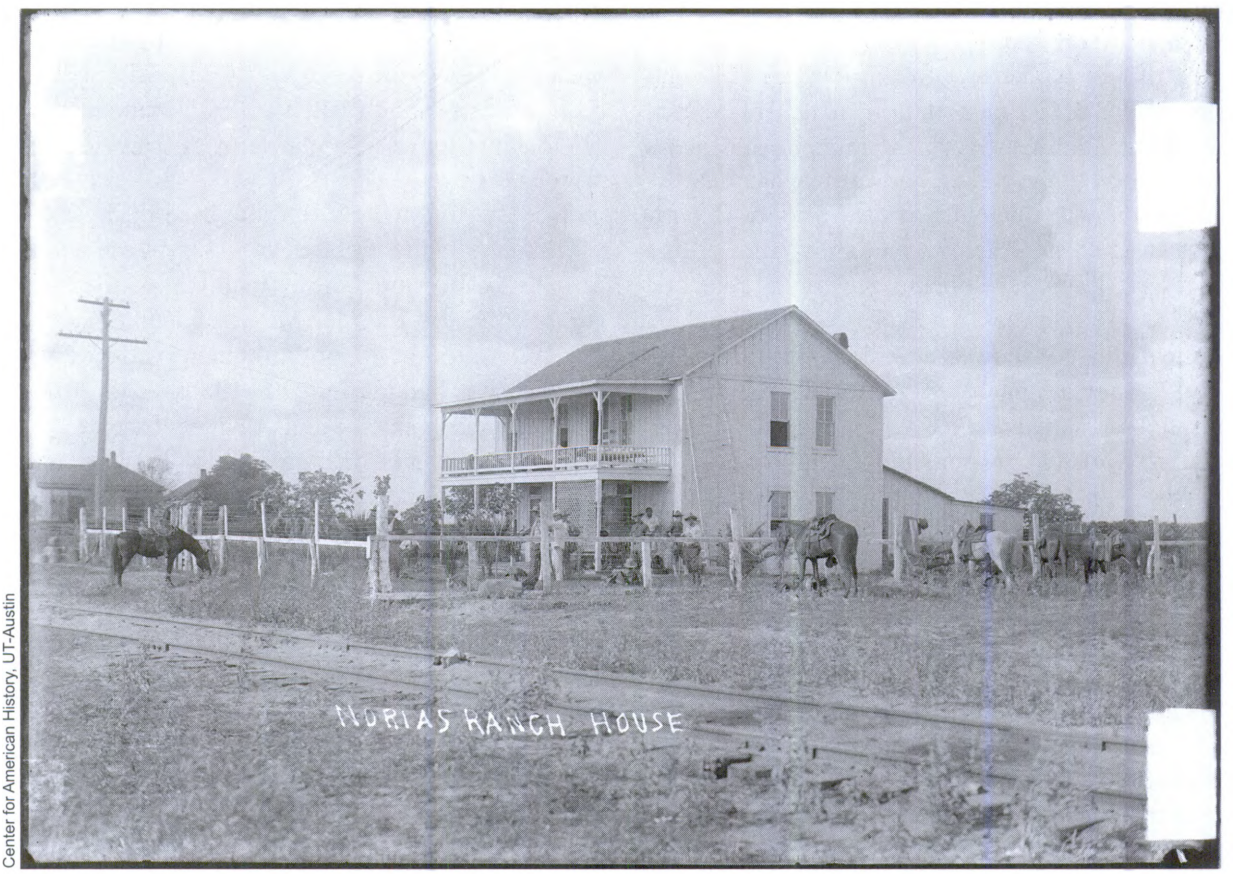
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handful of employees and a small detachment from the 12th Cavalry. The defenders held on and killed several Mexicans in the process.[19]

As July went into August, U.S. Army commanders and public officials began to recognize that they faced a bigger problem than homegrown criminal stealing or rustling.[20] The Plan of San Diego, which had seemed like a fanatical delusion only a few months earlier, now appeared to be gaining momentum. The bandits had broad support in Mexico. Carrancista newspapers throughout the country reprinted the text of the plan and openly encouraged the attacks as a sign of a growing revolution.[21] Most troubling was the fact that the bandits were clearly using Mexico as a refuge and staging point for the raids. In the raid on the Norias Ranch, the bandits had kidnapped 75-year old Manuel Rincones and forced him to act as a guide. After the battle, Rincones informed the authorities, including General Funston, that about half of the raiders had come from Mexico.[22] By 10 August 1915, Funston grasped the problem, "It is impossible for detachments of United States troops when pursuing a particular band of outlaws to determine whether they are all residents of the United States or whether all or some of them are armed marauding bands who have crossed the border into United States territory." Funston believed that the Army should play a more aggressive role in stopping the raids: "This being the case, I have deemed it my duty to continue using military to pursue and capture these bandits . . . Any other course would render troops practically useless . . . and would limit their activity to the duty of acting as guards for certain localities."[23]

Even after Army commanders and national politicians recognized the nature of the difficulty, they were not equipped to respond. Army commanders at every level along the southern border had too few troops to deal with the raids. Brigadier General James Parker, commander of the 1st Cavalry Brigade based at Fort Sam Houston, had to spread 3 cavalry regiments into 16 posts over a 900-mile border. Parker later described his situation:

> In view of the 900-miles front, I jocularly claimed that I had the biggest brigade in the world!



Center for American History, UT-Austin

Las Norias Bandit Raid: Las Norias ranch house. (Runyon (Robert) Photograph Collection, RUN00106)

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> It was composed of 3 regiments—the 2d Cavalry, the 3d Cavalry and the 14th Cavalry.
>
> Each regiment was composed of 12 troops and a machine-gun platoon, numbering about 1,000 men; thus I had about 3,000 men and horses. The detachments along the Rio Grande numbered 16. There were also 30 small camps of patrol detachments or outposts. As there is much heat, dust and alkali water in the desert country along the Rio Grande great hardship was experienced in these camps by both men and horses.
>
> The main camps were some distance from the river. Each maintained two or three outposts of 10 men each near the river, these outposts, by means of small patrols, maintaining communication with each other and with the main camp.[24]

Despite these vigorous efforts, Parker continued, "it was difficult to prevent the Mexican bandits from breaking through the line of outposts."[25]

The specific area where most of the Plan of San Diego raids occurred covered nearly 300 miles of border, and had only 1,100 troops to patrol it, mostly infantry.[26] When the 26th Infantry Regiment arrived in Brownsville in August 1915, its commander, Colonel Robert Bullard, found that he had the regiment plus 3 squadrons of cavalry and 2 field artillery batteries to protect an area that stretched along 100 miles of the Rio Grande and 150 miles north of the border.[27] With the troops so spread out, all they could do was wait for reports of attacks and try to react as quickly as possible. The bandits had all of the initiative. Funston's desperation could be seen in a telegram sent to Washington, D.C. on 30 August:

> If an uprising should occur without sufficient troops to put it down it will mean the murder of hundreds of defenseless people, the destruction of millions in property and a loss of prestige. These things we cannot afford to risk. The measures I wish to take are largely those of prevention . . . If I do not have an adequate force ready for instant use a single act of indiscretion by a subordinate commander on either side may start a conflagration that will extend along the entire border and result in an international crisis . . . A reference to my official reports and recommendations will show that I have heretofore been very conservative in regard to calling for more troops largely because I wished to avoid unnecessary expense. The time for economy has passed, more troops should be supplied regardless of expense.[28]

The time for economy has passed, more troops should be supplied regardless of expense.

—Major General Frederick Funston, 1915

In addition to trying to stop the border raids, the Army had to deal with local authorities and vigilante groups. In the hysteria that followed the raids of July and August, Texas Rangers, local law enforcement, and countless private citizens took it upon themselves to use brutal tactics against anyone, usually Mexican American men, they perceived to be potential bandits. The racial antagonism that helped trigger the violence was described by one early observer: "On one side of the river the slogan was 'Kill the Gringos'; on the other it was 'Kill the Greasers.'"[29]

The Texas Rangers had the ostensible responsibility for keeping order in the state, but a corrupt and inefficient governor had hobbled the organization. Just as the situation on the border grew worse, the force became inexperienced and inept, and Rangers participated and even led attacks against Mexican Americans. In August, civilians in Texas organized the Law and Order League, one of several vigilante groups. These groups confiscated weapons and property, threatened Mexican Americans, and beat, shot, and lynched suspected bandits. In September, one of the groups shot and killed 14 Mexican Americans near Donna, Texas, and left the bodies in a row as a warning to the bandits.[30] In October, vigilantes responded to a raid by hanging or shooting 10 "suspicious Mexicans."[31] Even conservative estimates put the number of Mexican Americans killed at over 100. Funston estimated that state and local officers "did execute by hanging or shooting approximately 300 suspected Mexicans on [the] American side of [the] river."[32] The violence cleared out the valley. As many as half of the 70,000

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residents of the Lower Rio Grande fled in fear of attacks from Mexican bandits or the reprisals of the Anglo Americans.[33] The Army had the responsibility of trying to stop the worst excesses of vigilantes and local law enforcement run amok, all while trying to stop the raids from across the border.



Major General Frederick N. Funston

It seemed everything was working against the Army's efforts to catch the raiders. The terrain made it difficult to track the Mexicans, because "despite the large tracts cleared for commercial agriculture most of Cameron and Hidalgo counties had an abundance of chaparral, mesquite thickets, prickly pear and giant cactus."[34] Then, in 1915, the Wilson administration forbade the U.S. Army from crossing the border, even to protect American interests in Mexico or in hot pursuit of bandits who had crossed into the United States.[35] Historians Charles Harris and Louis Sadler explained how such a policy made the terrain even more favorable to the raiders: "The Rio Grande was a meandering river with banks covered by heavy underbrush, and at the time South Texas was suffering from a severe drought; the flow of the Rio Grande was much reduced, and attackers could pick and choose where to cross into Texas" and, it should be added, back into Mexico.[36]

Predictably, the border restriction frustrated Army commanders. Funston's predecessor as commander of the Southern Department, General Bliss, had insisted that the only way to ensure border security during the Mexican revolution was to occupy Mexican border towns and create a buffer zone between the countries.[37] Army officers on the border, like General Parker, repeatedly expressed their dissatisfaction with not being allowed to pursue raiders over the river.[38] Even as the raids grew worse in July 1915, Funston received a telegram from Washington that explicitly restricted him to reactive tactics:

> The War Department realizes perfectly the undesirability from a military standpoint of the restriction that is placed upon you in not giving you permission to cross the Mexican border in case it should become necessary to use force to protect American life and property on the American side of the line. But this restriction is imposed on account of the necessity of retaining in the hands of the authorities at Washington the final discretion of authorizing a matter of such importance as an invasion of Mexican territory. Under all circumstances the only thing to do is to meet the facts as they arise.[39]

To make matters worse, more and more reports came in that American outposts, soldiers, and even patrol planes were being fired on from the Mexican side of the river, and Army commanders believed that Mexican Carrancista commanders were not doing anything to stop the attacks.[40]

The War Department did provide Funston with more troops. By September, more than half of the Army's mobile units were stationed between Laredo and Brownsville.[41] Still, the attacks kept coming. On 2 September, a series of assaults hit Brownsville, San Benito, and Ojo de Aqua. Between 4 and 6 September, Mexicans and Americans exchanged fire at several crossings along the Rio Grande. The bandits ambushed an Army patrol at Los Indios on 13 September, killing two Americans. On 17 September, the Mexicans and Americans once again exchanged heavy fire over the river, this time at Brownsville. One week later, 80 bandits attacked Progreso and fought a brief but heated battle with the small cavalry detachment in the town. The Mexicans were driven off, but they captured one of the Americans, a Private Richard J. Johnson. At some point during or after their retreat across the river, the raiders killed Johnson, cut off his ears, decapitated him, and put his head on a pike on the south side of the river in full view of the Americans.[42]

The next few weeks were relatively peaceful. Then, on the night of 18 October, De la Rosa and his

Then, in 1915, the Wilson administration forbade the U.S. Army from crossing the border, even to protect American interests...

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followers pulled off one of their most spectacular attacks seven miles north of Brownsville at Tandy Station on the St. Louis, Brownsville and Mexico Railroad. There the bandits had removed the spikes holding down the rails and attached a wire to the tracks. As the train approached, they pulled the wire, causing the engine to overturn. The engineer died in the wreck. De la Rosa and his men boarded the train, began looting, and went after the Anglo passengers. They shot three soldiers, killing one, and killed another civilian passenger. The raiders fled the scene and made their way back over the river before the Army or any local posse could catch them.[43] Three days later, bandits struck a 15-man Signal Corps detachment at Ojo de Aqua on the Rio Grande. Three Americans and five raiders died in the fight.

The raid at Tandy Station and the attack at Ojo de Aqua pushed Funston to more drastic conclusions. He wrote to the War Department requesting authorization to cross the border in pursuit of the bandits and permission to order no quarter during battles and pursuits. "The American inhabitants of the lower border have about reached the limits of their patience in the matter of the border raids and it will not take many more outrages like the recent wreck of a train and the murder of its defenseless passengers to send them over the border," he wrote. "There is but only one way to end it and that is to make it almost certain death to engage in one of those raids."[44] The War Department, though sympathetic to Funston's situation, denied these requests, warning Funston that such actions would do more harm than good. Historian Charles Cumberland summarized the War Department's telegram: "The use of the proposed tactics would be disastrous for the military establishment; press sensationalists would seize the opportunity to accuse the Army of lapsing into barbarism and, no matter how true the charges or how great the need, public reaction would be bitter."[45] The continued raids and Funston's frustrated request made it clear that even with thousands of troops in the lower Rio Grande valley, the Army could not bring order to the frontier region.

Other events stopped the attacks of 1915. By late September, the Americans began to lean toward recognizing Carranza as the de facto leader of Mexico. Several factors influenced this trend. Carranza had clearly seized the advantage in the fighting and controlled most of Mexico's vital natural resources. The Mexican leader promised to initiate some democratic reforms and to protect American lives and American-owned property in Mexico. President Wilson also desired a more stable situation on the southern border so that he could focus his efforts on the war in Europe. Secretary of State Robert Lansing explained the thinking of the Americans in his diary on 10 October 1915:

> Germany desires to keep up the turmoil in Mexico until the United States is forced to intervene; *therefore, we must not intervene.*
>
> Germany does not wish to have any one faction dominant in Mexico; *therefore, we must recognize one faction as dominant in Mexico . . .*
>
> It comes down to this: Our possible relations with Germany must be our first consideration; and all our intercourse with Mexico must be regulated accordingly.[46]

The fact that the Germans repeatedly acted to keep Mexico unstable gave further encouragement to the Wilson administration.[47] If the United States was to play a larger part in World War I, it would not do to have to worry about fighting an irregular war with Mexican forces in the American southwest. At the same time, Carranza began to act to improve the situation. In late September, he replaced General Nafarrate and ordered Mexican officials to crack down on bandits south of the border.[48]

With those considerations in mind, the unrest created by the low-level insurgency no doubt helped push Wilson toward recognition of Carranza. On 19 October 1915, the Americans officially gave de facto recognition to the "First Chief." On 24 October, the raiders attacked near Tandy Station. It was the last raid of the year. Carrancista officials cracked down or bought off the rest of the followers of the Plan of San Diego. The fact that Carranza could shut down the raids so quickly indicated that he may not have ordered the attacks, but he most likely allowed them and used them to his benefit.[49]

The response of the Army to the border raids of 1915 was haphazard at best. General Funston could not cross the border in pursuit of the bandits and could not control local authorities and vigilantes. The presence of the majority of American troops on the border did not stop the raids, and Funston's

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General Funston could not cross the border in pursuit ... The presence of the majority of American troops on the border did not stop the raids...

suggestion that the Army be given a free hand in dealing with bandits only indicated the depth of his frustration. And although the attacks of 1915 had been most frequent in the Lower Rio Grande, that did not mean that the rest of the border was secure. At various times throughout the year, Mexican bandits made raids into all of the border states.[50] These attacks in 1915 made national politicians and Army officers all too aware of the problem of border instability. When the issue came up again the next year, their experiences led them to try a new solution to the problem that led to more violence and the potential for all-out war.

The Columbus Raid and Punitive Expeditions

By the time the United States decided to recognize Carranza, Pancho Villa's fortunes had long since turned for the worse. A series of military defeats at the hands of Carrancista forces had reduced his army to a ragged, demoralized group. But Villa's base of support had always been in the north, and he assumed that he was invincible in the northern states of Chihuahua and Sonora. That confidence led him to attack the Carrancista troops at Aqua Prieta in November 1915. He was completely unaware that the Americans had given a few thousand Carrancista troops free passage through southern Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona so that they might reinforce the besieged outpost. Villa's men walked right into a hail of fire. The battle at Agua Prieta and the follow-up campaign scattered what was left of the Villa's army and forced Villa to turn to guerrilla warfare.[51]



NARA

A photo titled "In camp near San Antonio, Mexico, with the 6th Infantry." Carrancistas went through here on their way to different points along the railroad in search of Villa and his men, 1916.

Up until the events of the summer and fall of 1915, Villa had tried to maintain positive relations with the United States, but his attitude shifted dramatically after Aqua Prieta.[52] That said, the specific motivation for the raid on Columbus, New Mexico, has never been exactly clear—nor has Villa's actual role in planning and executing the attack.[53] What is clear is that on 9 March 1916, Villa led a force of nearly 500 men on an attack of the small town and its U.S. Army outpost, manned by the 13th Cavalry. The Villistas took the town by surprise, but the American troops quickly recovered and fought back. The Mexicans retreated over the border. Seventeen Americans and over 100 Mexicans died during the raid.[54]

Citizen outrage and natural instincts suggested that Villa himself be brought to justice for the attack. Public pronouncements from the Wilson administration indicated as much by announcing that they were sending Brigadier General John J. Pershing on a "punitive" expedition with the mission to capture or kill Villa.[55] However, for the Army, the Columbus raid and punitive expedition were very much a continuation of the previous attacks along the border, and therefore any response had to focus on border security. Stationing more troops in the border region and reacting to raids had not worked the year before, so they took a more direct approach.

After the Columbus raid, Secretary of War Newton Baker went to Army Chief of Staff General Hugh Scott to request "an expedition into Mexico

...on 9 March 1916, [Pancho] Villa led a force of nearly 500 men on an attack of the small town and its U.S. Army outpost...

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to catch Villa." Scott replied, "Mr. Secretary, do you want the United States to make war on one man? Suppose he should get on the train and go to Guatemala, Yucatan, or South America; are you going to go after him?" The general convinced Baker that a more realistic and useful goal was to capture or destroy Villa's band.[56] General Funston came to a similar conclusion about what had to be done in response to Columbus: "Unless Villa is relentlessly pursued and his forces scattered he will continue raids . . . If we fritter away the whole command guarding towns, ranches and railroads it will accomplish nothing if he can find safe refuge across the line after every raid."[57]

The War Department's March 1916 orders to Funston confirmed the Army's concerns:

> You will promptly organize an adequate military force of troops from your department under the command of Brigadier General John J. Pershing and will direct him to proceed promptly across the border in pursuit of the Mexican band which attacked the town of Columbus, New Mexico, and the troops there on the morning of the ninth. . . In any event the work of these troops will be regarded as finished as soon as Villa's band or bands are known to be broken up.[58]

Three days later, the War Department repeated the orders to Funston in order to avoid any confusion: "The President desires that your attention be especially and earnestly called to his determination that the expedition into Mexico is *limited* to the purposes originally stated, namely *the pursuit and dispersion of the band or bands that attacked Columbus, N.M.*"[59]

The War Department did more than order the punitive expedition. The Villa raid gave the Army the opportunity to expand its tactics all along the border, and the Army meant to take advantage of that chance. The 10 March orders to Funston continued:

> You will instruct the commanders of your troops on the border opposite of the state of Chihuahua and Sonora, or, roughly, within the field of possible operations by Villa and not under the control of the force of the de facto government, that they are authorized to use the same tactics of defense and pursuit in the event of similar raids across the border and into the United States.[60]

The militarization of the frontier region had degenerated into direct conflict. American troops were crossing over the border on raids of their own.

On 15 March, Pershing led thousands of American troops into Mexico, beginning a campaign that would take him hundreds of miles through the state of Chihuahua in pursuit of Villa and his band.[61] But Pershing's was not the only crossborder raid of 1916. As American troops chased Villa across the Mexican countryside, the issue of border security became even more prominent in the minds of the Americans. They had reason to be concerned. De la Rosa, one of the leaders of the Plan of San Diego, believed that the trouble with Villa offered an opportunity to renew his efforts, so he began reconstituting his force. He and several other Mexican leaders reorganized the military wing of the Plan of San Diego. For a time, this force worked with elements of the Carranza government to threaten the United States with invasion as a method for driving out Pershing's force. The Mexican government ultimately decided not to back this effort, but that did not stop a renewal of raids.[62]

On 5 May 1916, a group of roughly 80 men raided the towns of Glenn Springs and Boquillas, Texas, destroying property and kidnapping 2 Americans. Funston quickly identified the threat as coming from the renewed efforts of the proponents of the Plan of San Diego and worried about the reaction of the civilian population: "I feel I should state frankly that a resumption of these raids marked



American Soldiers guarding some of Villa's bandits who were caught in the mountains of Mexico, 27 April 1916, in a camp near Namiquipa, Mexico.

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with all the savage cruelties and barbarities of the lower border raids of last fall will rouse the people of that region to fury and cause them to cross the river in large numbers regardless of wishes of the Government and take drastic action."[63] As they had the year before, Army commanders requested more troops to stop the raids and avert vigilantism. After the Glenn Springs raid, Generals Funston and Scott sent a telegram to the War Department:

> We expect many attacks along the whole border similar to the latest attack in Big Bend Rio Grande.
>
> Our line is thin and weak everywhere and inadequate to protect border anywhere if attacked in force . . . we think the border should at once be supported by at least 150,000 additional troops . . . In order to give some added protection to border points exposed to raids it is recommended militia of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona be called out at once.[64]

The Wilson administration complied, sending much of the Regular Army to the southwest, and federalizing the Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas National Guards on 9 May 1916.[65]

But in 1916, the United States did more than send additional troops to the border. Much to the surprise of the bandits who attacked Glenn Springs and Boquillas, the retreat across the Rio Grande did not give them refuge. Major George T. Langhorne, driving his own Cadillac, led 5 cavalry troops of the 8 and 14th Cavalry in the initial pursuit across the border, declaring "I am clear of red tape, and I know no Rio Grande."[66] A few days later, Colonel Frederick W. Sibley led another unit after the Glenn Springs raiders. The Sibley and Langhorne force, dubbed by some "the little punitive expedition," traveled more than 100 miles into Mexico, suffered no casualties, dispersed the bandits, rescued the captives, and even recovered some of the stolen property.[67]

When a party of Mexicans attempted to burn bridges above Laredo on the night of 11-12 June, American forces tracked them over the river, killing three, including the leader.[68] Likewise, an attack on an Army unit at San Ignacio, Texas, on the night of 15 June led to a firefight that saw eight bandits killed, "and the rest pursued as they sought the sanctuary of Mexican territory."[69] A similar course of events occurred in mid-June, when a group of

..."the little punitive expedition," traveled more than 100 miles into Mexico...dispersed the bandits, rescued the captives, and even recovered some of the stolen property.

Mexicans made an attack near San Benito, Texas. This time Colonel Robert Bullard led a mixed group of cavalry and infantry in automobiles over the border and dispersed the raiders.[70]

The situation had become so tense that on 18 June, the Wilson administration federalized the rest of the country's National Guard units and sent them to the border.[71] These new troops were so untrained and unprepared that many of the regular officers thought they detracted from the mission of border security and made it nearly impossible to launch any more raids into Mexico.[72] As these Guard units prepared for battle, some of the commanders on the border believed that they had a chance to launch a major campaign into Mexico and shut down the raids once and for all. Funston suggested to his superiors that the only way to truly stop the raids would be to have the Army move south of the border in large numbers to create a buffer area by occupying "strategic points."[73]

But just as the training began to take hold, orders came down prohibiting American forces from crossing the border.[74] The Wilson administration once again found itself questioning just how much time, energy, and resources it wanted to spend in Mexico with the war on in Europe. Likewise, Carranza really did not want to risk an open war with the United States that could lead to him being thrown from power. As Wilson began to limit Army reaction to raids, Carranza began to crack down on the raiders on his side of the border. He ordered his commanders on the border to cooperate with the Americans in stopping the raids. A good example of these new efforts could be seen in the aftermath of the San Benito raid. After Bullard and the Americans withdrew, the Mexican commander in the region, General Alfredo Ricaut, pursued the bandits, eventually capturing 40 men. With his plan

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in tatters, De la Rosa went to Monterrey. There, the local authorities held him under a sort of house arrest, but refused to hand him over to the United States.[75] Nevertheless, by July, the Plan of San Diego was dead.

The issue of border security dominated the diplomatic discussions between the United States and Mexico, so much so that the withdrawal of the punitive expedition became predicated on the stabilization of the border. In July 1916, Secretary of State Lansing proposed a joint American-Mexican peace commission to settle the Mexican troubles. The commission was to come to agreements on all manner of issues, but among these issues, border security and stability clearly took precedence.[76] Indeed, the commission first met in September 1916 and spent the next four and a half months jockeying over questions of border passage, hot pursuit, and U.S.-Mexican cooperation in border security.[77] It was in this context that when Pershing's forces finally withdrew in January 1917 without capturing or killing Villa, the Americans declared the expedition a success. Secretary of War Newton Baker wrote in his 1917 annual report:

> The expedition was in no sense punitive, but rather defensive. Its objective, of course, was the capture of Villa if that could be accomplished, but its real purpose was the extension of the power of the United States into a country disturbed beyond control of the constituted authorities of the Republic of Mexico, as a means of controlling lawless aggregations of bandits and preventing attacks by them across the international frontier. This purpose it fully and finally accomplished.[78]

Chief of Staff General Hugh Scott agreed, "Pershing made a complete success in the accomplishment of his orders from the War Department point of view but the State Department, by putting out erroneous information, spoiled the effect in the minds of the public."[79]

Perhaps this post-expedition insistence that the mission had always been to achieve border security was merely a justification for not capturing Villa. Pershing certainly felt that he could have done more if only the Wilson administration had given him more freedom to act.[80] But in light of the border disputes of 1915 and 1916 and the correspondence from Army commanders on the ground, there can be little doubt that they viewed the pursuit of Mexican bandits across the Rio Grande as an essential tactic in the effort to preserve American border security. That tactic nearly led to open war.

Conclusions

Soon thereafter, the cross-border raids tapered off, and the situation stabilized. Some Army units stayed in the Southern Department—which was renamed the VIII Corps Area in 1920—but most returned to their stations across the United States. The next decades saw renewed tensions along the border from time to time, but nothing that rose to the levels of the 1910s. The United States and Mexico solved most of the rest of the border disputes of the 20th century by treaties. However, for that time in the 1910s when the Army played the key role in trying to provide stability and security along the border, the situation became very messy and nearly degenerated into war.

Obviously, the current situation along the United States-Mexico border is a far cry from the dark, violent days of the 1910s. There is no contemporary equivalent to the Plan of San Diego, and the Mexican government is far more stable than it was during the revolution. That said, there are important analogues, and the circumstances on the frontier are every bit as complex today as they were 90 years ago. In particular, by the 1980s, two problems had emerged: illegal immigration and the crossborder transport of illicit drugs. Mexican immigrants come across the border by the millions every year, using well-developed systems to bypass American border patrols. At the same time, and similar to the cross-border cattle rustlers of the 1910s, drug traffickers use this chaotic human exchange and the long, relatively open borders to send a flood of narcotics from Central and South America into the United States. The primary responsibility for border security is in the hands of the Border Patrol, run by Immigration and Naturalization Services. Like the Army in the 1910s, they are woefully undermanned, with not enough agents to cover all the miles of border.

What is more, much like the 1910s, those responsible for border security have to consider complicated ethnic politics and national-level diplomatic considerations. Rightly or wrongly, some Mexican American interest groups and civil rights activists take exception to policies that appear to target specific

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ethnic groups for exclusion from the United States. National, state, and local American political leaders who depend on votes from such groups are wary of taking strong positions on border security.

In the 1990s, the United States, Canada, and Mexico joined together in the North American Free Trade Agreement, which further opened the borders within North America to business, and made it that much more difficult to exclude illegal immigrants and illicit narcotics. As a result of these trends, Border Patrol agents followed highly circumscribed rules of engagement to prevent outbreaks of violence that might upset the delicate political balance.[81]

The terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 complicated this already tendentious issue. All of the terrorists had come from overseas, and even though none had come from across the southern border, it was not too much of a stretch to imagine that the terrorists would eventually try to hide within the steady flow of illegal traffic from Mexico. For this reason, a number of private citizens pooled together to help aid the authorities in resisting illegal immigration. Calling themselves "Minutemen Civil Defense Corps," they set up watch stations along the border to report sightings of illegal crossborder activities to the Border Patrol. Thus far, they have not engaged in any known acts of violence, but they nevertheless have taken on the appearance of an anti-immigrant vigilante group.[82]

In the summer of 2006, the pressure to deal with the southern border led to the deployment of 6,000 National Guard troops to the southern border in Operation Jump Start—a mission intended to support existing border authorities while the Border Patrol recruited thousands more agents to handle security on their own. American political and military leaders made clear their intent not to militarize the border or invade Mexico, and the soldiers operated under strict orders to observe and report but not engage with illegal immigration or narcotics smuggling.[83]

Where then in this situation is the major area of concern for the military? The same place as it was in the 1910s: escalation. The border region is peopled with individuals of varying nationalities and national allegiances, and those allegiances can fuel intense emotions. Local authorities have their own agendas, which can be at cross purposes with the concerns of the national government, and volunteer law enforcement or vigilante groups might choose to act outside of local official policies. The presence of international boundaries means that local authorities must work with national-level diplomats to find solutions to disputes. The danger only grows when the military moves into the area.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, military forces on the border in support of the war against drugs got caught up in a few high-profile incidents when they used force against perceived and real threats. In one case of mistaken identity and misunderstood intentions, a Marine patrol killed an American citizen.[84] Since the 2006 deployment to the border, National Guard units have had to hold fire on several occasions, including when a group of armed bandits overran a military outpost in early 2007.[85] At the same time, there has been a significant increase in violence directed at Border Patrol agents—the men and women with whom the military works everyday.[86]

The American military, even the more streamlined and nuanced force of today, is still an instrument of war. Its natural inclination is to use force, and it is unrealistic to expect that trained military forces



U.S. Army, SGT Jim Greenhill

LTG H. Steven Blum, chief, National Guard Bureau, talks with Border Patrol agents during a visit to the U.S. border with Mexico near Columbus, New Mexico, on 29 November 2006.

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will forever resist the urge to fight back to defend themselves and their friends.[87] Nor is it likely that state and national political leaders can or will allow their charges to be attacked perpetually without allowing some sort of response. When the military is involved, there is a great temptation to use force, as everyone discovered in the 1910s. But as everyone also discovered in that tumultuous decade, the use of force along the border can have dramatic and very negative effects.

What to do? The decision to restrain the National Guard has by and large worked to prevent escalation on the border in the short term. But it is predicated on a decisive increase in Border Patrol agents in the near future. If that happens, then the military can withdraw. But if it does not happen, and the chances look somewhat dim, then American policymakers must make a choice.[88] Either the military must be empowered to enforce border security by all means available, which will in effect militarize the border, or the military must be withdrawn to allow the undermanned Border Patrol and local authorities to handle the job. The toothless military presence on the border cannot last forever. The U.S. military has enough on its plate fighting the nation's conventional and unconventional wars; it cannot and must not become a permanent southern border neighborhood watch association. ***MR***

NOTES

1. On the Mexican Revolution, see Robert E. Quirk, *The Mexican Revolution, 1914-1915* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1960); and Alan Knight, *The Mexican Revolution*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

2. John B. Wilson, *Maneuver and Firepower: The Evolution of Divisions and Separate Brigades* (Washington, DC: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1998), 29-34.

3. War Department, General Orders No. 9, 6 February, 1913, Wilson, *Maneuver and Firepower*, 31-34.

4. Robert E. Quirk, *An Affair of Honor: Woodrow Wilson and the Occupation of Veracruz* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1962); Frederick S. Calhoun, *Power and Principle: Armed Intervention in Wilsonian Foreign Policy* (OH: Kent State University Press, 1986), 34-51.

5. Huerta fled to Europe and later tried to return to Mexico through the United States. He failed in these efforts and died of illness in 1916. Carranza's title at this point was "First Chief of the Constitutionalists." George J. Rausch, "The Exile and Death of Victoriano Huerta," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 42 (May 1962): 133-51; and Allen Gerlach, "Conditions Along the Border—1915: The Plan of San Diego," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 43 (July 1968), 195-98.

6. Wilson once described Carranza as "trying and pig-headed." Quoted in Kendrick A. Clements, "Woodrow Wilson's Mexican Policy, 1913-15," *Diplomatic History*, 4 (Spring 1980): 133. Further evidence of Wilson's ambivalence toward the Mexican leadership can be found in his public statement of 2 June 1915 in *Foreign Relations of the United States* [FRUS]—*1915* (Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office [GPO], 1924), 694-95.

7. On diplomacy between the United States and Mexico in this period, see Robert Freeman Smith, *The United States and Revolutionary Nationalism in Mexico, 1916-1932* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 1-42; P. Edward Haley, *Revolution and Intervention: The Diplomacy of Taft and Wilson with Mexico, 1910-1917* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1970); Arthur S. Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), 107-32; Arthur S. Link, *Woodrow Wilson: The Struggle for Neutrality, 1914-1915* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1960), 232-66, 456-94; Clements, "Woodrow Wilson's Mexican Policy," 113-36; Friedrich Katz, *The Secret War in Mexico: Europe, The United States, and the Mexican Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 3-300; and Friedrich Katz, *The Life and Times of Pancho Villa* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), 501-2.

8. Robert J. Rosenbaum, *Mexicano Resistance in the Southwest* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 14.

9. Most studies of Mexican Americans in the border states tend to emphasize racial discrimination on the part of Anglo Americans as a key aspect in encouraging Mexican American violent resistance, including the "Plan of San Diego." See for example, Ibid., 18-157; Juan Gomez-Q, "Plan of San Diego Reviewed," in *Chicano: The Evolution of a People*, ed. Renato Rosaldo, et al. (Minneapolis: Winston Press, 1973), 123-27; and David Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987), 117-25. For a discussion of the role of African Americans in the racial issues of the border during the Mexican Revolution, see James N. Leiker, *Racial Borders: Black Soldiers Along the Rio Grande* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002), 146-71.

10. Charles H. Harris and Louis R. Sadler, *The Texas Rangers and the Mexican Revolution: The Bloodiest Decade, 1910-1920* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 196.

11. Reproductions and descriptions of the plan can be found in many places. James A. Sandos, *Rebellion in the Borderlands: Anarchism and the Plan of San Diego, 1901-1923* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 79-84; Don M. Coerver and Linda B. Hall, *Texas and the Mexican Revolution* (San Antonio, TX: Trinity University Press, 1984), 85-87; Charles H. Harris and Louis R. Sadler, "The Plan of San Diego and the Mexican-United States War Crisis of 1916: A Reexamination," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 58 (August 1978): 381-408; Harris and Sadler, *Texas Rangers*, 210-21; James A. Sandos, "The Plan of San Diego: War and Diplomacy on the Texas Border, 1915-1916," *Arizona and the West*, 14 (Spring 1972): 5-24; William M. Hager, "The Plan of San Diego: Unrest on the Texas Border in 1915," *Arizona and the West*, 5 (Winter 1963): 327-36. Allen Gerlach argues that the plan was part of a larger attempt to return Huerta to power in "Conditions Along the Border," 198-99.

12. Clarence C. Clendenen, *Blood on the Border: The United States Army and the Mexican Irregulars* (London: Macmillan, 1969), 180-81.

13. Sandos, "Plan of San Diego," 10, fn. 9.

14. Sandos, *Rebellion in the Borderlands*, 188, fn. 37.

15. Ibid., 87-94.

16. Harris and Sadler, *Texas Rangers*, 250.

17. Charles C. Cumberland, "Border Raids in the Lower Rio Grande Valley-1915," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 57 (Jan 1954): 291-92.

18. Harris and Sadler, *Texas Rangers*, 261.

19. Ibid., 263-67; Sandos, *Rebellion in the Borderlands*, 90-91.

20. Cumberland, "Border Raids," 286-88.

21. Harris and Sadler, "Plan of San Diego," 387-88.

22. Harris and Sadler, *Texas Rangers*, 268.

23. Funston to War Department, 10 August 1915, *FRUS—1915*, 803.

24. James Parker, *The Old Army: Memories, 1872-1918* (Philadelphia: Dorrance Publishing Company, 1929), 419; Allan R. Millett, *The General: Robert L. Bullard and Officership in the United States Army, 1881-1925* (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1975), 276.

25. Ibid., 419.

26. Coerver and Hall, *Texas and the Mexican Revolution*, 88.

27. Millett, *The General*, 279. For more on the various departments and districts of the era, see *Order of Battle of the United States Land Forces in the World War, Volume 3, Part 2: Zone of the Interior: Territorial Departments, Tactical Divisions* (Washington, DC: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1988).

28. Funston to Secretary of War, 30 August 1915, *FRUS—1915*, 806.

29. Walter Prescott Webb, *The Texas Rangers: A Century of Frontier Defense* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965), 486.

30. Harris and Sadler, "Plan of San Diego," 391.

31. Coerver and Hall, *Texas and the Mexican Revolution*, 106.

32. Quoted in Harris and Sadler, "Plan of San Diego," 391-92.

33. Cumberland, "Border Raids," 302-11; Millett, *The General*, 278-79. It should be noted that some of the initial attacks in the summer of 1915 made use of friendly Mexican Americans living in Texas to attack targets over 70 miles north of the border. In late August, September, and October, after the local authorities and citizenry went on the rampage in their efforts to clear the valley of potential bandits, nearly all of the attacks occurred within a few miles of the border. The adherents to the Plan of San Diego needed aid north of the border if they wanted to attack in depth and sustain their efforts. The hostile population in Texas quickly eliminated such aid. Funston reported in September 1915, "It is well established that heretofore many individuals comprising bandit bands who have given us so much trouble have been made up of persons crossing from [the] Mexican side and getting arms from concealed stores on [the] American side and then starting on prearranged raids. When pursued and hard pressed either by sheriffs' posses, rangers, or soldiers, the bands have broken up and recrossed into Mexico." McCain to Lansing, 13 September 1915, *FRUS—1915*, 810-11.

34. Harris and Sadler, *Texas Rangers*, 249.

35. Clendenen, *Blood on the Border*, 183; Breckinridge to Bryan, 24 March 1915, *FRUS—1915*, 794.

36. Harris and Sadler, *Texas Rangers*, 249-50.

37. Millett, *The General*, 275-76. See also Frank E. Vandiver, *Black Jack: The Life and Times of John J. Pershing*, vol. 1 (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1977), 584; and Frederick Palmer, *Bliss, Peacemaker: The Life and Letters of Tasker H. Bliss* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1934), 101-19.

38. Parker, *Old Army*, 418-19.

39. Breckinridge to Funston, 24 July 1915, *FRUS—1915*, 800.

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40. Lansing to Johnson, 28 August 1915, *FRUS—1915*, 804; Lansing to Silliman, 28 August 1915, *FRUS—1915*, 805; Puig to Lansing, 28-29 August 1915, *FRUS—1915*, 805-6; Cumberland, "Border Raids," 299.

41. Ibid., 296-99; Harris and Sadler, "Plan of San Diego," 389.

42. Sandos, "Plan of San Diego," 17; Harris and Sadler, *Texas Rangers*, 278-87; Cumberland, "Border Raids," 298-99.

43. "Testimony of John I. Kleiber," 23 January 1920, United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, *Investigation of Mexican Affairs* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1920); Sandos, *Rebellion in the Borderlands*, 101-5; Harris and Sadler, *Texas Rangers*, 292-93.

44. Quoted in Harris and Sadler, *Texas Rangers*, 293; Cumberland, "Border Raids," 304.

45. Cumberland, "Border Raids," 305.

46. Quoted in Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era*, 134; (Emphasis in original).

47. Katz, *Secret War*, 50-350; Hager, "Plan of San Diego," 331-33; Gerlach, "Conditions Along the Border," 196-201; Sandos, "Plan of San Diego," 11-12; and James A. Sandos, "German Involvement in Northern Mexico, 1915-1916: A New Look at the Columbus Raid," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 50 (February 1970): 70-88. The seriousness of German interference in Mexico would become more widely known in early 1917, when German Foreign Minister Arthur Zimmermann sent his famous telegram to the German representative in Mexico City encouraging the Mexicans to attack the American southwest in the event of open war between the United States and Germany. Zimmermann sent the telegram under the assumption that Germany's declaration of unrestricted submarine warfare against shipping to the Allied powers would cause the United States to enter the war. British intelligence intercepted and decoded the telegram, and then maneuvered to make its existence known to the Americans. The Zimmermann telegram helped spur the United States to war. Barbara Tuchman, *The Zimmermann Telegram* (New York: Viking Press, 1958); Katz, *Secret War*, 350-83.

48. Link, *Woodrow Wilson: Struggle for Neutrality*, 629-44; Correspondence in *Foreign Relations of the United States—The Lansing Papers, 1914-1920*, vol. 2 (Washington DC: GPO, 1940), 528-54.

49. Hager, "Plan of San Diego," 336.

50. Knight, *Mexican Revolution*, vol. 2, 344; Sandos, "Plan of San Diego," 16-17.

51. A solid popular account of these affairs is John S.D. Eisenhower, *Intervention!: The United States and the Mexican Revolution, 1913-1917* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1993).

52. On Villa's turn against the United States, see Katz, *Life and Times of Pancho Villa*, 499-541, and Clarence C. Clendenen, *The United States and Pancho Villa: A Study in Unconventional Diplomacy* (Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press, 1961), 192-236.

53. The most common interpretation, especially from the first historians, was that Villa acted out of revenge for the American recognition of Carranza. Others have argued that the raid was a foraging expedition that took aim at a few individuals who Villa believed had wronged him. The most prominent Villa biographer maintains that Villa acted to preserve Mexico's independence because he mistakenly believed that Carranza had made a deal with the Wilson administration that surrendered Mexican autonomy to the United States. Katz, *Life and Times of Pancho Villa*, 551-64, 884 fn. 13; Friedrich Katz, "Pancho Villa and the Attack on Columbus, New Mexico," *American Historical Review*, 83 (February 1978): 101-30. At least one historian makes the claim that German agents played a key role in instigating the Columbus raid and punitive expedition. Sandos, "German Involvement," 79-88.

54. Eisenhower, *Intervention*, 217-27; Katz, *Life and Times of Pancho Villa*, 564-66; Clendenen, *Blood on the Border*, 196-210; Joseph A. Stout, *Border Conflict: Villistas, Carrancistas and the Punitive Expedition, 1915-1920* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University, 1999)33-44.

55. Hugh L. Scott, *Some Memories of a Soldier* (New York: Century, 1928), 519-20.

56. Ibid.

57. Funston to Adjutant General, 10 March 1916, *FRUS—1916*, 482-83; Calhoun, *Power and Principle*, 53.

58. Quoted in Scott, *Some Memories*, 520-21.

59. Quoted in James A. Sandos, "Pancho Villa and American Security: Woodrow Wilson's Mexican Diplomacy Reconsidered," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 13 (November 1981): 301, [emphasis in original].

60. Quoted in Scott, *Some Memories*, 520-21.

61. There is an extensive literature on the "punitive expedition." See, for example, John J. Pershing, "Punitive Expedition Report," Colonia Dublan, Mexico, 10 October 1916; Donald Smythe, *Guerrilla Warrior: The Early Life of John J. Pershing* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), 217-79; Vandiver, *Black Jack*, vol. 2, 604-68; Andrew J. Birtle, *U.S. Army Counterinsurgency and Contingency Operations Doctrine, 1860-1941* (Washington, DC: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 2004), 199-208; Haldeen Braddy, *Pershing's Mission to Mexico* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1973); Herbert Mason, *The Great Pursuit* (New York: Random House, 1970); Roger G. Miller, *A Preliminary to War: The 1st Aero Squadron and the Mexican Punitive Expedition of 1916* (Washington, DC: Air Force History and Museums Program, 2003); Jeff Jore, "Pershing's Mission in Mexico: Logistics and Preparation for War in Europe," *Military Affairs*, 52 (July 1988): 117-21; and Mitchell Yockelson, "The United States Armed Forces and the Mexican Punitive Expedition," 2 Parts, *Prologue*, 29 (Fall 1997 and Winter 1997).

62. Harris and Sadler, "Plan of San Diego," 394-98.

63. Funston to Secretary of War, 7 June 1916, *FRUS—1916*, 568-69.

64. Funston and Scott to Secretary of War, 8 May 1916, *FRUS—1917*, 543-44.

65. United States War Department, *Annual Report–1916*, vol. 1, 11.

66. Quoted in Coerver and Hall, *Texas and the Mexican Revolution*, 100.

67. Sandos, "Plan of San Diego," 21; Coerver and Hall, *Texas and the Mexican Revolution*, 100; Ronnie C. Tyler, "The Little Punitive Expedition in the Big Bend," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 78 (January 1975), 271-91; Linda B. Hall and Don M. Coerver, *Revolution on the Border: The United States and Mexico, 1910-1920* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 71-74; Funston to Secretary of War, 7 May 1916, *FRUS—1916*, 542.

68. See correspondence in *FRUS—1916*, 573-75.

69. Harris and Sadler, "Plan of San Diego," 399.

70. Parker, *Old Army*, 424-25; Millett, *The General*, 284; Sandos, "Plan of San Diego," 22-23; Stout, *Border Conflict*, 81-83; Harris and Sadler, "Plan of San Diego," 399-400.

71. United States War Department, *Annual Report—1916*, vol. 1, 11-12.

72. Millett, *The General*, 285-90.

73. Coerver and Hall, *Texas and the Mexican Revolution*, 100-1.

74. Parker, *Old Army*, 425-29.

75. Ibid., 424-25; Millett, *The General*, 284; Sandos, "Plan of San Diego," 22-23; Stout, *Border Conflict*, 81-83; Harris and Sadler, "Plan of San Diego," 399-402.

76. Lansing to Wilson, 3 July 1916, *FRUS—Lansing Papers*, vol. 2, 560-62. See also "Correspondence Between Mexico and the United States Regarding the American Punitive Expedition, 1916," *American Journal of International Law*, 10 (July 1916), 179-225.

77. American Commissioners to the Secretary of State, 26 April 1917, *Foreign Relations of the United States—1917* (Washington DC: GPO, 1926), 916-38.

78. Quoted in Sandos, "Pancho Villa and American Security," 310. Baker repeated the theme on later occasions, telling an audience at one point he was glad not to capture Villa because Pershing's force in Mexico deterred major attacks on the border. Smythe, *Guerilla Warrior*, 266.

79. Scott, *Some Memories*, 521.

80. Smythe, *Guerrilla Warrior*, 267-69.

81. Matt M. Matthews, *The U.S. Army on the Mexican Border: A Historical Perspective*, Long War Series Occasional Paper 22 (Fort Leavenworth, KS: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2007), 73-84; Graham H. Turbiville, "US-Mexican Border Security: Civil-Military Cooperation," *Military Review*, 89 (July-August 1999): 29-39; and Malia Politzer, "'It's Our Job to Stop That Dream,'" *Reason*, 38 (April 2007): 40-49.

82. Jim Gilchrist and Jerome Corsi, *Minutemen: The Battle to Secure America's Borders* (Los Angeles, CA: World Ahead Publishing, 2006); Solana Larsen, "The Anti-Immigration Movement: From Shovels to Suits," *NACLA Report on the Americas*, 40 (May-June 2007): 14; and Joseph Lelyveld, "The Border Dividing Arizona," *New York Times Magazine*, 14 October 2006, 40.

83. Dennis Steele, "Operation Jump Start: National Guard Aids Border Patrol Mission," *Army* (Novemeber 2006): 16-37; Stew Magnuson, "On the Line," *National Defense*, 92 (August 2007): 60-66; Rene Romo, "Guardsmen Deploy to Border," *Albuquerque Journal*, 11 June 2006, B1; John W. Gonzalez, "General Says Guard Will Look, Not Shoot," *Knight Ridder Tribune News*, 16 June 2006, 1; Susan Ferriss, "Guard's Border Role Support, Not Pursuit: U.S. Patrol has Enforcement Duty," *Knight Ridder Tribune News*, 20 July 2006, 1; and Daniel B. Wood, "New Troops at US Border," *Christian Science Monitor*, 27 July 2006, 1.

84. Matthews, *U.S. Army on the Mexican Border*, 80.

85. Jerry Seper, "Troops Flee from Border Outpost," *Washington Times*, 6 January 2007, A01; Jerry Seper, "A New Role for the Undermanned Border Patrol; Unarmed National Guardsmen get a 'Nanny Patrol'," *Washington Times*, 17 August 2006, A01.

86. Faye Bowers, "On Tighter US Border with Mexico, Violence Rises," *Christian Science Monitor*, 24 April 2007, 1; Faye Bowers, "US Fights Border-Crime Epidemic," *Christian Science Monitor*, 25 April 2007, 2; Daniel Gilbert, "Shooting Case has Border Agents on Edge," *Christian Science Monitor*, 5 June 2007, 3; Richard A. Serrano, "Drug War Fuels Border Violence," *Seattle Times*, 20 August 2007, A3; Jerry Seper, "Lawmen Under Siege along Mexico Border," *Washington Times*, 15 November 2007, A1; Jerry Seper, "Border Agents Assaulted at Unprecedented Rate," *Washington Times*, 3 January 2008, A4; and R. Cort Kirkwood, "Border Town Violence," *New American*, 22 (7 August 2006): 25-28.

87. On the tedium of the Guard's mission, and some local anger over that mission, see John W. Gonzalez, "Guardsmen's Behavior Called Isolated Incident," *Knight Ridder Tribune News*, 17 September 2006, 1; and Jerry Seper, "Texas Sheriffs Slam Inaction on Border," *Washington Times*, 26 September 2006, A04.

88. On the recruitment efforts, see Howard Fischer, "Bidding War is On for Border Agents," *Arizona Daily Star*, 17 May 2007, A1, and Meg Jones, "At the Border, A Second Front," *Milwaukee Journal Sentinal*, 4 March 2007, A1. There has been an ongoing push from state leaders to extend Operation Jump Start. See "Gov. Schwarzenegger Calls for Extension of Operation Jump Start," *US Fed News Service*, 1 February 2008; Eric Rosenberg, "National Guard Pulls Border Troops," *Beaumont Enterprise*, 20 September 2007, A5; Jerry Seper, "Guard Troop Pulled Back from Border," *Washington Times*, 9 August 2007, A1; Howard Fischer, "Gov.: Leave Guard on Border," *Arizona Daily Star*, 4 August 2007, A1; "Rep. Boozman Announces His Support of Expanding Operation Jump Start," *US Fed News Service*, 27 February 2007; and John W. Gonzalez, "Guard Will Keep Duty on Borders," *Knight Ridder Tribune News*, 10 November 2006, 1.

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Persuasion and Coercion in Counterinsurgency Warfare

Andrew J. Birtle, Ph.D.

"IT IS EVIDENT," remarked Secretary of War Elihu Root at the end of the Philippine War, "that the insurrection has been brought to an end both by making a war distressing and hopeless on the one hand and by making peace attractive."[1] Root's appraisal holds true for much of the U.S. Army's experience in waging irregular wars. Nevertheless, there remains much confusion over the roles that persuasion and coercion play in rebellions and other internal conflicts. Having recently concluded the second in a two-volume study on the U.S. Army's experience in waging counterinsurgency warfare, I'd like to explore the relationship between force and politics by examining three conflicts that the United States Army was involved in during the 19th and 20th centuries: the War of the Rebellion (the U.S. Civil War, 1861-1865), the Philippine War (1899-1902), and the Vietnam War (1954-1975).

The War of the Rebellion

President Abraham Lincoln understood the importance of political factors when he set out to defeat the Southern rebellion against the U.S. government. During the early stages of the conflict, he charted a moderate course, both to pave the way for reconciliation and to mollify opinion in the Border States. He avoided attacking the South's "peculiar institution" (slavery), offered amnesty, commuted sentences, released civilian prisoners, and tried to restore normal civil life to occupied areas as soon as possible. Most of his commanders embraced these policies, and when they did not, he rebuked or removed them.

Lincoln's moderation failed to persuade Southerners to lay down their arms, however, and over time the president accepted sterner measures to control and, if necessary, to punish rebellious civilians. He suspended habeas corpus and imposed loyalty oaths, while his commanders relocated people, levied fines, and confiscated property.

Major General William T. Sherman epitomized this less tolerant approach. Believing that the government was "not only fighting hostile armies, but a hostile people," Sherman decided that it "must make old and young, rich and poor, feel the hard hand of war."[2] He therefore directed that "in districts and neighborhoods where the army is unmolested, no destruction of property should be permitted; but should guerrillas or bush whackers molest our march, or should the inhabitants . . . otherwise manifest local hostility,

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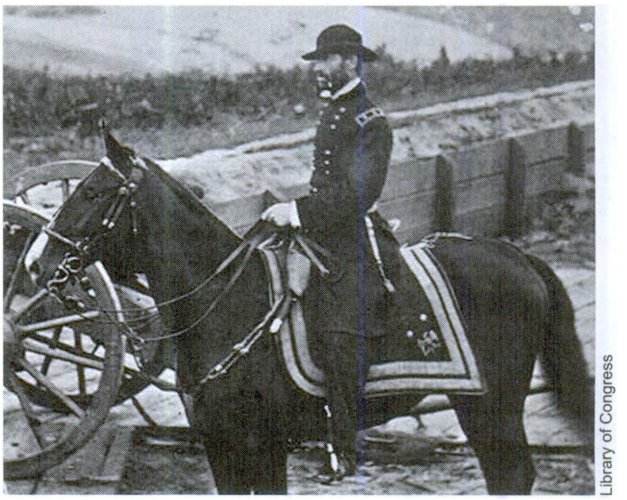
ENGRAVING: Sherman's march to the sea, 1868. (Alexander Hay Ritchie, engraver; Felix Octavius Carr Darley, artist; Library of Congress)

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then army commanders should order and enforce a devastation more or less relentless, according to the measure of hostility."[3] Devastation, not indiscriminate but directed at the disloyal, was meant to weaken the rebels' ability to fight as well as their will to do so.

The growing use of collective punitive measures did not mean that Lincoln had abandoned moderation. In 1863, for example, he unveiled a generous process through which rebellious states could rejoin the Union. He likewise signed General Orders 100, *Instructions for the Government of the Armies of the United States in the Field*, which reminded Soldiers that "the ultimate object of all modern war is a renewed state of peace," and that "men who take up arms against one another in public war do not cease on this account to be moral beings, responsible to one another and to God."[4] The document admonished Soldiers to respect the personal and property rights of civilians as well as their social customs and religious beliefs. It likewise forbade wanton destruction, looting, cruelty, and torture. Nevertheless, benevolence was not a one-way street, and should the citizenry spurn the hand of reconciliation, General Orders 100 permitted commanders to take stern measures. Among the punishments it prescribed for civilians who aided the enemy were fines, expulsion, relocation, imprisonment, and death. The orders also authorized commanders to use calculated and proportional retaliation; to deny quarter for those who gave none; and to dispense summary punishments to guerrillas, spies, and traitors.

Throughout the remainder of the rebellion, Lincoln continued to wield inducements in one hand and punishments in the other. He diminished chances for peace, however, after he issued the Emancipation Proclamation. Although the proclamation helped solidify support in the North and abroad, it alienated Southerners by demonstrating that the U.S. government meant to destroy the foundation of Southern socioeconomic life. With little room for compromise after that point, the war truly became, if it had not always been, what William H. Seward called an "irrepressible conflict." Ultimately, force of arms, not political inducements, would determine the outcome of the most serious internal conflict in American history. Politics would continue to play an important supporting role, however, for by adhering to moderate policies as much as possible, the government helped reconcile Southerners to their defeat in 1865.



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General William T. Sherman on horseback at Federal Fort No. 7, Atlanta, GA, 1864.

Such was not the case when after the war Congress launched an ill-conceived effort to revolutionize Southern society. The government's attempt to "reconstruct" the South alienated the majority of the region's white population. Even Sherman, the apostle of coercion and violence during the rebellion, conceded afterwards that "no matter what change we may desire in the feelings and thoughts of the people [in the] South, we cannot accomplish it by force."[5] Bayonets could compel compliance, but they could not change a culture. As the government and public grew tired of wading through the tar pit of Southern politics and withdrew federal troops, one "reconstructed" state government after another fell to a combination of political maneuver, intimidation, and terror. The nation thus emerged from its civil war reunited and slave-free, but encumbered by a persistent culture of racism that would keep the African-American population in social subordination for another hundred years.

Ultimately, force of arms, not political inducements, would determine the outcome of the most serious internal conflict in American history.

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The Philippine War

Thirty years after the demise of Reconstruction, President William McKinley confronted an insurgency when the Philippine Islands refused to accept American sovereignty at the end of the Spanish-American War. Aware of Filipino suspicions about U.S. intentions, McKinley promised the Filipino people a "benevolent assimilation," instructing the commander in the islands, Major General Elwell S. Otis, to make every effort to "win the confidence, respect, and admiration of the inhabitants."[6] Otis complied, but as in the Civil War, the desire of regional leaders for independence proved irreconcilable with the U.S. government's determination to assert colonial authority. Violence was the inevitable result.



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Battle of Quingua, Philippine Islands, 1899.

During the ensuing conflict, the United States used political means extensively. It negotiated with Filipino leaders, offered generous terms of amnesty, and established civilian governments, first at the town and later at the provincial and "national" levels. It built and staffed schools, engaged in public works, and imposed other progressive measures designed to improve government institutions. Throughout the archipelago, officers directed their troops to be on good behavior and to respect cultural norms so as not to alienate the man on the street. Brigadier General J. Franklin Bell summarized U.S. policy when he reminded his subordinates that—

> Government by force alone cannot be satisfactory to Americans. It is desirable that a government be established in time which is based upon the will of the governed. This can be accomplished satisfactorily only by obtaining and retaining the good will of the people . . . . Our policy heretofore was calculated to prevent the birth of undying resentment and hatred. This policy has earned for us the respect and approval of a large majority of the more intelligent and influential portion of the community. We cannot lose their support by now adopting such measures as may be necessary to suppress the irreconcilable and disorderly.[7]

This approach helped to win acceptance of American rule and to fragment the insurgency–so much so that some areas offered very little resistance. Persuasion and benevolence were not, however, able to end the war by themselves. Part of the reason was that initiatives cherished by Americans, such as introducing more democratic institutions or modern sanitary practices, either had little impact on the common man or violated cultural norms. A more sinister factor was the insurgents' use of terror to keep people in line, for as Brigadier General Samuel S. Sumner admitted, "Nothing that we can offer in the way of peace or prosperity weighs against their fear of assassination which is prosecuted with relentless vigor against anyone giving aid or information to the government."[8]

Finally, there existed a hard core of rebels determined to continue to fight until compelled to give in. Unless the Army could bring these elements to heel, pacification would be uneven at best and impossible at worst. Thus, military actions to defeat the enemy in battle, police activities to protect the people from intimidation and to punish those guilty of criminal behavior, and coercive measures to cut the insurgents off from their sources of support and to control the behavior of the population proved as essential as they had during the Civil War. When the Filipino insurgency dragged on, the U.S. Army did what it had done during the War of the Rebellion: it resorted to increasingly stern measures.

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General Bell's actions reflected the change in policy. Acting on the premise underlying General Orders 100 that "a short and severe war creates, in the aggregate, less loss and suffering than a benevolent war indefinitely prolonged," Bell's troops herded people into detention camps, imposed fines, and burnt freely so as to keep "the minds of the people in such a state of anxiety and apprehension that living under such conditions will soon become unbearable."[9] The results were sometimes unpleasant. Excesses occurred, but Bell's approach proved decisive in breaking the back of the insurgency. Moreover, just as in the Civil War, once the enemy was no longer willing to endure the suffering the conflict engendered, America's benevolent policies played an important role by helping the insurgents accept their defeat.

The Army thus won the war in the Philippines by following both the precepts of General Orders 100 and the example of General Sherman, enticing some insurgents into surrender while beating others into submission.

The Army thus won the war in the Philippines by... enticing some insurgents into surrender while beating others into submission.

Doctrinal Interlude

Nearly half a century would pass after the conclusion of the Philippine War before the U.S. Army published formal doctrine for waging counterinsurgency warfare. The issuance of Field Manual (FM) 31-20, *Operations Against Guerrilla Forces*, in February of 1951 marked an important milestone, but one that flowed logically from General Orders 100 of 1863. On the one hand, the manual alerted its readers to the fact that guerrillas depended on civilians for their survival; consequently, it called for counterinsurgents to develop a comprehensive politico-military plan. As the manual explained, the plan needed to incorporate "a detailed analysis of a country, the national characteristics, and the customs, belief, cares, hopes, and desires of the people." This was because "political, administrative, economic, and military policies, intelligently conceived, wisely executed, and supported by appropriate propaganda, will minimize the possibility of a mass resistance movement." In contrast, "an ill conceived and poorly executed over-all plan may turn the populace against an occupying force."[10] The manual likewise counseled that—

> The isolation of guerrilla forces from the civilian populace may be greatly influenced by the treatment given the civilians. In all areas there are people who want peace and quiet. Friendly and cooperative elements of the populace are carefully cultivated. The news of good treatment spreads rapidly and is an important factor in establishing trust and friendly relations between the civilian population and our military forces. The populace is encouraged to band together to resist extortion and threats from the guerrillas, and cooperative elements are protected. Law and order are established and strictly enforced. Peacefulness is further stimulated by encouraging the people to resume their normal pursuits. Idleness and unemployment are dangerous. Restrictions imposed on the movement of civilians are wisely and carefully applied. Religious freedom is assured. The basic essentials of food, shelter, and clothing are provided. Tyrannical action by either our forces or the local government is prohibited.[11]

Persuasion and political considerations thus factored large in the Army's new doctrine, but as in the past, so too did coercion. Therefore the manual stated that—

> In areas where the civilian population is hostile to our aims and where they stubbornly resist pacification, stern administrative measures and aggressive military action are used to establish control. Firm and impartial treatment from the outset will tend to minimize the belligerency of the populace. These measures are closely coordinated with aggressive military action to isolate the guerrillas from the civilian population and allied support and then destroy them.[12]

The FM further echoed General Orders 100 in permitting government forces to take strong actions

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against insurgents and their civilian supporters. Among these measures were restrictions in the movement of people and goods, the taking of hostages, and infliction of punishments and reprisals, although the manual cautioned that security forces should be careful to target only the guilty.[13] Subsequent manuals toned down the punitive language while emphasizing the importance of positive programs to win the hearts and minds of a restive populace. Nevertheless, persuasion and coercion remained inextricably linked in U.S. doctrine since, in the words of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, "Economic and political progress are dependent upon reasonable internal security, and internal security cannot be permanently effective without complementing non-military action."[14] During the 1960s, the Army made extensive efforts to inculcate this dual doctrine through education and training programs at every level.

The Vietnam War

This was the state of affairs when the U.S. Army entered the Vietnam War. The new conflict differed in several key respects from the Philippine War and the War of the Rebellion. First, the two earlier insurrections had for the most part been conservative independence movements in which the rebels wanted to preserve rather than change their societies. The war in Vietnam, however, incorporated aspects of a revolutionary class struggle. This, combined with the highly organized and conspiratorial nature of the Communist Party, made it impossible to find acceptable solutions through reform or compromise.

A second difference was that the conflict was not just internal; it was an international war in which South Vietnam's indigenous opposition was organized, controlled, supplied, and reinforced by a foreign power bent not on redressing social grievances but on conquering the South and absorbing it into its territory. The "insurgency" was essentially manufactured by the North and, over time, it was increasingly waged by regular North Vietnamese soldiers. Consequently, even complete success in redressing the internal causes of unrest could not guarantee either peace or the survival of South Vietnam.

A final key difference between the Vietnam War and the two earlier conflicts was that it occurred not on U.S. territory but in a sovereign foreign country whose weak, corrupt, and often recalcitrant government the United States could sometimes influence but never control. Something that is difficult under the best of circumstances—formulating and executing an integrated politico-military effort—became a Herculean task.

From the start of America's involvement in Vietnam, U.S. Soldiers preached political action as a key ingredient in the counterinsurgency effort. For example, in 1954, Army Chief of Staff General Matthew B. Ridgway recommended that a precondition for giving military assistance to Vietnam should be the existence of "a reasonably strong, stable, civil government in control," because "it is hopeless to expect a U.S. military training mission to achieve success unless the nation concerned is able to effectively perform governmental functions."[15] The following year, the senior U.S. military representative in South Vietnam, Lieutenant General Samuel T. Williams, cautioned Vietnam's leaders that "military operations alone are not sufficient for success," and that military actions must be conducted "in harmony with . . . political, psychological, and economic policies."[16] Every top U.S. commander in Vietnam after Williams reiterated this advice. Together with U.S. diplomatic personnel, American Soldiers also pressed the Vietnamese to make socioeconomic, political, and administrative reforms to strengthen the government's standing with the population and to undermine support for the insurgents. These principles, however, proved easier to understand than to execute, given the complexities of American bureaucracy, Vietnamese politics, and the enemy's political and military strength. Meanwhile, the United States took what unilateral actions it could, pouring millions of dollars into a wide variety of aid and development programs and performing innumerable civic actions, from providing free medical care to building schools and digging wells.

As in previous wars, these actions had positive effects, but they could not win the conflict. Poor conception, flawed execution, bureaucratic wrangling, resource shortages, and various other political impediments contributed to the disappointing result. Just as important, however, was the fact that the United States had formed unrealistic expectations about what political action could achieve given the conditions in Vietnam. In the words of one 1966 Army report—

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Socio-economic programs must be closely tied to the pace of the security effort. Attempts to win allegiance from the population or to induce from it a willingness to bear arms against Viet Cong harassment by the distribution of commodities or services without reasonable assurance of continued physical security are invitations to failure. An early U.S. assistance concept espoused socio-economic good works which, by themselves and preceding security, were expected to galvanize the peasant into making a military commitment against the Viet Cong. Programs executed under this concept were dramatically unsuccessful: bags of bulgur wheat have never been known to kill an insurgent.[17]

Americans rediscovered in Vietnam what their forbearers had learned in the War of the Rebellion and the Philippine War, and what Army doctrine had foretold—that political and military measures were equally necessary and that they had to be carefully coordinated to have a positive effect. Furthermore, until the security forces could protect people from insurgent intimidation and control, little of significance could be expected from political programs designed to wean the population from the insurgency. Should the government gain the upper hand militarily, demonstrations of benevolence could indeed persuade guerrillas to surrender and civilians to openly side with the apparent victors. As in the American South and the Philippines, therefore, successful applications of military force and restrictive measures would be essential for success. Given that by 1966 the enemy had approximately a quarter of a million troops, guerrillas, and cadre in and around South Vietnam, allied forces faced the daunting task of keeping the enemy in check while providing the sort of security necessary to persuade people either to support the government or to stop aiding the enemy.

Military victories over enemy forces in 1968 finally gave the allies the opportunity they needed to make headway on pacification. Aided by a revitalized effort on the part of the South Vietnamese government, an improved system of politico-military coordination through the recently created office of Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development (CORDS), and a major military and paramilitary buildup fueled by importing vast quantities of additional war materiel, the allies were able to make significant gains in spreading their influence over the countryside. Programs of persuasion, development, and political mobilization played a role, but as a National Security Council study group concluded in 1970, public "support tends to *follow* rather than lead control. Most rural people have no strong commitment to either side, and they accept the governance of whichever side appears to be winning."[18] (Emphasis added.)

Americans rediscovered in Vietnam... that political and military measures were equally necessary and that they had to be carefully coordinated to have a positive effect.



"We have achieved our project, now let's join hands to maintain it and protect it," reads a sign erected by villagers after government forces cleared communist insurgents from their area (in Vietnam, 1970).

Photograph VA001161, 1970, Douglas Pike Photograph Collection, The Vietnam Archive, Texas Tech University

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While political progress was both desirable and necessary to solidify the government's gains, the group acknowledged that improvement had come only after "the allies were able clearly to gain the upper hand in the main force war, destroying, dispersing, or pushing back the enemy main force units."[19] This was no surprise to CORDS, which devoted the lion's share of its personnel, activities, and funds to security and intelligence efforts to protect and control the population rather than to socioeconomic betterment programs. Population resettlement and police measures to restrict the movement of people and goods likewise contributed to weakening the Viet Cong.

The South Vietnamese government would have been far stronger had it been able to win the support of its people more through persuasion than by coercion, but political, social, and security conditions in the country made such an achievement problematic. Still, enough progress occurred that the South could have survived the insurgency had it not been for North Vietnam's immutable determination to conquer the South. Given the North's attitude, South Vietnam was always going to live or die by the sword. Even if it had been entirely successful in winning the support of its people, South Vietnam could only have survived if it had had sufficient military power of its own or the direct military backing of the United States. Without these, it fell easily to North Vietnam in 1975.

Carrots and Sticks

This brief review of America's experience in waging internal conflicts has demonstrated that the U.S. government and its Army have always used a combination of positive and negative measures to suppress rebellions. Much to the frustration of theorist and practitioner alike, history has shown that there is no simple formula for combining these two essential yet volatile ingredients. Rather, counterinsurgency warfare has proved to be more alchemy than science, with each situation requiring a different proportion of ingredients, depending upon the social, political, cultural, and military nature of the conflict.

This truth notwithstanding, individuals writing about counterinsurgency warfare most emphasize the unusual degree to which political considerations permeate what in conventional conflicts would be purely administrative, technical, or military decisions. This is understandable, but it can become counterproductive when taken to extremes. All too often, people reduce counterinsurgency's complex nature to slogans declaring that political considerations are primary, that nation building is a viable war-winning strategy, and that the only road to victory is to win the "hearts and minds" of a population. As with many clichés, these promote one truth at the expense of another.

There are several reasons why such slogans tend to obscure more than they illuminate. To begin with, simplistic catch phrases do not convey the reality that some political differences are irreconcilable—which, of course, may be why the parties to a dispute have resorted to arms in the first place. Neither do such phrases help policymakers navigate the labyrinth of political considerations incumbent in any internal conflict. Just as political and military concerns will sometimes clash, so too will choices have to be made between competing political imperatives.

Slogans such as "winning hearts and minds" can also lead to a misapprehension that counterinsurgencies are popularity contests. Sometimes unpopular actions such as the Army's relocation of civilians during the Philippine War may be necessary. In the same way, worthy actions such as the liberation of a previously repressed class may fan the flames of resistance among a nation's traditional elite, while promoting democratic reforms, as the United States did in Vietnam, can backfire by increasing instability.

Moreover, clichés meant to illuminate the importance of politics can build unrealistic expectations within the American public that only serve to thwart the government's ability to resolve insurgencies successfully. There is a tendency on the part of many Americans, for example, to believe that economic capitalism and political democracy are sure remedies for resolving internal conflicts. This belief, a reflection of our culture, has always been present, but it gained particular virulence in the 1960s when nation building and counterinsurgency theorist Walt W. Rostow postulated that a thirst for a more prosperous life had created a "revolution of rising expectations" that was driving people to rebel in less prosperous areas of the world.[20] Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker reflected this philosophy

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There is a tendency on the part of many Americans...to believe that economic capitalism and political democracy are sure remedies for resolving internal conflicts.

when he told South Vietnamese Prime Minister Nguyen Cao Ky that "people are drifting toward communism because they are poor. If you give the people everything they want—television sets, automobiles, and so on—none of them will go over to communism."[21] The rhetoric proved naïve. Economics and materialism were not as deterministic as many had thought, and even Rostow eventually admitted that "as for the linkage between economic development and the emergence of stable political democracies, we may, in retrospect, have been a bit too hopeful."[22]

Unrealistic expectations about the power of material changes have been matched on the political front. As historian Daniel Boorstin warned in 1953, "If we rely on the 'philosophy of American democracy' as a weapon in the world-wide struggle, we are relying on a weapon which may prove to be a dud." This was because democratic institutions "always grow out-of-doors in a particular climate and cannot be carried about in a flower pot."[23] Experience has demonstrated the truth of Boorstin's observation, for time and again, U.S. nation builders have seen transplanted American institutions wither in the infertile soils and inhospitable climates of foreign countries. Counterinsurgency and nation building theorists have all too often ignored this reality and have fallen into the culturally insensitive trap of trying to radically transform foreign societies—a task that is extremely difficult under the best of circumstances, if it is possible at all. Such a tack can also alienate the very country we are trying to help, as occurred often in Vietnam. U.S. leaders should have heeded diplomat George Kennan, who had observed in 1954 that "even benevolence, when addressed to a foreign people, represents a form of intervention into their internal affairs, and always receives, at best, a divided reception."[24]

In all three of the wars discussed in this article, the U.S. government underestimated the challenges posed by the rebellions and overestimated the impact that moderate polices and persuasive actions would have in quelling them. Initial optimism eventually gave way to disenchantment on the part of the American public and a more sober calculus on the part of the Nation's Soldiers and statesmen. These and other experiences led counterinsurgency author and Vietnam veteran Lieutenant Colonel Boyd T. Bashore to observe somberly in 1968 that success in internal wars "seems most often to have been effectively accomplished by an all-out police-military effort and not by pushing freedom like a wet noodle from the top down into the countryside. . . . The people of a nation under attack must accept discipline and put off or give up many of the rights and privileges that we may hold dear in our democracy. This fact of life, as unpalatable as it may seem, must be fully understood. A counterinsurgency doctrine that does not recognize the primacy of the military forces in providing security is doomed to failure."[25]

The reality, of course, is that politics and force are inextricably linked in a dynamic, symbiotic relationship, and *both* are necessary to win. The great challenge is to find the right blend for a particular situation—a formulation that may well be different from that used at another time or place, even during the same conflict. Slogans like "politics are primary" are useful if they remind us that, in counterinsurgency as in all forms of war, military means must be subordinated to political ends, and that political and persuasive arts play a vital role in waging and resolving internal conflicts. They are less useful if they lead us into the mistaken belief that political considerations must trump military and security concerns at every turn, that coercion is necessarily antithetical to success, or that we must significantly rework a struggling society into one that is a mirror image of our own.

...success in internal wars "seems most often to have been effectively accomplished by an all-out police-military effort and not by pushing freedom like a wet noodle from the top down into the countryside...

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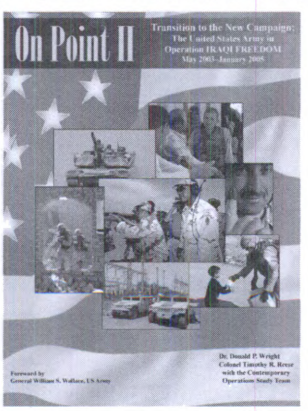
Nearly a century ago, in writing about his experiences in the Philippines and Cuba, Lieutenant Colonel Robert L. Bullard reminded his fellow officers that pacification "is not mere force; it is a judicious mixture of force and persuasion, of severity and moderation . . . and this complexity is what makes pacification difficult."[26] Benevolent policies designed to win "the consent of the governed" were essential, he wrote. Repression alone was incompatible with the American character. Yet coercive and forceful measures were equally necessary, for "without them there is no pacification." Although we may wish it otherwise, the fact of the matter, Bullard observed, was that "when peoples have really differed, persuasion has prevailed only when backed by adequate strength to enforce."[27] Bullard's reminder does not make the counterinsurgency enigma any easier to solve, but we ignore it at our peril. ***MR***

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AFTER IRAQ:
The Politics of Blame and Civilian-Military Relations

George R. Mastroianni, Ph.D., and Wilbur J. Scott, Ph.D.

The ideas and opinions expressed in this article are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent those of the U.S. Air Force Academy, the U.S. Air Force, or the U.S. government.

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PHOTO: Family and friends wait for their loved ones to disembark the USS *Pinckney* during a homecoming ceremony in San Diego, 30 September 2007. The ship returned from a six-month deployment as a part of the USS *Nimitz* Carrier Strike Group. (U.S. Navy, Mass Communication Specialist Seaman Matthew N. Jackson)

WHILE AMERICANS ARE widely distributed across the political spectrum and are closely divided between the Republican and Democratic parties, our all-volunteer military is more politically conservative and more Republican. Regardless of which party Americans endorse, their attitudes toward U.S. military members are more favorable now than they have been in modern memory. Public approval and appreciation of the U.S. armed forces has increased as military service has become the exclusive province of volunteers. However, the differences between military and civilian society may be cause for concern when the war in Iraq winds down. This discussion explores how competing post-Iraq narratives may lead to a broadening of divisions between military professionals and the civil society they defend.

The differing perspectives of Samuel Huntington and Morris Janowitz have framed thinking about civil-military relations for the last four decades.[1] Huntington saw the professional military as a national institution entrusted with the power to apply lethal force on a nation's behalf. He saw it as a warrior caste that could and should differ from civilian society in certain important respects. Huntington considered this difference as instrumental to achieving the military's goals and argued that an effective military's officer corps should stand apart from the society that it is meant to protect.

Janowitz, on the other hand, favored a conception of civil-military relations that integrated military and civilian institutions. In his view, civilians and members of the military interact with one another extensively. Here the prototype of the senior military leader is the warrior-scholar-statesman well versed in the contingencies of both war and national politics. Further, Janowitz considered military service a key responsibility of male citizens and one that provided a vital crucible of common experience similar to that in classical Greek city-states' citizen armies. Concerned that the bonds between military and civil society might weaken, Janowitz questioned the wisdom of moving to an all-volunteer force when the United States abolished the draft in 1973. Such a force could make the loyalties of Soldiers eventually diverge from the society they protected.

It is now clear that what Huntington advocated and Janowitz feared has happened: the military has indeed become different from civilian society in many respects, including politically.

Competing Narratives

Within the military, the U.S. struggle in Iraq has provoked searching appraisals and examinations of preparations for the war and its conduct. This

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is especially true of the Army and Marine Corps, who are finding that understanding and assimilating the lessons of the Iraq war will be as complicated and controversial as was coming to grips with the lessons of Vietnam. For example, Greg Jaffe of the *Wall Street Journal* has described what he calls "failure narratives," or potential explanations, for our difficulties in Iraq that reflect nascent analyses internal to the military.[2] As military institutions grapple with the lessons of Iraq, a parallel process is taking place in the political arena. Those outside the military, especially politicians responsible for national policy, are also constructing narratives, and this process, too, has potentially far-reaching implications for the U.S. military.

In addition to the failure narratives, a competing "success narrative" is also under construction. The decline in casualties and improved stability in Iraq, which are attributed to General David Petraeus's troop surge and shift in strategy, have encouraged a sense of vindication among many of the war's most vocal advocates. Increasingly, the surge's success is cited as evidence of the wisdom of the administration and the weakness (or worse) of its critics. Just as assessments on progress in the war became a matter of partisan dispute, the surge and its long-term effects will become controversial, especially when questions about future courses of action in Iraq return to the front burner.

As the public debate about Iraq unfolds, there is a risk that the currently cordial relations between civil and military society may be threatened. One cannot yet know exactly how or when the Iraq war will end, or how most Americans will eventually judge the venture, but one can speculate about the future. The blame game is well underway, and it does not bode well. Many who have not yet taken the field in this contest of competing narratives are warming up on the sidelines.

In addition to the failure narratives, a competing "success narrative" is also under construction.

The Blame Game

Discussions and debates about the conduct of the war will have a greater impact on civil-military relations over the next several months. The mistakes the U.S. made in the run-up to war are shared, by commission or omission, broadly across the political spectrum. However, ending the war will more clearly be the responsibility of the victors in the 2008 elections (or their successors). America will have to make important decisions about its future role in Iraq over the next several months, as the strains on its forces build and as American expectations of the Iraqi government increase. The United States will make these decisions against the backdrop of a presidential election campaign during which some politicians may attempt to use the military to legitimize their policies or candidacies (at least rhetorically).

At issue will be who to blame for what has gone wrong up to that point, and who to blame if things go wrong in the future. The question, "Who gets the blame for mistakes made in prosecuting the war in Iraq?" has shifted focus since the surge. The 2007 increase in the number of boots on the ground and the new counterinsurgency (COIN) strategy in Iraq mark an important transition in public perceptions of the war. The administration's decision to surge additional troops to Iraq despite congressional and public opposition provoked an acrimonious debate that foreshadows the next phase of the blame game. Congress debated the inclusion of timelines for withdrawal from Iraq in legislation and the administration's plan to surge additional troops to Iraq. The administration and its supporters attacked those who advocated timelines for troop withdrawals or reductions (mainly congressional Democrats) by portraying them as opponents of our troops in the field, determined to cut off funding for Soldiers in harm's way, to "cut and run," and to offer our enemies easy victory by setting a "surrender date," thus throwing away our chances for "victory."

The administration also worked hard to identify the surge as the preferred strategy of respected, competent military authorities, not politicians. They frequently invoked the views of commanders on the ground to justify the policy and praised General David Petraeus' COIN expertise, academic credentials, and earlier successes in Iraq. As a result, the public's perception of the military (particularly

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its leaders) is now linked to the success or failure of the surge (and the war). The post-surge blame game will implicate senior military leaders far more directly than they have been thus far.

Of Endings Bad and Less Bad

The focus of the blame game is now shifting to exit strategies. The manner, timing, and consequences of the inevitable withdrawal from Iraq will be the ultimate points of contention over which blame will be assigned. It seems likely that when this war concludes, it will not be widely seen as a decisive victory for the United States. According to a December 2007 poll, a majority of Americans think historians will eventually judge the Iraq war to have been a failure.

Surprisingly, a survey of military families in the fall of 2007 found that 60 percent of them thought that the war had not been worth the cost.[3] Even the attitudes of active-duty military members reflect substantial skepticism about the prospects for success in Iraq, although active-duty military members are more optimistic about the outcome than is society as a whole.[4] Approval of Bush's administration among service members is surprisingly low, despite the strong Republican Party leanings of many service members (although it is still higher than the Bush administration's approval rating among civilians). As the prospects for clear military victory have slipped away, the political focus has shifted to the contest over perceptions. How will the cultural legacy of this conflict be shaped?

Stab in the Back?

The German Imperial General Staff consoled itself with the "stab-in-the-back" myth after Germany's capitulation in World War I. It viewed Germany's surrender as wholly political and not justified by military circumstances. This idea resonated powerfully with ultranationalist groups throughout the Weimar era and contributed to Hitler's rise to power in 1933.

The Vietnam War was a social and cultural watershed for America. Many Vietnam veterans felt betrayed when they returned home amid controversy over the war. Today some feel the U.S. accorded them little of the respect and gratitude now so generously given to veterans of current operations. Some Americans and many veterans believe "stab-in-the-back" antiwar protests at home led to restrictions on the use of military power that tied the hands of the military and caused South Vietnam to fall to the Communists. Others point to misguided policies that top civilian and military leaders pursued at the time. In the coming months, variations of these two failure narratives about Iraq will likely surface.

When the inevitable drawdown begins in Iraq, the battle to interpret the war will begin anew. Thus far, respect for the troops in the field has somewhat muted partisan conflicts over the war. However, divisive, destructive instances of social conflict have occurred. Some compare those who question current administration policy in Iraq with participants in the Vietnam antiwar movement and counterculture. Others on the political right seek to lay exclusive claim to the loyalty of military members by asserting that the media, "liberal elites," and others who oppose administration policy have anti-military, antiwar, and anti-American tendencies. Similarly echoing policy disagreements in the Vietnam era, many on the left summarily dismiss the administration's vision of an achievable and sustainable political-military solution in Iraq.

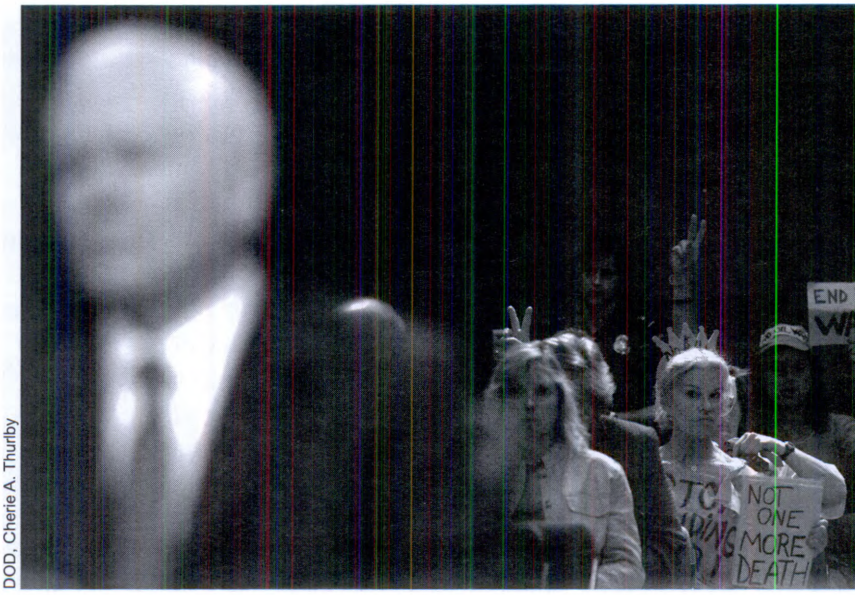
Military Attitudes

As the war ends, the military community may become much more vocal in this debate. Many people who have served in Iraq or in the military want to help shape the war's historical legacy, as do family members, veterans' groups, and advocacy groups. The nature of military opinion depends on who is in the military. The Vietnam era military brought career Soldiers and volunteers together

The focus of the blame game is now shifting to exit strategies... a majority of Americans think historians will eventually judge the Iraq war to have been a failure.

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with draftees. (Approximately 25 percent of those who served in Vietnam were draftees; in World War II, 66 percent were draftees.) Soldiers in Vietnam were younger than today's are, almost exclusively male, less likely to be married, and generally served for shorter periods than in Iraq.[5] Another important shift in the military is in its geographic and ideological demographics: the members of our volunteer military come disproportionately from the South, tend to be politically and religiously conservative, and are more politically aware and active than previously. Between 1976 and 1996, the percentage of military officers who described themselves as non-partisan or politically independent dropped from more than 50 percent to less than 20 percent, and the percentage that identify themselves as liberals or Democrats is a fraction of that in the larger population.[6] Hence, the military today appears to be more politically and religiously conservative than ever before.[7]



DOD, Cherie A. Thurlby

Antiwar protesters at the Senate Appropriations Committee hearing in Washington, D.C., 9 May 2007. Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates is in the foreground.

That said, some question the extent of the divergence between military and civilian political leanings.[8] However, Admiral Mike Mullen's recent letter to service members reminding them of the importance of the military's staying outside politics bespeaks a certain degree of concern about political attitudes within the military.[9] According to Thom Shanker of the *New York Times*, "Admiral Mullen said he was inspired to write the essay after receiving a constant stream of legitimate, if troubling, questions while visiting military personnel around the world. He said their questions included, "What if a Democrat wins?" and, "What will that do to the mission in Iraq?" and, "Do you think it's better for one party or another to have the White House?"

What ultimately matters is not just demographics, but the respective cultures of the two groups. As we consider the end game in Iraq, some characteristics of contemporary military culture are also worth considering. The view among some service members that the military is not only different from civilian society but also morally and culturally superior to it is especially pernicious.[10] Some in the military envision a culture war pitting conservative, often religious-based beliefs, argued to be more compatible with military life, against the liberal, permissive views allegedly rampant in U.S. society.[11]

Because service members are volunteers, and civilians do not share the hardships service members accept, many in the military are not especially receptive to civilian opinions. Some are tempted to ask the illogical but emotionally charged question, "If I'm in Iraq, and you're at the mall, which of our views has more moral authority?" There is also a strong sense among military members that average Americans simply do not know what is going on in Iraq because they are too far removed from the military experience or because the media distort news reports from Iraq, focusing only on sensational, negative events while ignoring good news.

In spite of the substantial skepticism about the war's costs within the military, service members also view the Iraq war as a success in a way that civilians do not or cannot. The repeated, lengthy deployments, the hardships of service members and their families, and of course, the casualties, motivate many service members to see the sacrifices they and their families have made in an unerringly positive light. American Soldiers are willing to sacrifice, but for a noble purpose—no one wants to waste their lives and livelihoods on a moral mistake. In this case, while critics repeatedly suggest, "the war has been lost," the only acceptable narrative for sacrifice is the administration's rhetoric about noble victory. Even though these critics do not blame the

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military for this predicament—the administration is at fault—service members find it nearly psychologically impossible to agree with them. Civilians have less of a personal stake in seeing things the administration's way.

Such views suggest that as the end game unfolds, military members' opinions are not likely to conform to external ideas, opinions, or interpretations of the war, or coincide with those of the body politic. Because the military appears demographically different from civilian society and the interests of service members and civilians do not completely overlap, military opinion in the blame game may reflect a more insular perspective derived from the conservative institutions that serve as many members' emotional and intellectual homes.

Yet, although its politics are far from representative of American society, the military is also far from politically monolithic. Beliefs and attitudes of military members vary across different services, ranks, positions, specialties, and experiences. Strong conservative voices in the military community tend to squelch those that are less hidebound (e.g., consider the ostentatiously religious shift that has occurred in the military over the last several years). A countervailing belief held by many service members is that allegiance to the Constitution of the United States supersedes political party affiliation and religious ideology. Furthermore, the strains of the last five years have probably altered the cultures of the services (especially the Army's) in ways not yet fully appreciated. Therefore, the ultimate shape and form of the military's contribution to the end game discourse can only be a guess.

Veterans' Attitudes

A wider range of considerations than those dominant during the war may determine the military community's attitudes after the war ends. During the war, the focus is on security and defense policy. With troops in harm's way, the military's main concern is wise stewardship of our armed forces. Is the mission a reasonable one? Are we giving our troops the resources they need to accomplish it? These considerations have helped produce the conservative views of many service members. After the war, though, increasing numbers of service members who served in Iraq will transition into the veteran community. The Iraq war's scale and duration ensure that the veteran community will be a sizeable one.

The interests and attitudes of veterans will be more diverse than those of the military community during the war and may even conflict with them. Estimates of the costs of caring for the Iraq war veterans range into the hundreds of billions of dollars. Competition for federal budget dollars is always intense, but veterans will be eager to secure benefits for their service in the war. Post-traumatic stress disorder and traumatic brain injury are difficult to diagnose and expensive to treat, a combination that, like Agent Orange after Vietnam or Gulf War Syndrome in the 1990s, has the potential to alienate some veterans from the government if they perceive that the country is breaking faith with them, for example, by inadequate funding of research and treatment programs.

How will veterans respond as the veteran community begins to coalesce in the aftermath of the war? Perhaps we can find the best clue to what lies ahead in the groups that have already come together. One such group, Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans of America (IAVA), has staked out a centrist/left of center position on war policy, but it is staunchly pro-troops in its fundamental orientation. In contrast, the focus of the Iraq Vets against the War is on resisting and ending the war. Another group, VoteVets, is a registered political action committee with the goal of electing Iraq veterans to public office. Still another group, Vets for Freedom, takes an ideologically conservative, staunchly pro-administration line. The existence of these groups illustrates the political complexity within the veteran community. Which voice will become the "official" voice of Iraq and Afghanistan vets?

A crucial factor here is the refusal of any of these groups to yield the moral high ground with regard to patriotism. In the 1960s and 1970s, Vietnam Veterans against the War advanced critiques of the Johnson and Nixon administrations' conduct of the war that many Americans perceived as anti-American, disrespectful to the military, and insulting to the sacrifices made by veterans. The Vietnam antiwar movement's willingness to concede the American flag to supporters of the war sharpened this perception. Indeed, the burning of the American flag remains an enduring symbol of opposition to Vietnam War policy. Today, Paul Rieckhoff of IAVA

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DOD, Cherie A. Thurlby

Vice President Dick Cheney, left, President George W. Bush, and Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates meet with Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Peter Pace, right front, and the Joint Chiefs in the Pentagon on 31 August 2007.

and others oppose Bush administration policies but have thus far been successful in speaking for veterans without being attacked as left-wing bomb-throwers. More than anything else, the veterans' refusal to be proxies in a larger cultural and political struggle offers hope for positive civil-military relations as the blame game begins.

The View from the Top

In his 30 May 2007 commencement address at the United States Air Force Academy, Defense Secretary Robert Gates reminded the graduating class that the Congress and the press are "two pillars of our freedom under the Constitution," that "members of both parties now serving in Congress have long been strong supporters of the Department of Defense and of our men and women in uniform," and that "as the Founding Fathers wisely understood, the Congress and a free press, as with a non-political military, assure a free country".[12]

Four days earlier, Vice President Richard Cheney had addressed the graduating class at West Point at their commencement. The vice president alluded to the political disagreement and controversy that had raged over Iraq policy: "Last night, President Bush signed into law the war supplemental that we worked hard to achieve. Whatever lies ahead, the United States Army will have all the equipment, supplies, manpower, training, and support essential to victory. I give you this assurance on behalf of the President. You Soldier for him, and he will Soldier for you."[13]

Secretary Gates reminded freshly minted military officers of the strong connection between the military and the society it serves, by identifying the Constitution, the Congress, and the press as bulwarks of our freedom. This perspective contrasts, at least in emphasis, with the vice president's invocation of a bitter partisan fight in Congress over a funding measure that a Republican president won against Democratic opposition, an invocation that concluded with an affirmation of mutual loyalty between the Army and a man: the President.

This is the fulcrum on which the prospects for good civil-military relations will likely turn in the immediate future: however asymmetric the respective demographic profiles of the military and civil society may be, so long as the tradition of a non-political military is honored and respected, cordial and stable relations between our military and society can be maintained. The wild card that may trump the traditions established over two centuries is the conjunction of a politically imbalanced professional military with aggressive partisan attempts to exploit that imbalance during a time of great turmoil and uncertainty.

Discussions of civil-military affairs nearly 40 years after the force became an all-volunteer force and a half-century after Huntington's book *The Soldier and the State* must embrace new realities: the force is different from the society it serves, and national leaders are attempting to exploit those differences in service of their political objectives. Moreover, we stand on the threshold of an uncertain but probably unsatisfying conclusion to a grinding, unpopular war. What lies ahead for civil military relations?

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Discussion

The failure narratives described by Jaffe currently focus on the military itself. To be sure, there are different perspectives and competing interests represented: those of the military services, senior and junior officers, and officers with different views on the right way to do counterinsurgency, but none of the narratives focus on the role of civil society. In the future, the political right may find it expedient to deflect blame for what has happened or what might happen away from the Bush administration and onto the next administration, the media, or the majority of Americans skeptical of the war. They may try to do this by articulating a new "stab-in-the-back" theory that focuses on the news media, liberal elites, and a permissive and decadent civilian society as the source of the rot.

While it is too early to tell what the long-term effects of the strategic shift associated with the surge will be for stability in Iraq, the surge's effects on domestic discussions of the war are now plain. Media coverage of the war has taken on a more muted, if not positive, tone in the last few months, and is likely to remain so for the next several months, barring any dramatic change in the situation (such as an Iraqi Tet Offensive).

The lull at home resulting from the surge in Iraq will ensure that however we began the Iraq war and conducted it, the administration that takes office in January 2009 will manage its resolution. Those who see the Iraq glass as half full now may later see it as half empty (or worse) if there is a partisan shift in control of the government this fall.

Tensions between the public and the military may grow after the war. The new administration may be Republican, and if so, a "stay-the-course" strategy will conflict with the weight of public opinion and the realities of an increasingly strained defense establishment. The ensuing disputes over Iraq policy will rekindle the debates that erupted over the surge. If the new administration is Democratic, right-wingers will probably attack its new Iraq policies as evidence of a lack of concern, support, and respect for military members and their sacrifices. Members of the military may be politically disposed to respond to such representations by adopting attitudes consistent with the seductive "stab-in-the-back" way of thinking. Such a development would be both divisive and destructive of the great progress in civil-military relations that has taken place since the Vietnam War.

As the end game unfolds, there is every reason to think that the blame game will intensify. Once the war is over, the stakes will be the historical and cultural interpretation of what happened, an interpretation that has the potential to shape American political fortunes for years to come. On the surface, civil-military relations have never been better, but the underlying structural asymmetries between military and civil society could be crucial under certain conditions. Let us hope that our politicians and generals will resist the temptation to make good relations between our citizens and our Soldiers the last casualty of the Iraq war. ***MR***

NOTES

1. See Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957) and Morris Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier* (New York: The Free Press, 1971).

2. Greg Jaffe, "Critiques of Iraq War Reveal Rifts among Army Officers," *Wall Street Journal*, 29 June 2007. These narratives include an institutional failure to internalize the proper counterinsurgency lessons from Vietnam, overuse of large conventional formations instead of special operators and precision munitions, and an institutional leadership culture that is straining relationships between junior and senior officers and preventing adaptation to new conditions.

3. Faye Fiore, "Bush Loses Ground with Military Families," The Times/Bloomberg Poll, *Los Angeles Times*, 7 December 2007.

4. Tobias Naegele, "Poll: Despite Misgivings, Troops Optimistic On Iraq", *Army Times*, 7 January 2008.

5. Richard K. Kolb of *VFW Magazine*, cited in "Military Mirrors Working-Class America," David M. Halbfinger and Steven A. Holmes, *New York Times*, 30 March 2003.

6. Triangle Institute for Security Studies, cited in "Military Mirrors Working-Class America," David M. Halbfinger and Steven A. Holmes, *New York Times*, 30 March 2003.

7. Military leaders do not appear to be dramatically different from civilian leaders demographically when it comes to religious identification, but there are substantial differences in attitudes between military leaders and civilians on many issues that are religiously charged. In authoritarian institutions, numbers do not tell the whole story, as the influence of a few increases, if they are in high positions. (See Ole Holsti, "Of Chasms and Convergences: Attitudes and Beliefs of Civilians and Military Elites at the Start of a New Millennium," in *Soldiers and Civilians: The Civil-Military Gap and American National Security*, Peter D. Feaver and Richard H. Kohn, eds. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001).

8. D. Driver, "The 'Military Mind' and American Political Discourse: Case Studies in the Public Philosophies of Soldiers and Citizens," presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Town and County Resort and Convention Center, San Diego, California, USA Online, <www.allacademic.com/meta/p100548_inex.html>.

9. Thom Shanker, "Military Chief Warns Troops About Politics," *New York Times*, 26 May 2008.

10. See, for example, Thomas E. Ricks, *Making the Corps* (New York: Scribner, 1997).

11. The finding recently that seven officers (four of whom were generals) improperly participated in a fundraising video for a Christian evangelical organization in the Pentagon illustrates the point. Air Force Major General Jack Catton, one of the officers singled out for criticism, stated, "I'm an old-fashioned American, and my first priority is my faith in God, then my family, and then country." Catton contended that the Christian Embassy, which reportedly has held prayer meetings with the military for 25 years, was a "quasi-federal entity." (Cited in Josh White, "Officers' Roles in Christian Video Are Called Ethics Breach," *Washington Post*, 4 August 2007). Many Americans may be surprised to learn that some of their generals hold such attitudes. (See Louis Hansen, "Langley General Could Be Punished for Role in Christian Video," *The Virginian-Pilot*, 8 August 2007).

12. Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, "Air Force Academy Commencement: Remarks Delivered by Secretary of Defense, Robert M. Gates," 30 May 2007, <www.defenselink.mil/speeches/speech.aspx?speechid=1157>.

13. Office of the Vice President, "Vice President's Remarks at the United States Military Academy's Commencement," 26 May 2007, <www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2007/05/20070526-1.html>.

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LEGITIMACY and MILITARY OPERATIONS

Lieutenant Colonel James W. Hammond, Canadian Forces

America is at war...We have kept on the offensive against terrorist networks, leaving our enemy weakened, but not yet defeated...The struggle against this enemy...has been difficult. And our work is far from over.

—President George W. Bush, 16 March 2006[1]

ALTHOUGH OVER TWO YEARS have passed since the president wrote these remarks, his words still ring true. While the United States has remained on the offensive, the enemy is not yet defeated. In Iraq alone, the United States has lost over 4,000 servicemen and women, while another division's worth of personnel have been medically evacuated from that theater of operations.[2] The vast majority were killed, wounded, injured or became sick in the years after major combat operations ended in May 2003. In Afghanistan, coalition casualties are increasing, and Taliban fighters are as numerous as at any time in the past six years.[3] Globally, Al-Qaeda seems as effective as ever in spawning its terrorist ideology. The pace of operations against this threat is straining western nations, none more so than the United States, which continues to do almost all of the "heavy lifting." Despite a defense budget that amounts to over 48 percent of total world defense spending, the U.S. military could be ready to break at the seams under the strain. Even with supplemental congressional appropriations, the U.S. Department of Defense (DOD) will be hard-pressed to sustain current operations, let alone be ready for another regional challenge.[4] If, as so many have claimed, we are only in the early stages of a "long war," then we had all better learn some serious lessons, and fast, or in the president's words, our work will be far from over for years to come.

The pressures of the current security environment have resulted in a drive to define, dissect, understand, and meet these challenges. Although reviews of the war have been productive, they have not yet produced an epiphany. On the plus side, experienced officers like U.S. Army General David H. Petraeus and Marine Lieutenant General James Mattis have sparked a renewed interest in counterinsurgency (COIN) experts like David Galula, T.E. Lawrence, Robert Thompson, and Frank Kitson.[5] The search for solutions has also resulted in an in-depth review of key U.S. doctrinal tenets and a complete rewrite of U.S. Army and U.S. Marine Corps counterinsurgency doctrine.

The views expressed in this article are those of the author and do not reflect the official policy or position of the U.S. Government, the Department of Defense, or any of its agencies.

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PHOTO: SSG Akira Taylor, with Mortar Platoon, 5th Battalion, 20th Infantry Regiment, leads fellow Soldiers through the streets of Abu Sayf, Iraq, during a foot patrol, 6 August 2006. (U.S. Army, CPL Sam Kilpatrick)

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Among the significant changes to U.S. doctrine has been the increased attention paid to "legitimacy," particularly during COIN operations. Legitimacy has become a defining principle for most COIN theorists, and the conflict itself, in Galula's words, a "battle for the population," where "the exercise of political power depends on the tacit or explicit agreement of the population."[6] U.S. counterinsurgency doctrine now states clearly, "Victory is achieved when the populace consents to the government's legitimacy and stops actively and passively supporting the insurgency."[7] In fact, the term "legitimacy" is so pervasive that it appears 131 times in the new COIN field manual, FM 3-24. Even more significantly, the keystone operations doctrine of the U.S. services, Joint Publication 3-0, *Joint Operations*, has been rewritten to include legitimacy (and the concepts of restraint and perseverance) as "Other Principles" to join the nine traditional "Principles of War" in a new list of 12 "Principles of Joint Operations."[8]

We should consider the potential impact of this change carefully because the principles of war have been the bedrock of military operations in one form or another since the era of Baron Antoine de Jomini.

Five Aspects of Legitimacy

No state can survive for very long exclusively through its power to coerce. . . . [A]cross time, the maintenance of social order is negotiated.

—Christopher Pierson[9]

While Joint Publication (JP) 3-0 introduces the concept of legitimacy, it does not define the term. The word "legitimacy" comes from the Latin *legitimare*, to declare lawful; it therefore connotes rightfulness and legality. In political science, legitimacy refers to the population's acceptance of a set of rules or an authority. In addition, through their consent, they acknowledge a duty of obedience to that authority. Legitimacy differs from legality because it implies that the citizenry respects or consents to the authority irrespective of the existence of a legal justification of it.[10] This is a notably important distinction, particularly in international relations, where overarching legal authority is nonexistent.[11] While legitimacy is a complex and contested concept in political theory, it has five important aspects that have a direct impact on military operations.

Sources of legitimacy. German sociologist Max Weber posited three sources for legitimacy: the legal-rational source, which most Western governments enjoy, based on a framework of legal rules (e.g. the government elected in accordance with a legal framework and constitution); traditional authority, based on custom, upbringing, and birth (e.g. the governing family or clan); and charismatic authority, based on the power of personality of an individual or group.[12]

The importance of Weber's observation on charismatic leadership is clear to anyone who considers Osama bin-Laden's status in certain parts of Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas, and in fact, all three sources of legitimacy are at play today in both Iraq and in Afghanistan.

Legitimacy and obligation. Legitimacy and obligation are two sides of the same coin.[13] At the very least, accepting some authority as legitimate implies some level of consent on the part of the population to the actions of that authority. This further implies the obligation to accept that authority's decisions, even if some decisions are undesirable. The implication for emerging governments or military forces operating in an area is that local populations will accept even significant infringements on their rights and freedoms if the demands come from an authority they view as legitimate. The inverse, of course, also applies: the people will resist even the slightest imposition from an authority they view as illegitimate.

Legitimacy and force. The ability to apply force does not confer legitimacy. Weber identified one of the most salient features of the state as "a human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory."[14] While Marxist theory suggested that the surreptitious threat to exercise this monopoly on violence was what kept capitalist governments in power, even neo-Marxists today accept that "without some level of legitimacy, it is hard to see that any state could be sustained."[15] Political philosopher Hannah Arendt observed, "Since authority

...people will resist even the slightest imposition from an authority they view as illegitimate.

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always demands obedience, it is commonly mistaken for some form of power or violence. Yet authority precludes the use of external means of coercion; where force is used, authority itself has failed...If authority is to be defined at all, then, it must be in contradistinction to...force."[16] Military officers implicitly understand this when tasked to support civil authorities at home. Any actual use of force implies that authority has already failed to some extent, at least with some sector of the population. Interestingly, studies of police forces in the United States suggest that increased police violence erodes police legitimacy. In fact, studies show that reducing police use of force has a positive effect in reducing violent crime.[17] The findings of further research into police legitimacy show that it "changes the basis on which people decide whether to cooperate with legal authorities" and has a "significant influence on the degree to which people [obey] the law"; it also shows that police "fairness and effectiveness are not mutually exclusive, but mutually reinforcing."[18] In short, using force unnecessarily, inappropriately, or out of proportion to the requirement to do so undermines police legitimacy and effectiveness. If that is the case with peaceful populations at home in North America, surely the relationship between force and legitimacy is something military forces should carefully consider when operating in foreign theaters where legitimacy is more tenuous.



U.S. Air Force, SSGT Stacy L. Pearsall

A U.S. Army Soldier kicks in the door of a building during a cordon and search in Buhriz, Iraq, 14 March 2007.

Perceptions and legitimacy. The fourth aspect of legitimacy that military commanders must understand is that the legitimacy is relative to the audience. For example, a military force operating in Iraq must primarily be concerned about the local Iraqi population's perception of Iraqi government legitimacy. The less legitimate an operation seems, the less support it can expect. If the people regard it as legitimate, a U.S.-led operation to track an IED cell that killed hundreds of civilians can elicit local assistance. On the other hand, the people may regard a cordon-and-search operation in an area where insurgents have harmed few locals as unnecessary and less legitimate. In the same vein, the international community will be less supportive of actions deemed arbitrary, if the force has intervened illegitimately in a territory or conducted overly aggressive operations. In addition, the domestic audience is also critical to success, as the United States learned during the Vietnam era. Once the people viewed that war as illegitimate back at home, the likelihood of a successful conclusion to it became more remote. Finally, the men and women of the deployed military force make up an important audience that questions the force's legitimacy as rigorously as any other audience does. Once the mission loses legitimacy in their eyes, whether due to immoral or excessive action, regaining effectiveness will take a complete overhaul of trust, which may well be impossible. Forced obedience in such circumstances will never compensate for willing obedience lost with squandered legitimacy.

Contested legitimacy. A final characteristic of legitimacy is that it applies to both sides in a conflict. Often, coalition officers will point out that the enemy targets innocent civilians, tortures and beheads hostages, and refuses to observe any rules of combat. We know from experience that all of this is true, but we must also consider whether such conduct is an effective strategy for the enemy in the long run. General David H. Petraeus notes, "Al-Qaeda's indiscriminate attacks . . . have finally started to turn a substantial proportion of the Iraqi

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population against it."[19] James Fallows adds: "What they have done is to follow the terrorist's logic of steadily escalating the degree of carnage and violence—which has meant violating the guerrilla warrior's logic of bringing the civilian population to your side . . . [I]nsurgents have slaughtered civilians daily . . . But since American troops are also assumed to be killing civilians, the anti-insurgent backlash is muddied."[20]

Al-Qaeda leaders at the highest levels recognize the negative impact of violence on their strategy. According to Peter Bergen, "It was Al-Zawahiri who wrote a letter to Al-Qaeda's leader in Iraq, Abu Mousab Al-Zarqawi, gently suggesting that he stop his habit of beheading hostages because it was turning off many Muslims."[21] Similar negative responses occurred in the fall of 2005 after bombs exploded in Amman, Jordan, and in Bali, Indonesia. In the day-to-day struggle for legitimacy, both insurgents and counterinsurgents wrestle on the fulcrum of the relationship between force and legitimacy.

Strategic and Operational Legitimacy

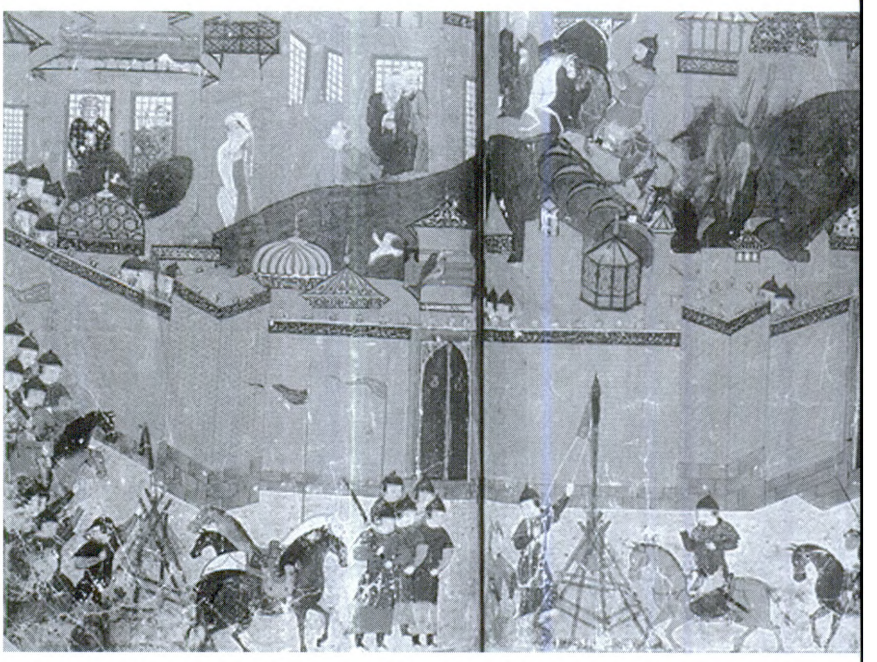
If you just look at how we are perceived in the world and the kind of criticism we have taken over Guantanamo, Abu Ghraib and renditions, whether we believe it or not, people are now starting to question whether we're following our own high standards.

—Colin Powell, 2007[22]

Before examining legitimacy's role during military operations overseas, we must ask how the legitimacy of the strategic decision to deploy a military force affects the legitimacy of the force itself. Traditional just war theory examines the justness of a war on two scales: *jus ad bellum,* the justness of the decision to go to war; and *jus in bello,* the justness of how military forces prosecute it. *Jus ad bellum* considerations ask if the cause for war is just, if the good toward which the war aims is greater than the evil the fighting causes, if a legitimate authority made the decision to go to war, if war was the last resort, and if there is a reasonable chance of success.[23] All of these questions arose during the debates over the U.S. administration's decision to go to war against Iraq in 2003.[24]

A war's legitimacy, or *strategic legitimacy*, is not something a Soldier can influence; we should not hold him responsible for the justness of the decision to go to war. He or she must simply follow orders and make the best moral choices during the ensuing operations. Under international law, the military commander is protected by what Francisco de Vitoria described five centuries ago as "invincible ignorance" to distinguish between the justness of the war itself and the justness of specific military actions during the war.[25] Nevertheless, military commanders would be foolish not to understand the context in which they operate, including the perceived legitimacy of their cause.

Commanders on the ground sometimes see legitimacy as water in a bucket. Both strategic and operational decisions affect the volume of the water. If the decision to deploy is suspect, the commander starts his operation with a reduced volume of water (or none). How the force conducts the operation will define how quickly he uses it up (or whether the force can regain greater legitimacy through operationally effective and morally virtuous actions on the ground).



As they did to many Islamic cities, the Mongols utterly destroyed Baghdad. Just war theory was mature at the time. Mongols employed terror on a massive scale to control the Arab population.

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Military leaders can do little about the legitimacy of the decision to go to war, but they can assert and protect the legitimacy of operations, or *operational legitimacy*. Overzealous use of force can undermine even the most legitimate intervention. Actions on the ground should demonstrate *jus in bello* considerations of proportionality. Quite simply, all military operations should discriminate clearly between combatants and non-combatants and any use of force should be proportional only to the military end and avoid unnecessary collateral damage. Both concepts are difficult to apply in what General Rupert Smith called "war amongst the people," in which combatants wear no uniforms and operate from population centers.[26] Even so, restraint and focused application of force are critical to sustaining the support of both local and U.S. populations. I will now turn to the conduct of recent military operations to examine their impact on operational legitimacy.

Operational Legitimacy in Iraq and Afghanistan

This I realized, now watching Dienekes rally and tend to his men, was the role of the officer. . . . To fire their valour when it flagged and rein in their fury when it threatened to take them out of hand.

—Steven Pressfield, *Gates of Fire*[27]

Security actions must be balanced with legitimacy concerns. . . . Restricting the use of force, restructuring the type of forces employed, and ensuring the disciplined conduct of the forces involved may reinforce legitimacy.

—Joint Publication 3-0, *Operations*[28]

The story of current coalition operations is generally a story of heroism, courage, and self-sacrifice. During the initial stages of Operation Iraqi Freedom in particular, there were many daring acts that should take their place in the annals of military history. One of those actions occurred on the night of 31 March 2003 near the town of Haditha in west-central Iraq. After an overland infiltration across unproven territory, B Company of 3rd Ranger Battalion of the 75th Ranger Regiment secured objective Lynx, which was critical to ensuring that Saddam Hussein's regime could not sabotage the Haditha Dam and unleash a humanitarian disaster on the Iraqi citizens of the Tigris and Euphrates valleys.[29] Operating with adequate but incomplete intelligence, the Rangers secured

Military leaders can do little about the legitimacy of the decision to go to war, but they can assert and protect the legitimacy of operations...

the dam after a four-hour firefight. Over the next six days, this lightly armed Ranger company, with air force combat controllers and later reinforced by two M1 tanks, fought off a series of uncertain counterattacks to secure the dam and destroy 29 enemy tanks and over 65 artillery, air defense, and mortar pieces. This small operation is a fine example of light forces demonstrating agility, courage, and determination in an honorable cause against a numerically superior enemy while respecting the rules of engagement and laws of armed conflict. As such, it deserves to be remembered.

Only four years later, however, the historical record of Haditha reads very differently. In the public imagination, the events at the dam have long been overshadowed by the actions of a small number of other U.S. servicemen, who, it is alleged, murdered 24 Iraqi civilians, including women and children, during a vengeful rampage after an improvised explosive device (IED) killed a 20-year-old lance corporal on the morning of 19 November 2005.[30] The initial press release about the incident gave a plausible explanation, which suited the expectations of military personnel: "A U.S. Marine and 15 civilians were killed yesterday from the blast of a roadside bomb in Haditha. Immediately following the bombing, gunmen attacked the convoy with small arms fire. Iraqi army soldiers and [U.S.] Marines returned fire, killing eight insurgents and wounding another."[31] An Iraqi human rights organization began to investigate almost immediately, but it was not until *Time* obtained a video in January 2006 and subsequently gave it to U.S. authorities for comment that the U.S. launched significant military investigations.[32]

The evidence is damning. The video shows blood spattered on walls inside family bedrooms; there was testimony from a survivor whose family members (but for one sibling) were killed in their night clothes in their rooms; while some adult males

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were killed, many of the deceased were women and children ranging from 2 to 14 years of age. There was no evidence of bomb fragments on any of the civilian bodies and no evidence of crossfire outside the houses. The director of the local hospital stated that "no organs were slashed by shrapnel. . . . Most of the victims were shot in the chest and head—from close range."[33] Undeniably, something went terribly wrong in Haditha.

While the legal process brought against accused murderers will demonstrate U.S. determination to apply U.S. values and the rule of law to its own citizens, it will not in itself address the event's broader implications. Criminals may exist in any military force, but the killings at Haditha require more basic self-examination by a military force that dedicates itself to promoting security and the rule of law and protecting innocents. When innocent civilians die during stabilization, humanitarian, or combat operations, we must ask hard questions. How could highly trained, disciplined, and selected personnel commit such an act? How could authorities not discover and deal with the criminal nature of the incident for four months? How could a chain of command fail to ask more questions in the days immediately after the events?

To answer these questions, Major General Eldon A. Bargewell examined the broader issues related to the killings. His report, completed in June 2006, focused on the reporting of the incident as well as the command climate within the Marine Corps' leadership in western Iraq.[34] While the Bargewell Report did not find direct evidence of an orchestrated effort above squad level to cover up the incident, he found complicity from platoon to division level to ignore indications of serious misconduct and "an unwillingness, bordering on denial, on the part of the battalion commander to examine an incident that might prove harmful to him and his Marines."[35] The Marine Corps relieved the battalion commander and three other officers of their duties and charged them with violation of a lawful order, dereliction of duty, and making a false statement.

These failings, like the killings themselves, are individual acts of commission or omission, and Bargewell could therefore deal with them on an individual basis, but he discovered a systemic problem with the collective attitudes of the chain of command:

> All levels of command tended to view civilian casualties, even in significant numbers, as routine and as the natural result of insurgent tactics . . . Statements made by the chain of command during interviews for this investigation . . . suggest that Iraqi civilian lives are not as important as U.S. lives, their deaths are just the cost of doing business, and that the Marines need to 'get the job done' no matter what it takes. These comments had the potential to desensitize the Marines to concern for the Iraqi populace and portray them all as the enemy even if they are noncombatants.[36]

Bargewell further noted that the regimental combat team commander "expressed only mild concern over the potential negative ramifications of indiscriminate killing based on his stated view that the Iraqis and insurgents respect strength and power over righteousness."[37] While Bargewell does not suggest that the chain of command directly condoned any of the actions at Haditha, he reported some fault with the command climate within the 2d Marine Division at the time.

As an isolated event, Haditha is a tragedy and potentially a crime that tarnishes the reputation of all who serve. It was the culmination of a number of factors, triggered by the death of a U.S. Marine by an IED and stoked by the tensions of operations and a command climate that seems to have implicitly condoned the attitude that Iraqi civilians are different from U.S. civilians and suspect. The real problem, however, is that Haditha was not an isolated incident.

On 26 April 2006, a group of U.S. Marines reportedly took Hashim Ibrahim Awad, a disabled father of 11 children, out of his home, beat him, and then shot him to death. Authorities charged seven Marines and a navy hospital corpsman with crimes ranging from murder and kidnapping to conspiracy, making false official statements, and larceny.[38] Again, this incident is clearly a criminal act, perhaps as some suggest, the act of a few "bad apples" that does not reflect the conduct of the vast majority of coalition Soldiers in Iraq.

Nevertheless, like most such events, it resulted from multiple factors, including a command climate that either condoned mistreatment of Iraqi civilians or at the very least, was unable to enforce the Marine

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Corps' commitment to its core values.[39] As they collected evidence, they discovered other unrelated assaults, some weeks before the Awad murder.[40] In one case, Second Lieutenant Nathan P. Phan allegedly beat, choked, and threatened detainees in Hamdani earlier in 2006. Phan acknowledged ordering his men to choke a detainee because he believed it was necessary to gather information from suspected insurgents. He also pressed an unloaded pistol against the mouth of another detainee to frighten him. In an unsubstantiated but telling admission intended to justify the assault, Phan's attorney stated that "the information [Phan] gained from these terrorists was highly important and valuable in saving Marine's lives."[41] Not only can this justification not be proven, but also such acts are contrary to the Uniform Code of Military Justice, *The Law of Land Warfare* (FM 27-10), the Geneva and Hague Conventions, the U.S. Constitution that officers swear to defend, and, significantly, the core values of the U.S. Marine Corps. Such actions supplied subordinates with a leadership example that would have tragic consequences for all concerned.

Some suggest that the attitudes displayed toward Iraqi civilians in the above incidents are simply the tip of an iceberg. In his book *Assassin's Gate*, George Packer describes the detention of two suspected insurgents at a U.S. airfield in Iraq. After witnessing the verbal abuse heaped on two detainees, Packer wrote, "It wasn't Abu Ghraib, just the ugliness of a bored and probably sadistic young man in a position of temporary power. But I left the airfield . . . with an uneasy feeling. I'd had a glimpse under the rock of the occupation; there was bound to be much more there."[42] While it may be that the two detainees were insurgents, the unprofessional handling techniques Packer observed did nothing to gain the detainees cooperation or conversion. The acts simply added to their disdain for America and the U.S. military.

Thomas Ricks provides further evidence of the attitudes of U.S. Soldiers and their leaders toward the Iraqi population. One brigade commander in early 2004 reportedly told a civil affairs officer that his forces were there to "kill the enemy, not win their hearts and minds," while his division commander later wrote, "Most nights we fired H&I fires [harassment and interdiction], what I call 'proactive' counter-fire . . . artillery plays a significant role in counterinsurgency."[43] A psychological affairs officer reported, "4th ID fueled the insurgency . . . guys would come up from Fallujah, set up next to a farmhouse, set off a mortar, and leave. In addition, the 4th ID would respond with counterbattery fire. The 4th ID's CG [commanding general] would foster that attitude. They were cowboys." Another U.S. officer reported, "I saw so many instances of abuses of civilians, intimidating civilians. Our jaws dropped."[44]

Some suggest that the [abusive] attitudes displayed toward Iraqi civilians...are simply the tip of an iceberg.

While most of the incidents that undercut U.S. military legitimacy have occurred in Iraq, operations in Afghanistan have not been without problems. On 4 March 2007, an element from a newly formed Marine special operations company was patrolling in Nangahar Province in eastern Afghanistan when a suicide bomber in a van ambushed it. A preliminary investigation revealed that the Marines started firing and continued shooting at no fewer than six locations, miles beyond the site of the ambush. According to a draft report the *Washington Post* obtained, they fired at stationary vehicles, passersby, and others who were "exclusively civilian in nature" and had made "no kind of provocative or threatening behavior."[45] Central Command quickly ordered the company out of Afghanistan, and the Marine Special Operations Command relieved the company commander and senior non-commissioned officer.[46]

While one can argue that strategic legitimacy in Afghanistan was more persuasive than in Iraq, both theaters have experienced varying levels of success in maintaining operational legitimacy. The response to the Marine's actions in Nangahar Province was predictably hostile locally where anti-coalition sentiment runs high, but the national response was rather muted. In Iraq, where U.S. strategic legitimacy was weak from the start, overcoming such incidents has been challenging. Efforts to buttress U.S. legitimacy through humanitarian and reconstruction operations have not been successful, and

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the shocking revelations at Abu Ghraib exacerbated the situation.

The handling of detainees has done more damage to U.S. strategic and operational legitimacy in the past few years than any other single issue. American and world public opinion has been harshly critical of the handling of detainees since Seymour Hersh first broke the story of the Abu Ghraib photos in April 2004.[47] The furor and rioting sparked in May 2005 after *Newsweek* reported that the Qur'an had been mishandled at Guantanamo demonstrates that the implications of abuse go far beyond issues of internal military discipline.[48] The August 2004 Schlesinger Report was damning in its criticisms of the policy, command, and disciplinary failures that contributed to the shocking level of abuse of detainees that occurred.[49] On 6 May 2005, through a report to the UN Committee Against Torture, the United States formally explained the results of its nine detainee investigations to the world and said it is dealing with over 300 recommendations to improve detainee handling, accountability, investigation, supervision, and coordination.[50] The detainee issues are by now well-known, and the effect on U.S. legitimacy has been devastating. Sheik Mohammed Bashir summed up Iraqi frustrations at Friday prayers in Um al-Oura, Baghdad, on 11 June 2004: "Freedom in this land is not ours. It is the freedom of the occupying Soldiers in doing what they like . . . abusing women, children, and the old men and women whom they arrested randomly and without any guilt. No one can ask them what they are doing because they are protected by their freedom. . .No one can punish them."[51]

The real impact of Abu Ghraib, Haditha, Hamdani, and other de-legitimizing incidents is not just a reduction in local cooperation for U.S. efforts, censure by the international community, and fading U.S. domestic support for the operations. The real impact is to strengthen the enemy. RAND researcher David Gompert has suggested that "careless COIN violence, indiscriminate arrests, nonjudicial detention, and cruel interrogation can delegitimize the governing power, validate the jihadist story, legitimize terrorism, and spawn new martyrs."[52] From January to September 2006, Iraqi approval rates for attacks on U.S. forces grew from 47 percent to 61 percent. Among Sunnis, support for targeting U.S. troops has dropped significantly from its high of 92 percent only because U.S. force commanders under General Petraeus finally started getting the message.[53] Based on polling results, Gompert notes, "When more than a third of American Muslims—known for their moderation—believe that their own government is 'fighting a war on Islam,' one can begin to fathom the difficulty of persuading non-American Muslims that this is not the case."[54]

Rebuilding Legitimacy

Military action can address the symptoms of a loss of legitimacy. In some cases, it can eliminate substantial numbers of insurgents. However, success in the form of a durable peace requires restoring legitimacy, which . . . requires the use of



AP Photo/Pablo Martinez Monsivais

A protester dressed as an Abu Ghraib prison detainee stands across from the White House during anti-war protests, 26 September 2005.

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all instruments of national power. A COIN effort cannot achieve lasting success without the HN [host nation] *government achieving legitimacy.*

—FM 3-24, *Counterinsurgency*[55]

Rebuilding U.S. legitimacy for current operations will require a long-term, multi-agency effort at the strategic and operational levels, but there are already signs that the effort may be worthwhile.

First, although U.S. legitimacy in Iraq remains weak, Muslim support for the Taliban or Al-Qaeda's vision of the world is at less than 10 percent. As one observer put it, "Many people would like to see Bin-Laden and Zarqawi hurt America. But they do not want Bin-Laden to rule their children."[56] While we have not won the war, we are far from losing it. Improving the perceived legitimacy for the Iraqi government and the U.S.-led effort in Iraq will save Iraqi and coalition lives, as well as serve to undermine insurgent and Al-Qaeda recruiting efforts.

The second note of optimism is the genuine effort we are making to correct the situation. Whether in determined pursuit of justice against wrongdoings, thorough doctrinal review, or selection of commanders with proven counterinsurgency experience, the U.S. military has taken the first steps in recognizing and correcting the problem. To complete the process, six important strategies are prerequisites for success.

Create a truly integrated list of principles of joint operations. The recent changes to U.S. doctrine have renamed the military operations other than war principles—legitimacy, restraint, and perseverance—as "other principles" and made them subordinate to the traditional principles of war as if to suggest that one should not consider legitimacy until some magic moment when it is time to replace one set of principles with another. Suggesting that a shift in mentality will occur on demand brings to mind the comments an officer made as the 3d Armored Cavalry Regiment arrived in Iraq in 2003: "Their attitude in terms of rules of engagement suggested to me that they had not made the change from combat operations to stability operations."[57] Officers cannot begin thinking about legitimacy, restraint, and perseverance in Phase IV. During modern combat operations, we must consider these principles long before Phase IV begins. A mind-set that still views high-intensity combat as the only real work for Soldiers will result in confusion. Serving the Nation can take on many forms, all of which require professionalism and reflection on bedrock principles, among which legitimacy must urgently take its place. Soldiers need to learn that reinforcing legitimacy is a core business of all combat forces.

Recognize that professional officers are protectors of legitimacy. The administration's decision to support harsher interrogation methods may have produced some information of intelligence value, but its negative impact has far outweighed any value gained. Many, particularly in the judge advocate branch, saw the crisis looming, but were marginalized by non-military advisors suggesting that "the new paradigm rendered the Geneva Convention obsolete" and "rendered quaint some of its provisions."[58] The reality was, however, that senior officers requested, accepted, and implemented these provisions, often with insufficient oversight given the risks involved. Senior officers must consider their organization's long-term legitimacy when requesting or implementing such extraordinary measures.

State the unstated clearly. Leaders at every level must recognize that they could have prevented many actions that eroded legitimacy were it not for the tacit approval that the troops assumed their senior leaders had given for such actions. Second Lieutenant Phan's example of poor leadership in Hamdani reflects an attitude of implicit justification. The Schlesinger Report's observation that "leaders conveyed a sense of tacit approval of abusive behaviors towards prisoners" verbalizes what many in the military could feel—a command climate where restraint was not a clear concern. Comments about complacency in the Bargewell Report on Haditha also reinforce conclusions that leaders at all levels clearly failed to state how legitimacy fit into the concept of the operation.[59]

Consider a tactical operation's impact on legitimacy. Soldiers like kicking in doors. It gives them an adrenaline rush and a sense of accomplishment

Soldiers need to learn that reinforcing legitimacy is a core business of all combat forces.

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Soldiers like kicking in doors. It gives them an adrenaline rush and a sense of accomplishment and cuts the boredom. Unfortunately, it also creates new enemies.

and cuts the boredom. Unfortunately, it also creates new enemies. Hard intelligence must guide cordon-and-search operations and 0200 hours takedowns. If the local police could ring the doorbell the next morning with the same effect, should a platoon have to break its way in? Can we leave the small fish behind until after we catch the big fish in order to ensure the locals understand our intent? Can special operations forces (SOF) deal with this target? Are SOF too focused on direct-action missions instead of the more subtle paths to victory? As the staff war games all options, it must consider the longer-term results of the tactical actions.

Take a lesson from American history. As police forces in the United States increased in professionalism, they learned hard lessons about legitimacy. In 1965, two years before some of the worst riots in Detroit history, Detroit Police Commissioner George Edwards wrote the following: "Although local [white] police forces generally regard themselves as public servants with the responsibility of maintaining law and order, they tend to minimize this attitude when they are patrolling areas that are heavily populated with Negro citizens. There, they tend to view each person on the streets as a potential criminal or enemy, and all too often that attitude is reciprocated . . . It has been a major cause of all recent race riots."[60]

The tendency to view most citizens as potential enemies is often the default setting for coalition forces. While no Soldier should be naïve, the assumption that most people in the streets just want to get on with their lives peacefully is probably correct. The respect Soldiers show to those citizens should be similar to the respect they show to U.S. citizens during responses to domestic crisis.

Recognize that legitimacy in a single operation is influential and enduring. U.S. legitimacy in Iraq affects how people in Afghanistan, Yemen, and the Philippines view U.S. operations. The Abu Ghraib revelations had a direct impact on attitudes around the world. The success of the U.S. in regaining legitimacy in Iraq will have an impact on some future operation in another region of the world. A single operation will have an affect on all future operations in the region because local memories



U.S. Air Force, SSGT Jason T. Bailey

An M1A1 Abrams tank enforces a "no walking, no stopping, no vending, no loitering, deadly force authorized" zone near Baghdad, 7 December 2007.

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tend to last longer than the institutional memories of deployed forces. In 1979, the anger of Iranian students who took 54 citizens of "the Great Satan" hostage shocked the U.S. In fact, a long-term view of U.S. legitimacy in the region influenced Iranian students who used the phrase. From the local perspective, the hostage taking was a form of insurance against a repeat of the clandestine U.S. intervention of 1953 that overthrew a popular prime minister in favor of the pro-U.S. and authoritarian shah.[61] Whatever reputation one sets today in a region will have second- and third-order effects years from now.

Conclusion

For wee must consider that wee shall be as a citty upon a hill. The eies of all people are uppon us.

—John Winthrop, 1630[62]

To achieve long-term successes, the U.S. must conduct *all* military operations with the concept of legitimacy in mind. While military officers must play the hand that fate deals them in geopolitics, they can influence how people view their actions on the ground. Good influence requires an integrated force that comprehends the importance of legitimacy. The objective may be the first principle of all operations, but legitimacy ranks second. ***MR***

NOTES

1. President George W. Bush, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, Washington, DC: The White House, 16 March 2006, Introduction, 1, <www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss/2006/nss2006.pdf>.

2. Official DOD casualty totals are available at <www.defenselink.mil/news/casualty.pdf>. The most useful reference for running totals including coalition and (tentative) Iraqi totals is at <icasualties.org/oif/>.

3. Not including Pakistani or Afghan forces, fatalities among coalition troops in 2006 totaled 191, far in excess of the 12 killed in 2001 and the 68 killed in 2002. The sites noted above give up-to-date figures. For official DOD reports, see <www.defenselink.mil/news/casualty.pdf>. More complete reporting of coalition casualties is available at <www.icasualties.org/oef/>.

4. While there is much debate over what constitutes a defense expenditure, the 48 percent figure comes from *Stockholm International Peace Research Institute's Yearbook 2006: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), chapter 8. Extracts are available at <http://yearbook2006.sipri.org/chap8/chap8>. The United States has taken on an immense burden. Were it a national defense budget, the budget supplemental request alone (in addition to the departmental request) would rank as the second largest national defense budget in the world (approximately $30 billion more than China's). For current budget requests, see <www.whitehouse.gov/infocus/budget/BudgetFY2008.pdf>.

5. Too many useful references on counterinsurgency exist to provide a full list here. Full bibliographical references as well as reviews can be found at the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College in Fort Leavenworth website at <www-cgsc.army.mil/carl/resources/biblio/CAC_counterinsurgency.asp> or at the very useful *Small Wars Journal* website at <http://smallwarsjournal.com/reading-list/>.

6. Quotes are from David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice* (New York: Praeger, 1964), 8.

7. U.S. Army, Field Manual (FM) 3-24 *Counterinsurgency* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office [GPO], 15 December 2006), 1-3. The U.S. Marine Corps also issued this publication as Marine Corps Warfighting Publication 3-33.5, <http://usacac.army.mil/cac/repository/materials/coin-fm3-24.pdf>.

8. The principles of war are objective, offensive, mass, economy of force, maneuver, unity of command, security, surprise, and simplicity. See U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, Joint Publication 3-0, *Joint Operations*, 17 September 2006, <www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/new_pubs/jp3_0.pdf>. Joint Publication (JP) 3-0 took the new list of "other principles" directly from earlier U.S. doctrine for "Operations Other than War." See U.S. JCS, Joint Publication (JP) 3-07, *Joint Doctrine for Military Operations Other than War*, 16 June 1995, available at <www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/new_pubs/jp3_07.pdf>. The fact that JP 3-07 refers to these other principles as "MOOTW-specific" suggests that in U.S. military thinking until recently, issues such as restraint, legitimacy, and perseverance were not part of mainstream doctrinal thinking. Note that JP 3-07 is no longer extant. Similar terminology appeared in earlier U.S. Army doctrine, notably FM 100-5 and FM 100-20.

9. Christopher Pierson, *The Modern State* (London: Routledge, 1996), 22.

10. For discussions on legitimacy as a political concept, see Andrew Heywood, *Key Concepts in Politics* (New York: St Martin's Press, 2000), 29-30; David Held, *Political Theory and the Modern State: Essays on State, Power and Democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), 99—157; and, John Hoffman, *Beyond the State* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995).

11. A good example of this was the NATO decision to conduct operations in Kosovo in 1999. While the legality of that operation remains debatable (since there was no formal UNSC resolution), based on polling, the majority of NATO populations generally viewed it as a legitimate application of force.

12. Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, (New York: The Free Press, 1964), 124-32; see also *Basic Concepts in Sociology*, Part IV Social Order available on-line in English translation at <www.ne.jp/asahi/moriyuki/abukuma/weber/method/basic/basic_concept_frame.html>.

13. Larry Johnston, *Politics: An Introduction to the Modern Democratic State*, (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 1997), 24.

14. Max Weber, quoted in Pierson, 22.

15. Ibid., 22-23.

16. Hannah Arendt, Between Past and Future: Eight Exercises in Political Thought, 4th ed, rev. (New York: Penguin Books, 1983), 92-3, quoted in Jean-Marc Coicaud, Legitimacy and Politics: A contribution to the study of political right and political responsibility, trans., David Ames Curtis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

17. The experiences of Miami Police Chief John Timoney are of particular interest. As a senior member of New York Police Department, Timoney examined police shooting rates in New York in 1972 and noted that when a policy restriction on firearms use was imposed, shootings dropped immediately by 50 percent. By 1985, the number of people killed by the police in New York had dropped from 90 to 12 and the number of police officers killed dropped from 12 to zero. As Miami Chief of Police, he imposed similar restrictions, resulting in significant reductions in shootings (from an average of 12 police shootings and 2.8 people killed by police annually before his tenure to less than two police shootings per year and only two people killed by police in four years under his tenure). Importantly, these reforms had a positive affect on crime in Miami, including a significant decrease in the murder rate. See, Elsa Walsh, "Miami Blue: The Testing of a Top Cop," *The New Yorker*, 5 March 2007, 47.

18. All quotes are from a useful summary of research in Wesley Skogan and Kathleen Frydl, eds, *Fairness and Effectiveness in Policing: The Evidence*, Report of the National Research Council Committee to Review Research on Police Policy and Practices (Washington, DC: The National Academies Press, 2004), 18-19 and 304-6.

19. GEN David H. Petraeus, "Commanding General's Letter about Values," *Multi-National Force—Iraq Website*, 10 May 2007, <www.mnf-iraq.com/images/stories/CGs_Corner/values_message_%2810_may_07%29.pdf>.

20. James Fallows, "Declaring Victory," The *Atlantic Monthly*, 298, no. 2 September 2006, <www.theatlantic.com/doc/200609/fallows_victory>.

21. Peter Bergen, "Ayman Al-Zawahiri," in *Time Magazine*, Sunday, 30 April 2006, <www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1187180,00.html> and at <www.peterbergen.com/bergen/articles/details.aspx?id=259>. In the same vein, Fallows continues to argue: "Telhami's polls, like those from the Pew Global Attitudes Survey, show a steady increase in hostility toward the United States—but no surge of enthusiasm for Taliban-style fundamentalist life . . . 'many people would like bin Laden and Zarqawi to hurt America. But they do not want bin Laden to rule their children.' His polls asked people to identify an aspect of Al-Qaeda with which they most sympathized. Only 6 percent of respondents chose Al-Qaeda's advocacy of a puritanical Islamic state." Fallows, Ibid.

22. Quoted in <http://projects.washingtonpost.com/staff/email/karen+deyoung++and+peter+baker>. "Bush Detainee Plan Adds to World Doubts of U.S., Powell Says," *Washington Post*, 19 September 2006, A04, <www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/09/18/AR2006091801414.html?referrer=email>.

23. While there are many references for just war theory, a good introductory text is Paul Christopher, *The Ethics of War and Peace: An Introduction to Legal and Moral Issues*, 3d Edition. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2004).

24. Many argue that the decision to go to war was largely pre-conceived and that briefings to the UN Security Council or the search for further evidence of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq were simply efforts to seek legitimacy for a decision already taken. See Bob Woodward, *Plan of Attack* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004).

25. See Paul Christopher, Chapter 4.

26. Rupert Smith, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World*, (London: Penguin Books, 2006), 16-17.

27. Quoted in Anonymous (the IOC Staff, The Basic School), "A Question of Moral Authority: Understanding the Fighter/Leader Concept," *The Marine Corps Gazette*, May 2006, 64-5. From Steven Pressfield, *The Gates of Fire* (New York: Doubleday, 1998), 112.

28. JP 3-0, Annex A, A-4.

29. For the Ranger descriptions of the operations, see James Schroeder, "The Rangers Take Hadithah Dam," *Veritas* (Winter 2005): 55—60, and Mir Bahmanyar, *Shadow Warriors: A History of the U.S. Army Rangers* (New York: Osprey, 2005), 248-53. The latter is complete with PowerPoint slides from the concept of operations

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briefing. A more general overview, which gives the operational context for the operations appears in Michael R. Gorden and General Bernard E. Trainor, *Cobra II: The Inside Story of the Invasion and Occupation of Iraq*, (New York: Pantheon books, 2006), 331-35.

30. Martin Asser, "What happened at Haditha?" BBC News Report, 21 December 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/5033648.stm>. A useful overview with references is also available at *Wikipedia.org* under the title of *"Haditha Killings,"* <http://en.wikipedia.org/Haditha_massacre.htm>.

31. See Tim McGirk, "Collateral Damage or Civilian Massacre in Haditha?" *Time*, 19 March 2006, <www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1174682,00.html>. Also, see Asser.

32. A preliminary investigation began on 14 February 2006 and a criminal investigation three weeks later. Those investigations have resulted in 15 broad charges and 44 specific charges against 8 marines, including murder charges against 4 of them.

33. Asser.

34. Josh White, "Report on Haditha Condemns Marines: Signs of Misconduct were Ignored," *Washington Post*, 21 April 2007, A01, www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/04/20/AR2007042002308.html.

35. "'Simple Failures' and 'Disastrous Results': Excerpts from MG Eldon A. Bargewell's Report," *Washington Post*, 21 April 2007, page A13. <www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/04/20/AR2007042002309.htm>.

36. Ibid., A13, and Josh White, A13.

37. Ibid., A13.

38. Reuters, "Marine Given 8 Years in Iraqi's death," *New York Times*, 19 February 2007, <www.newyorktimes.com/2007/02/19/us/19marine.html/ref=worldspecial>. For a list of detailed charges in this case and the Haditha incident, see U.S. Marine Corps website, "Iraq Investigations," <www.usmc.mil/lapa/iraq-investigations.htm>. Note that five of the eight have now accepted plea bargains of various forms to receive lesser sentences in exchange for testimony against three of the accused.

39. In response to these events, the Commandant of the Marine Corps, General M W. Hagee, released a reminder to the Corps entitled, "On Marine Virtue," < www.marines.mil/marinelink/mcn2000.nsf/0/ff362b1c89c3a3538525717900632927?Open Document>.

40. See a quick summary of related news articles and links to those articles in a *Wikipedia.org* article "Hamdania incident," <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hamdania_incident>.

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42. George Packer, *The Assassin's Gate: America in Iraq* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2005), 236-37.

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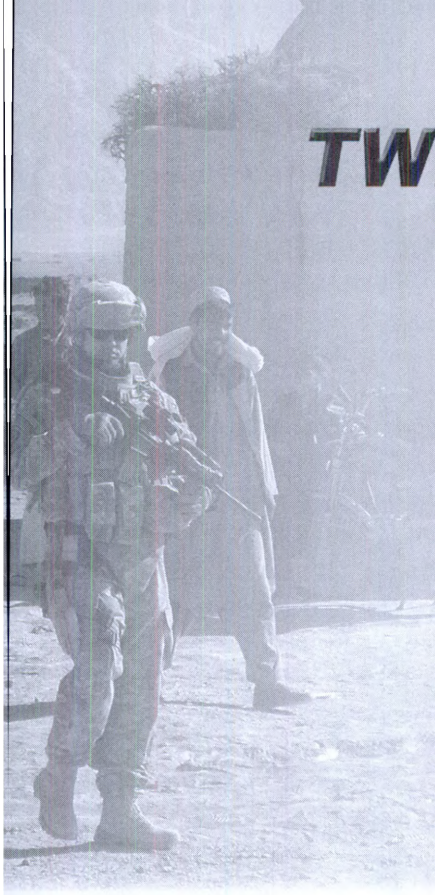
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TWELVE URGENT STEPS
for the Advisor Mission in Afghanistan

Captain Daniel Helmer, U.S. Army

THE ATTACKS OF 9/11 originated from Afghanistan, where a decade of international neglect after the fall of the communist government allowed Islamic extremists to train and thrive. Today, the mission to resurrect the failed Afghan state stands at "a strategic fork in the road."[1] Squabbling within the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), including threats by the Canadians and Dutch to withdraw forces in 2009, makes government and coalition victory seem far from inevitable in the eyes of the Afghan people. Their confidence in the coalition and their government has decreased, even as there has been some modest improvement in feelings about the Afghan National Police and Afghan National Army.[2] Frustration with the state of affairs in Afghanistan has been compounded by the coldest winter on record and fast-rising food prices, which generated relatively slow responses both from the government and international community.

Over the course of the six-year international presence in Afghanistan, the country has become the largest narcotic-producing nation in the history of the world.[3] Moreover, civilian deaths reached an apogee in the past year. Suicide bombings, rare prior to 2005, have increased and have become more deadly. Widely publicized suicide and kidnapping attacks against foreign civilian targets have made international agencies reluctant to work throughout significant portions of Afghanistan.[4] Meanwhile, coalition forces failed to convince the people that they were more discriminating in their use of violence than the insurgents, while casualty rates among coalition and Afghan forces are the highest they have been since the start of the conflict. In the economic realm, instability cut direct foreign investment in half over the past year, after five years of gains.[5] Afghans living in the once quiet center, west, and north of the country have grown increasingly frustrated with the central government's and international community's focus on the south and east. In the words of one political correspondent in Mazar-I Sharif, a city in the north, "Our people are today living in a state of disappointment."[6]

In the wake of such bad news, ISAF and the separate U.S.-led Combined Security Transition Command-Afghanistan (CSTC-A) have sought, with limited success, to increase the number of ISAF and U.S. advisors in the country so they can more quickly and effectively transfer security responsibility to the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF). This plan, however, is not working. Without the following 12 major and rapid changes to its structure and execution, the advisory effort will fail to arrest the growing insurgencies in Afghanistan.

Captain Daniel Helmer was a police mentor in Afghanistan and then served on a team charged with establishing the Afghanistan Counterinsurgency Academy. He currently serves as an instructor at the Directorate for Cultural Influence and Counterinsurgency at Fort Riley, Kansas. Opinions expressed here are his own.

PHOTO: Police mentor team member CPT Brian Fletcher on patrol in Baqwa, Afghanistan. Advisors are the most dispersed force in Afghanistan but have little access to either lethal or nonlethal effects. (CPT Gene Vinson, U.S. Army)

Prepare Advisors for Afghanistan, Not Iraq

Currently, the lead U.S. unit at Fort Riley charged with training advisors for Afghanistan and Iraq uses the same trainers for both missions. While

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Riley has made extensive efforts to prepare teams to operate effectively in Afghanistan, the major differences between the theaters make it very difficult for those who have only been to Iraq to develop an appropriate frame of reference for Afghanistan and prepare teams accordingly. The unit should consolidate all of its trainers with Afghanistan experience into one group focused on training for counterinsurgency (COIN) warfare in the mountains, deserts, and jungles of Afghanistan.

Additionally, while Fort Riley has the lead in training combat advisors, many other centers around the United States and Europe also provide training. The coalition and the U.S. military should standardize and consolidate Afghan training to the greatest degree possible. Consolidation will facilitate agreement on what advisors should do and how best to train them. Importantly, once the functions and training of advisors are agreed upon, ISAF commanders in Afghanistan will understand better how to engage and employ the advisors in their areas.

...[Fort Riley] should consolidate all of its trainers with Afghanistan experience into one group focused on training for counterinsurgency...

End District Hopping

Fighting in Afghanistan is like trying to respond to a mass-casualty disaster with two doctors, then measuring how many patients they treat, not how many they save. The impulse to spread advisors thinly over a wide area has resulted in police mentor teams responsible for mentoring in several districts at one time. Advisors for the Afghan Army, meanwhile, are often responsible for mentoring multiple units or several echelons of the Afghan Army at the same time (e.g., company commanders and battalion staff officers at the same time).

For CSTC-A, the advisor command in Afghanistan, this broad allocation of personnel increases the total number of districts and units in which it can claim to have advisors. Such claims, however, say nothing about the quality or effectiveness of the assistance advisors provide to Afghan forces. It is difficult to demonstrate credibility, and build rapport—the bedrock of effective advising—if you are here today and gone tomorrow.

A good emergency responder knows that a major disaster requires triage: identifying patients who are beyond assistance, those who can be saved by immediate assistance, and those whose cases can wait for another day. Unfortunately, because of ineffective intelligence, CSTC-A lacks the information to know which of the more than 300 districts would benefit most from advisor teams. The current assignment of advisors to the ANSF has not been matched adequately against the insurgent threat. Focused District Development, a recent plan to identify important districts and completely retrain their police forces, does not deal with the continued assignment of advisors to districts of little import outside of the plan. Advisor placement and the placement of the Afghan forces they advise seems to many advisor teams to verge on randomness. On a district-by-district basis, CSTC-A should determine quickly where to assign advisor teams given its very limited resources, and then do so one team per unit.

Live, Work, and Fight with Mentored Units

According to the U.S. Army's COIN doctrine in Field Manual (FM) 3-24, advisors should "live, work, and (when necessary) fight with their HN [Host Nation] units. Segregation is kept at an absolute minimum."[7] In Afghanistan, advisor teams generally live apart from their Afghan units. Even when they don't, they are often segregated from the Afghans by massive walls. Fewer key districts will fall to insurgents and mentoring will become more effective if we adopt FM 3-24's prescription as the rule rather than the exception. Fewer ANSF members will die unnecessarily at poorly defended district centers and outposts if the key districts are identified, mentors are pushed out to them on a permanent basis, and CSTC-A provides the logistics necessary to support them and the overall COIN effort. Also, fewer mentors will be exposed to roadside bombs if they are not required to travel constantly from their bases to police stations on the limited and predictable road network.

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An Afghan unit should not be considered covered by advisor capabilities until an advisor team is embedded with it. Embedding will not only enable more effective mentoring and combat advising, it will also give coalition units greater access to human intelligence where it counts.

End the Individual Replacement System

The commands in Afghanistan have adopted a de facto individual replacement system that rotates individuals rather than units into theater.[8] Such systems have been discredited in the past, and the U.S. Army specifically seeks to identify and deploy teams rather than individuals. Mission turbulence will inevitably result in some advisors being sent to different areas than originally planned; however, the current helter-skelter method of not telling an advisor where he will serve until the last minute dramatically slows down the learning process and doesn't develop effective, cohesive teams trained and conditioned to operate together in a difficult environment.

While constituting and training advisor teams need to happen immediately, larger regional unit deployments should replace team deployments as soon as possible. In other words, an entire regional advisor command should be trained and deployed together. A continuous unit chain of command throughout training and deployment would ensure that commanders know their subordinates and vice-versa, and it would assuage some of the feelings advisor units often get of having been abandoned. It would also allow better planning and staffing at the regional level because staffs and commanders would have trained together. While executing a regional unit rotation policy will be difficult, such detailed personnel coordination is not impossible. The advisor command should cut this Gordian knot now. Regional unit rotation could make advisory efforts more effective and improve long-term institutional capabilities, enabling us to turn over the fight to the Afghan government more quickly.

Identify Key Skills Among Advisors

Effective counterinsurgents not only take on the population's security, but also provide basic economic needs, essential services, community sustainment, and social institutions, all of which contribute to an acceptable quality of life. These areas of responsibility require the advisor command to identify people with unique skills and put them in the proper staff or mentor positions. Even in the security realm, the command needs greater expertise in areas such as computer technology; logistics; engineering; policing; and information, psychological, and media operations. Counterinsurgency theorists have often held that complex counterinsurgency is beyond the realm of reservists' skills or ability. Yet, National Guard and Reserve Soldiers have proven in their service in Afghanistan and Iraq that their unique civilian skills prepare them not only for combat operations, but also for governance and economic development. No concerted effort has been made, however, to tap this advantage by identifying unique skills of the Soldiers within CSTC-A and applying them accordingly. Given the likelihood of continued Guard and Reserve participation in the advisor campaign, the Guard command should identify individuals with critical skills, regardless of their branch, rank, and time in service, and place them in teams and units and on staffs where they can contribute the most.[9]

Develop a COIN Intelligence Capability

Key capability gaps exist today in the collection, analysis, and distribution of intelligence across coalition and Afghan forces.

Collection. Advisor teams are the most dispersed forces in Afghanistan, and they have the most consistent contact with Afghan security forces. They have ready access to more human intelligence than any other set of non-Afghan soldiers in Afghanistan. Yet there is no effective advisor chain for intelligence collection and no widely understood obligation for advisors to collect intelligence. Once CSTC-A is able to determine the composition of teams prior to their arrival in Afghanistan, intelligence officers should be identified and trained for every team. CSTC-A must develop easy, widely dispersed systems—analog, digital, or even cell phone—to facilitate collection across its force. Immediately, even before these changes are implemented, CSTC-A and its regional commands should develop and disseminate the key questions that they need teams to answer (i.e.,

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...there is no effective advisor chain for intelligence collection and no widely understood obligation for advisors to collect intelligence.

their priority intelligence requirements). Every mentor should be aware of these requirements and understand how to report relevant information in a timely manner.

Analysis. Any collection from CSTC-A currently goes into a black hole. Without a collection system, the command is limited to developing intelligence based on sources on its own secure intranet. These intelligence products serve little purpose, because there is no functional distribution system for advisor teams.

Collection from ANSF and National Directorate of Security (the Afghan intelligence service) sources gets pieced together with ISAF intelligence to a limited extent at the national level and, below that, barely at all. Counterinsurgency in Afghanistan is a valley-by-valley fight. Yet we have only the most trivial understanding at the local level of who the insurgents are and what their narratives, networks, motivations, demands, and support structures are. We have an even poorer understanding of the human terrain, such as tribes and other networks, and their dynamics. The newly employed human terrain teams provide little actionable information to mentors on the ground because they are in a separate chain of command. Likewise, they receive little information from the mentors themselves. While we possess some national-level understanding of the insurgency, we know little about how various pieces of the puzzle fit from one region into another. We have not been able to predict what the enemy will do, nor have we been able to disrupt his decision cycle.

At times it is easy to see why. If you look to the small city of Gardez as an example, separate intelligence cells live and work at six independent Afghan and coalition headquarters.[10] It does not require years of intelligence experience to guess how poorly this operates.

Intelligence assets should be reorganized to include, in a single cell, intelligence officers from the Afghan Police and Army, Afghan National Directorate of Security, and coalition forces. These cells should operate at all levels in Afghanistan. In these cells, intelligence officers from the different groups would jointly receive reports and conduct analysis, which they could forward up and disseminate down the chains of command. Colocating analysts would likely result in greater intelligence sharing and better analysis. With improved intelligence, we could target both the insurgents and the underlying causes of the insurgency much more effectively.

Distribution. Today, many advisor teams have little or no access to intelligence and secure intelligence systems. In a COIN fight, intelligence is vital, but



U.S. Army, SPC Scott Bertran

Police mentor team Soldiers with Afghanistan National Police and Army members conduct a cordon and search in Shewan, Afghanistan, 2007. All elements employed in the operation have independent logistics, intelligence, and communications systems.

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many advisor teams remain in the dark. Current off-the-shelf solutions could solve the problem of providing secure network access to advisor teams. Months or even years should no longer pass between emplacing a remote team and providing connectivity to intelligence networks.[11] In Kunar and Nuristan provinces, 1-32 Infantry operated through much of 2006 and 2007 with Secret Internet Protocol Router Network access down to the platoon and even sub-platoon level. Their example is a good one for the advisor command, particularly if the command is (as professed) the Army's "number one priority."

Distribution of intelligence is further hampered because too few intelligence products are releasable to the ANSF. This makes it very difficult to operate cohesively with our Afghan partners. Much intelligence can and should be shared with Afghan officers; in fact, virtually every intelligence product should be produced in a form that can be shared with Afghans. At the very least, U.S. and ISAF intelligence officers need to be trained on what can and cannot be shared, and how to best facilitate the sharing.

Give Advisor Teams Access to Nonlethal Effects

A natural tension exists between successful ISAF commanders and CSTC-A advisors. ISAF commanders seek to accomplish the greatest good they can in a 4- to 15-month tour. The best advisors seek to create Afghan units that can sustain and win combat operations for a protracted conflict with no ready end in sight. The advisor, however, is often forced to rely on ISAF units for his own support and, at times, protection. Also, depending on his location, he may receive his orders from the ISAF commander. When conflicts arise between the ISAF commander's short-term goals and the advisor's long-term objectives, the ISAF commander really has no need to consider the advisor's viewpoint. This disconnect in vision can be counterproductive; for example, using Afghan soldiers as unit auxiliaries rather than conducting joint planning with the Afghan commander undermines the Afghans' progress toward autonomous operations.

To even the playing field and spur collaborative efforts, the Commanders Emergency Response Program (CERP)—a fund for short-term humanitarian assistance projects such as wells—should become the sole province of advisor teams. This would provide, for the first time, direct access for Afghan commanders through their mentors to significant nonlethal effects. Access to such effects would enable Afghan Police and Army commanders to conduct planning and operations across all counter-insurgency lines of operation while helping to ensure that the ISAF commander supported the Afghan commander's operations in the Afghan commander's area of operations rather than the other way around. As with intelligence, one member of every advisor team should be trained to do civil affairs. This training requirement, too, would encourage CSTC-A to identify teams prior to their arrival in Afghanistan.

Ensuring that CERP funded projects are selected in collaboration with ANSF leaders could increase the legitimacy of government action in an area. ISAF commanders would retain access to other types of civil affairs funding through provincial reconstruction teams (PRTs) and other sources.

...one member of every advisor team should be trained to do civil affairs.

Improve and Decentralize Information Operations

If the mentor command in Afghanistan has developed information operations (IO) guidance, messages, or themes, the guidance is unknown to most mentors. A booklet containing standard themes passed out to some mentor teams seems to have been developed in a vacuum and has not evolved significantly over the course of time.

ISAF remains an IO dinosaur, with response times stretching into days and weeks and no delegation of authority to the battalion level and below. It is far easier for the media to get information from the insurgents, who respond in minutes, than from CSTC-A, ISAF, or the government, which respond well outside the window of the 24-hour news cycle. Nor does the command at times realize the problem. (One regional advisor commander told his senior IO mentor this year that he really did not see the need to develop information operations within his planning.) In a campaign for influence over the Afghan people, this state of affairs is a losing proposition.

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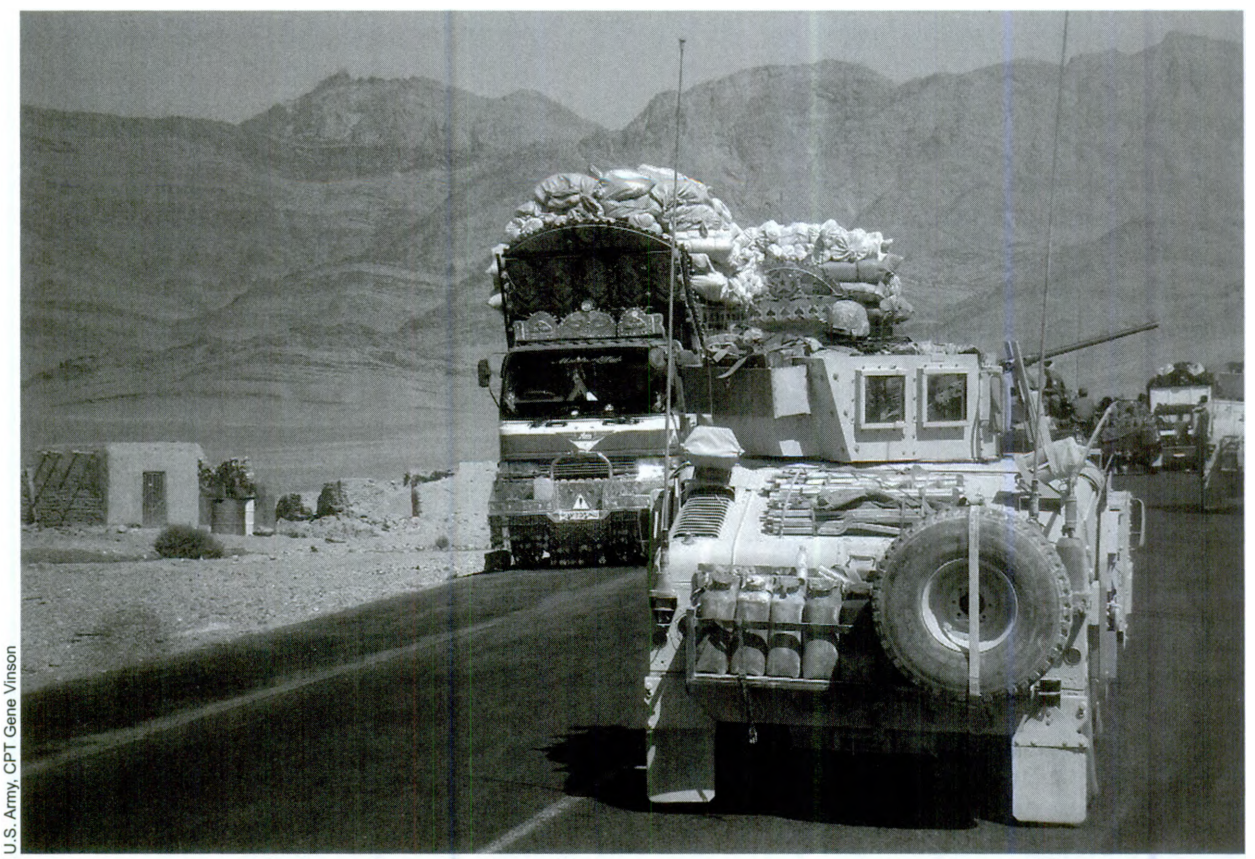
CSTC-A has access to the most vital IO resource in the country: the soldiers and police of the ANSF. CSTC-A ought to develop an informed and effective campaign in conjunction with the Afghan government to successfully influence the people. Advisor units should be constantly reminded of the importance of IO and be given the necessary authority to implement IO initiatives (in accordance with national themes) through and in conjunction with their counterparts. To enhance the teams' IO capabilities, one member should receive in-depth IO training.

Beyond specific training for a single team member, culturally appropriate IO training needs to be a focal component of all advisor team predeployment training. The enemy regards IO as a decisive element in his campaign. We cannot afford to cede that fight to him.

Improve Logistics and Engineering Support

CSTC-A has not properly employed its most effective weapon in Afghanistan: its money. This shortcoming is apparent in the lack of adequate planning and strategic thought behind the provision of logistics and engineering support to advisor teams and the ANSF. At the best of times, such planning has been done poorly. One advisor assigned to a remote area told me that in order to survive, his team and the unit they were mentoring were forced to sell fuel for food between monthly or longer aerial resupply missions. Some teams are immobile for weeks as they await truck parts or ammunition. Meanwhile, separate logistics systems are being used to supply ISAF and other forces in theater. At times, two different logistics convoys will conduct separate resupply missions for CSTC-A and ISAF units along dangerous routes, even though the customers units are located at the same base. Both the planning and effectiveness of logistics support must transform drastically.

CSTC-A, ISAF, the Afghan forces, and other forces in theater need to develop a combined logistical and construction task force that



U.S. Army, CPT Gene Vinson

Police mentor team Soldiers and Afghanistan National Police mentors conduct a road patrol through the mountains of Afghanistan, 2007.

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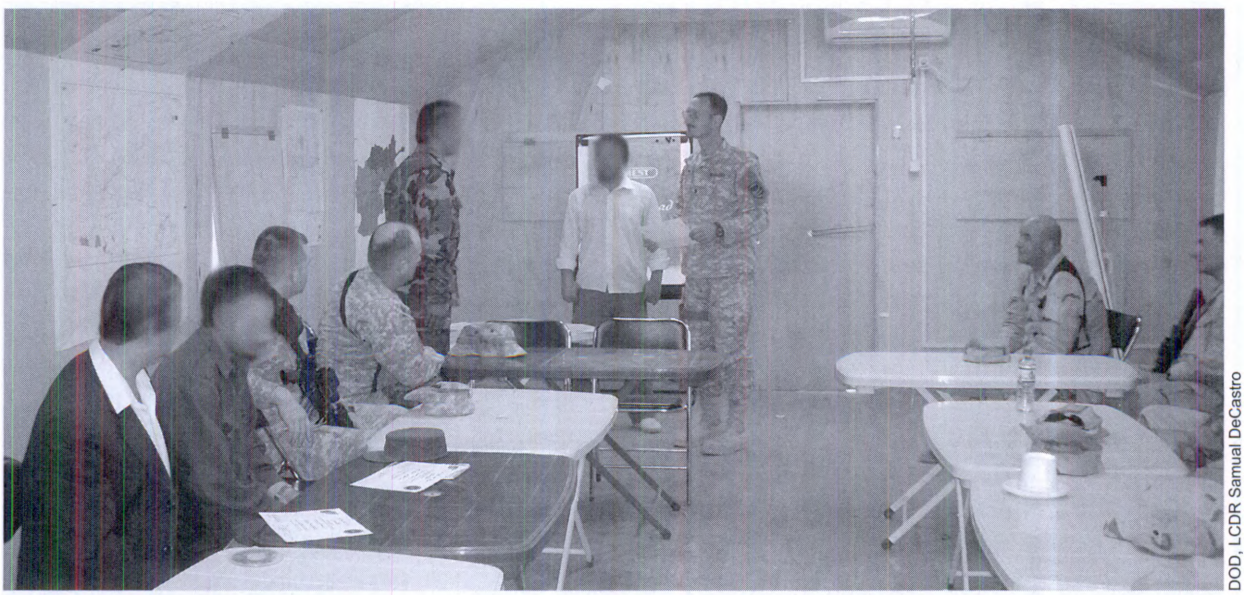
evaluates two key issues: how to support and sustain the force, and how to support economic development, reconstruction, governance, and information operations.

There is much room for improvement in procurement, movement, and construction. Formation of a combined task force, in lieu of the current independent logistics fiefdoms, will provide greater efficiency. Simultaneously, it will broaden consideration of logistical efforts as integral components of the overall COIN effort. This task force should work in conjunction with the United Nations Assistance Mission Afghanistan and the Afghan National Development Strategy to balance sustainability, building capacity, critical needs, and local needs with national imperatives. On the other hand, a new combined task force will not immediately meet the supply and construction needs of advisor teams. In the short term it may actually exacerbate some of the issues as we use more local contracting, local procurement, and Afghan-sustainable construction methods (e.g., mud brick or tamped earth instead of imported concrete block from Pakistan). In the end, though, more effective planning in the logistics and engineering realms could enable us to support the fight more effectively in key districts while simultaneously driving both long-term development and the exchange of guns for shovels.

Give *All* Leaders Standardized COIN Training

Knowledge of COIN principles and imperatives and how to apply them varies within CSTC-A, across ISAF, and throughout the Afghan security forces and government.[12] Leaders in the field lack a common vision of both campaign objectives and their commanders' intents on how to achieve those objectives. Advisors, ISAF maneuver units, PRTs, and Afghan security forces can only function as part of a single campaign to defeat the insurgency if they have a baseline knowledge of the Afghan insurgency, COIN doctrine, the current campaign, the lethal and nonlethal tools at their disposal, and know how their area of responsibility fits into the whole.

The Counterinsurgency Academy in Kabul is a small step toward realizing unity of effort and a comprehensive approach to defeating the insurgency; yet it remains an ad hoc organization attended often by low-level players with little clout, and it has little buy-in from the advisor, ISAF, or Afghan chains of command. The academy, or a similar initiative, should be properly resourced and supported. Relevant, contemporary instruction must be provided in-theater to ISAF and Afghan commanders and staffs, key PRT personnel, advisor leaders, and relevant civilian leaders to ensure greater adherence to tested COIN doctrine



DOD, LCDR Samual DeCastro

Students graduate from the Counterinsurgency Leaders Course at the Afghanistan Counterinsurgency Academy, 14 September 2007. Combined, joint classes help develop unity of effort and a common understanding of counterinsurgency principles, but they are rarely attended by senior coalition mentors and commanders.

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and a common understanding of what needs to be done in Afghanistan.

Learn the Right Lessons from the Right Places

After too long a time, CSTC-A is finally beginning to incorporate some lessons from our big-brother operation to the west, but it is time to ask if Iraq really is the best place to look for guidance. While our mistakes in Iraq and Afghanistan do share a number of similarities, there are enough differences in the two situations to give us pause. Iraq is a resource-rich, relatively educated country with access to the sea. Landlocked Afghanistan is one of the earth's poorest countries. It has never had a strong, stable, long-lasting central government; it has experienced nothing but war for three decades; it has one of the lowest literacy rates in the world; it has virtually no infrastructure or industry; and it has multiple ethnicities crossing nearly arbitrary international boundaries. In short, Afghanistan more closely resembles a post-conflict state in sub-Saharan Africa than it does Iraq. It is a state-building experiment being conducted in the midst of an insurgency, and the command needs to bring in assistance for the Afghan Army and Police from those who have worked in similar situations. Instead, it has brought in, at huge expense, civilian advisors on expensive contracts who have moved full steam ahead in creating systems, doctrine, and training appropriate for a developed Western army guarding the Fulda Gap and for police in the U.S. Midwest. Under this tutelage, the Afghan Army is now well on its way to having dozens of military occupational specialties and thousands of pages of word-for-word translated U.S. doctrine for a force that is barely literate. It is time to entirely reevaluate contracted civilian advisors, to fire those who are incapable of advising a non-Western force, and to hire personnel with experience in advising security forces and designing systems in the world's least developed post-conflict countries.

Simplify the Advisor Chain of Command

The current structure of the advisory mission in Afghanistan is best described as confusing, impenetrable, and top-heavy. It is often unclear who is in charge. Even if an advisor team has been told who is in charge of it on a particular day, the unit can use the opaqueness of authority to ignore one set of orders for another, more agreeable set. Orders, even from general officers, are regularly ignored. Similarly, staff officers at all levels routinely pass work back and forth because it is rarely clear who has responsibility for making a decision. Often, this back-and-forth staff work simply provides a way to avoid making a difficult decision.

The structure is so confusing that it is almost painful to describe. Theoretically, at the top lies the U.S.-led CSTC-A, which is not a part of the ISAF coalition and so functions independently of the overall international military effort in Afghanistan. Underneath CSTC-A is a single subordinate unit, Task Force Phoenix, headed by the National Guard. The function of a single subordinate unit with a virtually identical mission has never been sufficiently explained. The staffs of both units regularly pass work in circles, and subordinate units regularly play one staff off against the other.[13] Oftentimes, direction to subordinate units comes directly from CSTC-A rather than Phoenix, further confounding the units. Clear lanes of responsibility for the staffs are not well defined, and so each staff regularly describes the other as inept.

Phoenix theoretically controls five regional advisor commands throughout the country that are responsible for advising both the Afghan Army and Police. Non-American advisors, however, come from ISAF, not from CSTC-A; thus, Phoenix has no authority over them. Some of these mentors are further inhibited by national caveats, which make it impossible to devise a coordinated advisory campaign for the ANSF. In addition, many U.S. advisors come from the Air Force, Navy, and Marine Corps. They come with their own service caveats, which are as pernicious to the overall mentor effort as national caveats are to the ISAF effort, e.g., limitations on how Air Force personnel can be utilized. This lack of unity is particularly problematic with Marine advisors, who, recognizing the shortcomings of the reporting structure, have tended to act on their own rather than as members of a joint-combined team. Finally, in southeast and east Afghanistan, Phoenix has ceded control of its U.S. advisors to the U.S.-led ISAF task force responsible for those regions. In many cases, this means that a U.S. battalion commander has U.S. advisors of equivalent rank reporting to him—and these advisors must still report to Phoenix. If this all sounds very confusing, that's because it is.

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For the advisor mission to succeed in Afghanistan, its chain of command must be clarified and streamlined immediately. To start with, Task Force Phoenix should be folded into CSTC-A. This would eliminate inefficient redundancies and clarify who is in charge of U.S. personnel. Several senior staff officers in both commands have told me privately that the overall advisory mission would be far more efficient and effective if the staffs, particularly those involved in operations, future planning, civil affairs, IO, and logistics, were colocated and functioned as a single entity.

Next, there must be an effort to lower overall rank within the advisor units. The current top-heaviness of CSTC-A and Phoenix inhibits effective command and control of the advisor mission. For instance, approximately 10 percent of all CSTC-A headquarters personnel are colonels or general officers, while each regional command has three colonels in its command structure. Staffs at CSTC-A need to be headed by one, and only one, colonel. The regional advisor commands should have only one colonel. Rank structure should also be pushed down on the advisor teams, so that a U.S. officer works with a unit one or two levels higher in the Afghan Army or Police than the officer would command in the U.S. military. This would be consistent with successful Marine Corps constabulary models from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The end result would be a more manageable organization that yields more boots on the ground.

Finally, advisor teams drawn from ISAF need to receive their orders from CSTC-A. While particular countries have reasons for not wanting their teams to be controlled by CSTC-A, their reluctance makes the advisory mission virtually incoherent. The best means to accomplish unity of command within the advisor mission would be to fold CSTC-A into ISAF rather than maintain an independent command in Afghanistan. Short of that, CSTC-A and ISAF must reject advisor teams offered by countries unwilling to place them under CSTC-A's control. A good place to start would be to ensure that no U.S. units in CSTC-A be allowed to operate under their own procedures and independent of the chain of command. Finally, we must clarify when advisors become subordinate to the ISAF commanders. Doing so will help ensure that advisor teams facilitate COIN operations when their Afghan units are partnered with ISAF forces.

For the advisor mission to succeed in Afghanistan, its chain of command must be clarified and streamlined immediately.

Conclusion

Afghanistan is still winnable, but it is on a downward and possibly terminal spiral if we continue to operate as we are. Urgent action is needed now to repair the advisory mission to the Afghan Army and Police. Many of these changes will be politically difficult to undertake. Many others, however, are necessary because of the structure of CSTC-A, and are more easily fixed. While repairing the advisory mission alone will be insufficient for victory in Afghanistan, it will be a major start. Rapidly adopting the 12 changes discussed above would be both an effective beginning and a bold statement that the effort to build, train, and sustain Afghan National Security Forces is truly our number one priority. ***MR***

NOTES

1. LTG (RET) David Barno to the House Armed Services Committee. Federal News Service, 23 January 2008.

2. The Asia Foundation. *Afghanistan in 2007: a Survey of the Afghan People,* <www.asiafoundation.org>.

3. United Nation Office on Drugs and Crime, *Afghanistan; Opium Survey 2007.* Measured on a per capita and population density basis. In absolute terms, only 19th Century China may have produced more total narcotics with a population 15 times as large and a much larger land mass. All of South America produces less cocaine than Afghanistan opium, and Helmand province alone produces more opium than Columbia produces cocaine.

4. "The Situation in Afghanistan and its implications for peace and security." Report to the Secretary General. <http://www.unama-afg.org/docs/_UN-Docs/_repots-SG/2008/08march06-SG-report-SC-situation-in-afghanistan.pdf>, 6 March 2008.

5. "Investment Slows Down in Afghanistan Due to Security Concerns." Radio Free Europe Newsline, 30 January 2008. <http://www.rferl.org/newsline/2008/01/300108.asp>.

6. "Afghan TV commentary criticizes Karzai's administration as ineffective." AINA Television, 10 February 2008. Translated BBC monitoring. Available <http://www.zibb.com/article/2669901/Afghan+TV+commentary+criticizes+Karzais+administration+as+ineffective>. Accessed April 23, 2008. Authors note; AINA Television is associated with a mostly Tajik and Uzbek audience and is in opposition political figure General Dostum.

7. Field Manual 3-24, *Counterinsurgency* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 15 December 2006), 6-17.

8. In fact, Fort Riley trains "teams" to go to Afghanistan. However, rarely are these teams kept intact. They are used mostly by the command as augmentees to fill personnel gaps created by personnel rotating out of theater or by increased demands for advisors in new areas.

9. Task Force Phoenix, the sole subordinate command of CSTC-A.

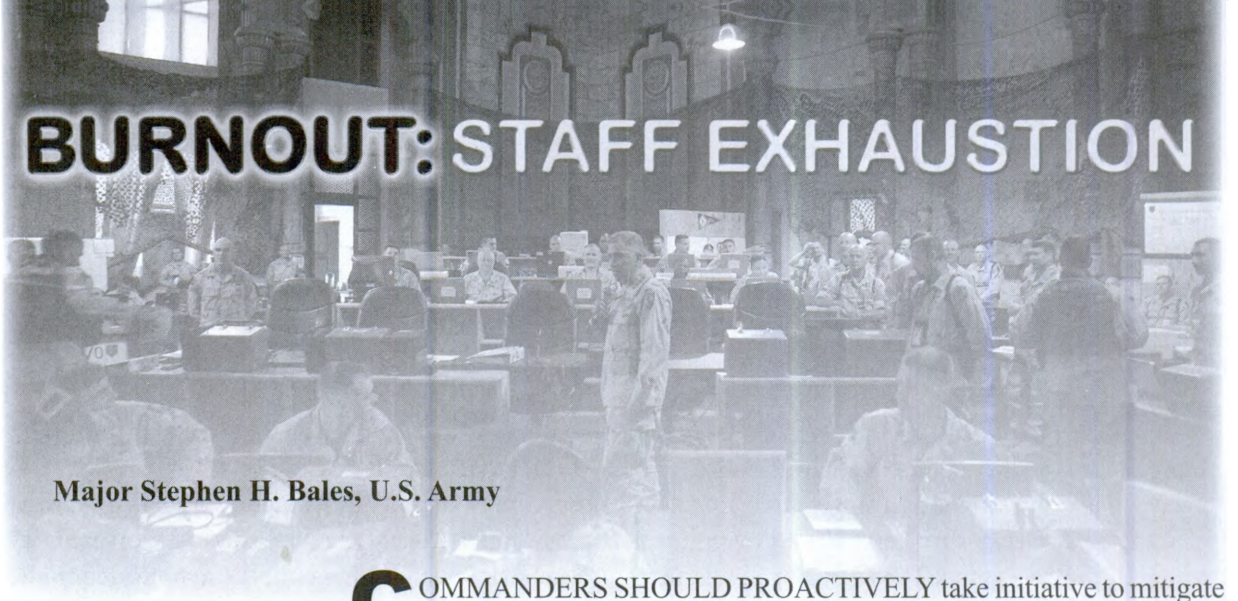
10. These are the ARSIC S2, PRT S2, Regional Police Headquarters S2, National Directorate of Security (NDS) Headquarters, Provincial Police Headquarters S2, and the ANA 203d Corps S2.

11. Oftentimes, as was the case for my team in Kabul, the original personnel on a team are long gone from the theater when some mode of secure network communications arrives.

12. Michael M. Phillips. "In Counterinsurgency Class, Soldiers Think Like Taliban." *The Wall Street Journal,* 30 November 2007, A1.

13. I saw this in my regular duties establishing the Counterinsurgency Academy and discussed it on several occasions with TF Phoenix and CSTC-A staff. Leaders who passed through the COIN academy regularly commented on the difficulty of drawing any decision out of these staffs, and our team at the academy on several occasions exploited divisions in order to obtain logistics and other support from one command or the other.

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BURNOUT: STAFF EXHAUSTION

Major Stephen H. Bales, U.S. Army

COMMANDERS SHOULD PROACTIVELY take initiative to mitigate the conditions that cause their staffs to lose their peak effectiveness. Rejuvenating the staff through imaginative management can help prevent the erosion of effectiveness that systemic staff exhaustion and the current operational conditions encourage.

During my rotation for Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF) 06-08, CNN and other media outlets reported ongoing debate about the number and length of U.S. troop deployments. When the Army extended my unit's deployment to 15 months, my initial thoughts were, "Soldiers in World War II were deployed for three years or more. We do not sleep in the mud in the pouring rain, and we get 15 to 18 days of leave stateside. Life isn't that bad." The Army houses most Soldiers in Iraq in climate-controlled buildings with electricity, heat, and air conditioning, usually two Soldiers to a containerized housing unit with a bath and shower with hot and cold running water within 100 feet. Soldiers are not in constant contact with the enemy for extended periods as in World War II. Most get one or more days of rest a week with minimal duties and no combat patrols.

However, although Soldiers in World War II did not have the creature comforts our Soldiers have today, few spent 12 to 15 months at a time in a combat environment. Most participated in 90 to 100 days of operations and were then pulled off the line for refit and reconstitution (R&R) for two weeks to two months or more. Soldiers and staff officers alike rested. The Army's current 15 to 18-day environmental leave program offers leave only to individuals and does not address collective staff exhaustion due to prolonged employment. This practice presents real dangers associated with degraded teamwork.

As a young lieutenant in the early 1990s, I often saw Army posters in division, brigade, and battalion headquarters depicting a tired, dirty Soldier and displaying the sentences, "Staff Officer, do your job well. His life depends on it." The War on Terrorism in Iraq and Afghanistan drives this point home.

Echeloned staff officers produce mission orders with strategic and operational objectives that make their way down to platoons, sections, and sometimes even individual Soldiers. Hence, some argue that we are waging the War on Terrorism almost exclusively at the company level and below. I do not necessarily disagree. Division, brigade combat team (BCT), and battalion commanders do not just arrive and turn the battle's tide by mere presence and force of will. In the dusty streets and deserts of Iraq and Afghanistan, squad leaders' actions can have significant, often enduring operational and even strategic impact.

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PHOTO: Troops from the U.S. Army's 1st Armored Division listen to U.S. General John Abizaid, the commander of the U.S. Central Command, inside the tactical operations center, in a former palace of Saddam Hussein in Tikrit, Iraq, 4 May 2004. (AP Photo/Mandatory Credit: Christopher Morris/VII)

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In...Iraq and Afghanistan, squad leaders' actions can have significant, often enduring operational and even strategic impact.

For these very reasons, the staff is more important than ever before. They need to use well-reasoned analysis, intellect, and experience to capture a commander's intent and guidance and transform them into coordinated, synchronized, resourced, and executable plans and orders for the company, platoon, and squad.

Information Overload and the Next Meeting

Our units, particularly our staffs, enjoy unprecedented communications capabilities today. The Joint Network Transport Capability (JNTC) suite provides a full range of secure and non-secure voice and data links, interfaced common operational picture tools, and near real-time information transmission. Commanders and staff officers can access information about their areas of operations or interest at the click of a mouse. Collaboration tools abound. Staffs can access (or be force fed) so much information that they experience information overload.

As an example, when I was in Iraq on the staff of the 4th BCT, 1st Cavalry Division, on my desk I had a secure voice over internet protocol (VOIP) phone and a Secret Internet Protocol Router Network laptop plus a non-secure VOIP phone and an unclassified Sensitive Internet Protocol Router Network laptop. As the BCT engineer, I sent and received an average of about 60 emails a day on the two systems. When I was a battalion executive officer, that number was around 100. Primary staff officers on the BCT staff averaged over 150 per day. This email barrage can easily overwhelm staff officers, sap the staff's energy, and focus everyone inward instead of outward. Oral communication can be rare because staff members are too busy pushing the "send" key. Meaningful dialogue becomes the exception, and their listening skills diminish over time.

The average BCT or battalion staff officer in Iraq attends 10 to 12 routine meetings every week, half of which or more involve the commander. This routine reflects the ubiquitous staff battle rhythm the Army has used for decades. These meetings include staff synchronization and coordination, working groups, operations and intelligence, commander updates, and maintenance meetings. In addition, nonrecurring meetings include operations order briefings, Military Decision Making Process (MDMP) sessions, or the ever popular distinguished visitor briefings, which occur an average of two times a month. Such a schedule gives us little time to think about, analyze, or discuss problems with other staff members. We are always preparing for the next meeting or briefing.

"I Know What the Boss Wants"

What does this never-ending battle rhythm, unprecedented information availability, and extended work schedule produce? The answer is simple—staff exhaustion. Exhaustion negatively affects our ability to understand the commander's guidance and create effective plans and orders, which degrades subordinate unit effectiveness. There are three almost universal phenomena in today's information-laden deployment environment—

- Complacency.
- Loss of creative energy.
- Taking short cuts.

Ultimately, the Soldier on the ground pays the price for our exhaustion.

An early symptom of staff exhaustion is what many refer to as the "next slide" syndrome, which comes from our insatiable appetite for "visual" products that we can easily brief, package, and transport on the JNTC systems' backbone. Staffs reach a point where they think they have identified the format and content the commander wants with near absolute formulaic certainty. Working group and other preparatory meetings prior to briefing the commander become slide-review meetings. This procedural tyranny has become a norm on Army operational staffs over the years and is new only in

...procedural tyranny has become a norm on Army operational staffs...

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the medium employed. Readers will recognize its form-over-substance quality. The chair of the meeting reviews the slide packet and repeatedly says "next slide" until the meeting is over. There is little discussion, thought, or analysis of the substance of the problem at hand. The person or section providing the slides has the answers, so there is no need to discuss the subject any further.

The "next slide" syndrome causes complacency, the first adverse effect of overwork in today's information-laden deployment environment. If a staff member has the energy to see past the information on the slide and identify questions that require answers or discussion, he soon stops doing so because deputy commanders, executive officers, and S3s invariably ignore or marginalize him. Complacency grows. The staff member with an essential piece of information may well be a private first class intelligence analyst participating in the meeting, but he will not speak up when he sees captains and majors saying nothing or being marginalized on a regular basis.

If this situation persists, over time the staff loses its creative energy, stops conducting analysis, and just passes information to the commander. It does not make recommendations to the commander; it expects him to provide the recommendations or courses of action. Staff members under such conditions do not think; they react to the next crisis or the next bit of targetable information. If the staff executes the MDMP, it becomes a check-the-block exercise that lacks creativity and is risk-adverse and devoid of planning. The creative energy of the staff virtually disappears. This is the second adverse effect of overwork in today's deployment environment.

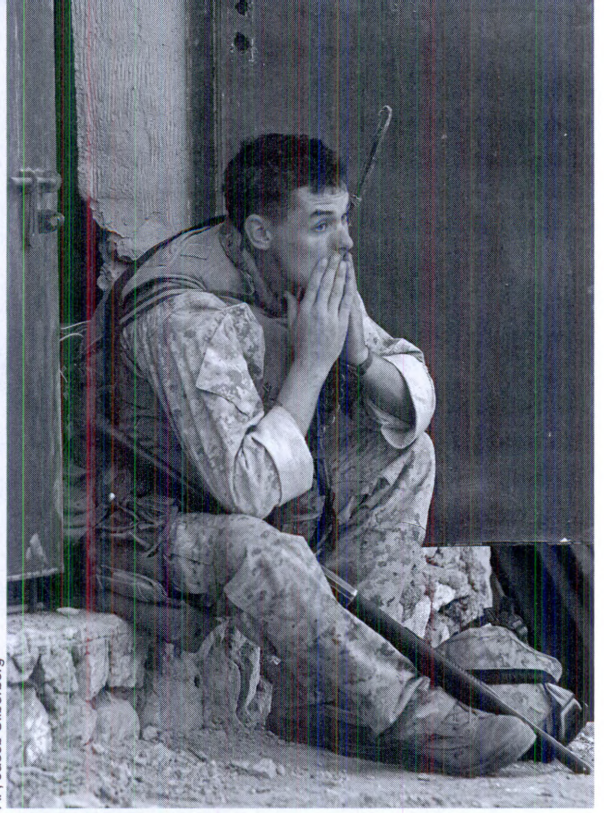
Commanders often extol "thinking outside the box." However, at this point in a staff's life cycle, staff members and staff sections soon prefer to remain in a "comfort box" to cope with the mind-numbing repetition of meetings and briefings. Each officer's "comfort box" is only as big as the computer screen in front of him. "Thinking outside the box" requires making the effort to look at the computer screen of the staff officer to one's left or right. There is little or no creative thought at the individual level and no collective creativity. Staff members or sections provide their formulaic input to the current crisis action plan and move to the next task. All staff officers can fall into this spiritless tedium at some point. I am just as guilty of this as are my peers at BCT and the battalion level.

The last phenomenon and perhaps the most perilous result of staff exhaustion is taking short cuts. Habit and ennui can make form seem more important than substance, and shortcuts inevitably result. Staffs abandon the MDMP or abbreviate it to such a degree that it does not begin to achieve the planning described in FM 5-0. The most egregious mistake in abbreviating the MDMP is designating one staff officer to come up with a plan. As FM 5-0 describes it, "Planning is a dynamic process of several interrelated activities." One staff officer may be the action officer, but he or she should not provide the sole input to the plan. Our Army today has a wealth of intelligent and experienced officers; however, few have the knowledge to develop an acceptable, feasible, and complete plan without assistance from other staff members.

Given the rapid operations the Army must conduct in the current operational environment, staffs seek shortcuts to produce concept of operation plans rapidly while executing the MDMP in a time-constrained environment. FM 5-0 recommends that a staff only shorten the MDMP when it understands every step in the process and the requirement to produce the necessary products. FM 5-0 notes that "omitting steps of the MDMP is not a solution" to planning in a time-constrained environment. Key to planning in such an environment is a commander's direct involvement and the guidance and direction he provides. Without critical input from commanders, staff shortcuts often result in three or four slide presentations of an execution order. Such presentations lack the rigor of a written order and the detail required for coordination and synchronization of myriad assets and capabilities now available on the connected, modern battlefield.

As I composed this article, I sought insights from some wise sages at Fort Leavenworth. One such sage, a Marine Vietnam veteran, summarized the importance of the staff as follows: "The key assets of a good staff are the keenness of its processes, acuity of its insights, its clear and precise articulation of issues and solutions, its boldness and pro-risk-taking orientation appropriate to the situation at hand." However, when a staff is exhausted, it loses its acuity of insight. It becomes risk adverse

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AP, Jacob Silberberg

A U.S. Marine pauses during operations in Iraq, August 2005. Staff exhaustion inevitably produces ripple effects for those in daily contact with the enemy.

because it has lost the acumen to assess risk. All boldness and pride in the job are gone. The Soldier on the battlefield pays.

Rejuvenating the Staff

What can commanders, staff leaders, and individual staff members do to mitigate or overcome staff exhaustion? The solutions will vary with the staff's composition, the personalities of its members, and unit missions.

Individual staff members have a role in mitigating and overcoming staff exhaustion. Staff members should devise some type of mental, physical, and spiritual fitness plan to help relieve stress and maintain alertness and stamina. Although staff work is not physically exhausting, stress brings on exhaustion that eventually leads to fatigue and illness. Exhaustion in one or two key members of the staff can lower the morale of the entire staff. Making and taking personal time to read a book, watch a movie, or even take a nap can sustain individuals for the "long fight." Attending a religious service can be a reprieve. Each person is different; he must find his own relief and personal recharge mechanism. I found writing this article helped restore some of my creative energy.

Staffs are more than just groups of individuals, however. A staff is a team and must combat staff exhaustion as a team. This might be as simple as a "foot-in-mouth award day," movie night, or extended dinners during periods of lower operational tempo. Building a staff team to participate in athletic events or participating in team sports as part of group physical training offer relief from stress and tedium and are team-building tools. Chaplains can help the staff with stress management. Inspirational messages or "thoughts of the day" can be useful. Staff members should be willing to try something different, such as changing the means or delivery method of briefing the boss. Doing so may help a staff member see something that requires a change "in his lane" or even help energize the entire staff. Leaders should assess risk and mitigate it.

Ultimately, commanders are instrumental in preventing or identifying and overcoming staff exhaustion. Staff exhaustion is a genuine risk, and commanders should have the imagination to implement measures to control or reduce inherent risks rather than take a myopic and shortsighted attitude toward it. Commanders should self-interestedly take the initiative to prevent staff exhaustion from occurring. If it does occur, commanders should recognize it quickly and take action to rectify conditions. They should identify which key staff members are the most susceptible to staff exhaustion and give them some relief. Giving such key staff members a day off will enable them to relax instead of hovering in energy-sapping anticipation of the commander's summons.

Proactively managing the R&R leave of the staff during extended deployments can minimize their exhaustion at work, but balancing mission needs takes a creative commander. It would not be feasible to authorize all key staff members to take R&R leave at the same time so they could all return to

...commanders are instrumental in preventing or identifying and overcoming staff exhaustion.

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work rejuvenated. The commander must sequence the leave of his key staff officers with that of his own to ensure the command continues to function and sustain operations during the deployment. Moreover, if the commander sends key staff officers on leave too early, they will become exhausted at the end of the deployment; if he sends them too late, they will lose their creative energy in the middle of the deployment. Commanders must assess the situation with foresight, make a decision, publish it early, and stick with it, even when events on the battlefield evolve, trusting that predictability will minimize the diminishing returns of exhaustion. Army units usually have depth in critical staff sections, and staff members will appreciate the predictability of their leave, be able to manage their expectations and those of their families, and prepare themselves mentally and physically for the duration of the deployment.

Commanders can also overcome staff exhaustion by rotating staff members where possible. At the BCT and battalion levels, public affairs, IO, PSYOP, aviation, military police, personnel, chaplains, and other staff members in select fields are skill-specific and one-deep, so there is no option of rotating these staffers. But commanders can rotate the XO, S3, S4, ECOORD/FSO, and some branch-immaterial staff members such as those in the plans section. Commanders should weigh the advantages of bringing new energy to the staff against the disadvantages of diluting institutional memory of staff functions and command interests. Is this new energy worth the risk of a steeper learning curve for a short time? From the staff officer's perspective, the answer is a resounding yes! The energy gains would far outweigh the loss of expertise, given the team environment it would foster. A BCT commander can rotate staff officers across the BCT, but must consider the impact at the battalion level when electing to do so. During my deployment, I saw this work with varying degrees of success.

Commanders should also consider changing briefing methods. Some commanders abhor slide presentations. Some prefer using the old-fashioned map and pointer system, talking through the challenges and articulating the operation. This older method has advantages and disadvantages. On the plus side, staffers will spend more time analyzing and discussing the information, which could generate additional courses of action. Furthermore, the staff will be more thorough, because it will have to produce written products such as a complete operations order or minutes. On the negative side, this method is time consuming, doesn't take advantage of the digital systems' capabilities, and the products cannot be transmitted to others as rapidly as the digitized briefing.

Commanders can also halt the tedium of daily work by spending time teaching, coaching, and mentoring their staffs. Sacrificing a meeting or briefing to conduct an after-action review to identify areas for improvement and techniques to do so is a calculated risk worth taking. A commander teaching, coaching, and mentoring the staff might be the silver bullet to overcome staff exhaustion. Commanders should never fear going back over ground already covered if the staff has forgotten the lessons learned while crossing it. Sometimes, to get the staff moving again, it takes personal involvement and an attitude adjustment in the form of a paternalistic reminder.

Conclusion

Warfighting is a dangerous venture. It requires diligence, creativity, intelligence, and perseverance. Success demands synchronizing assets, disseminating intelligence rapidly, and executing orders. The staff plays a greater part than it ever has in the history of combined arms. Prolonged tedium from the barrage of minutia during extended deployments in an information-laden environment can cause systemic staff exhaustion and failure, sometimes with dangerous results.

The three phenomena that occur almost universally due to staff exhaustion—complacency, loss of creative energy, and taking short cuts—introduce risk to the unit's mission. Together and without abatement, the three can be calamitous. Staff members can help identify, prevent, and overcome staff exhaustion, but commanders ultimately have to take the initiative in mitigating this risk, rejuvenating the staff, and providing guidance for subordinate unit plans and orders. Commanders and staffs should work together to achieve synergistic results; they must not fail the young Soldiers who walk point for them. ***MR***

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REACHING OUT: Partnering with Iraqi Media

Lieutenant Colonel Frank B. DeCarvalho, U.S. Army;
Major Spring Kivett, U.S. Army; and
Captain Matthew Lindsey, U.S. Army

SINCE THE BEGINNING of combat operations in Iraq in March 2003, the media have disseminated countless war-related stories and articles of interest, reaching not only American citizens and military families in the United States but also an international community interested in gauging the coalition's progress. The public's desire for information about the war wavers, but bad news consistently generates attention. The American media embedded with military units strives to capture and portray events as they occur. Although sensational events arouse public interest, those less dramatic, but potentially more important, go mostly unnoticed. Such neglected stories do not involve spectacular insurgent attacks, human suffering, or infrastructure degradation. According to CNN international correspondent Nic Robertson, "There is an awful lot of what might be construed as bad news here [in Iraq], but it is the dominant information. It is the prevailing information."[1] However, in many cases, "less-than-worthy-of-attention" events have a profound effect on the perceptions, attitudes, behavior, and allegiances of the most influential audience involved in Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF), the Iraqi people. Iraqi citizens are closest to the truth at the proverbial "tip-of-the-spear" of unfolding events. In their eyes, the government of Iraq (GOI) and the coalition are either making improvements and progress or destroying what little the Iraqis had.

Influencing Iraqis is central to managing a favorable outcome in this war. Putting an Iraqi face on news to help counter anti-GOI or anti-coalition propaganda will ultimately be necessary to attain the best outcomes. Having Iraqis produce and report news stories is the best vehicle for eliminating culture and language barriers in communication. News important to improving a public spirit thereby gains a measure of instant credibility that coalition information operations and reporting cannot impart. Using native news reporters will increase chances of acceptance by the Iraqi population by relaying credible stories of progress that can resonate favorably through communities. Media communication to Iraqis by Iraqis thus has the potential to sway even the most stubborn of anti-GOI and anti-coalition critics, strengthening resolve and commitment to resist terrorism.

Unfortunately, other than using limited psychological operations (PSYOP) resources and capabilities, the GOI and the coalition have allotted scant attention, effort, and capital to communicating with Iraqis. To make progress in the

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Captain Matthew Lindsey is the deputy chief of targeting and advisor to the Iraqi Media Section, Information Operations, Multi-National Division-Center. He previously served as the assistant S3 for 1st Battalion, 306th Infantry Regiment, Fort Stewart, Georgia. He holds a B.S. in biology from Boston University.

PHOTO: Iraqi media interviewing local physicians returning to work at the medical clinic in Salman Pak, Iraq, 23 October 2007. (U.S. Army, SGT Ibrahim Masoud)

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information war, the coalition needs to involve the Iraqi media. In this regard, two central issues must be addressed: providing security to the Iraqi media and, more important, facilitating their access to the most relevant stories of interest. If the coalition continues to overlook these two fundamental issues, the insurgents will remain the most influential group affecting Iraqi beliefs and behavior.

Breaking the Paradigm

Although pundits could debate whether Iraqi reporters have the same status as international media, the country's credentialed correspondents clearly lack the clout and respect their international or American counterparts possess. All too often, Iraqi media are an afterthought.

Importantly, most coalition commanders have no appreciation for the potential benefits of including Iraqi reporters in daily battlefield circulations. They also probably do not feel comfortable doing so. The language barrier and the resource-intensive need for media escorts and translators make it easier to exclude Iraqis when planning media operations. Thus, Iraqi media have had little opportunity to provide relevant news about coalition and GOI actions. Altering this situation requires careful thought and changes to the status quo.

How is the coalition communicating with local Iraqis? For the most part, the coalition uses PSYOP assets to deliver its messages; however, information distribution is surgical, limited in duration and scope. The coalition often disperses printed media such as leaflets, posters, handbills, and billboards using tactical-level face-to-face engagements. It also uses radio broadcasts. Although these means are adequate to get a message out, Iraqi citizens know the information's origin and often question its legitimacy, credibility, and intent. This natural skepticism especially affects Iraqis who are ambivalent toward the coalition and GOI and who have not denounced foreign influences, sectarian militias, and other groups opposed to the occupation.

Using PSYOP assets to reach this more skeptical audience raises the issue of credibility. Public Affairs (PA) ideally would be the primary way of reaching this sector because it focuses primarily on informing audiences, not manipulating them.[2] Units use PSYOP themes and messages, on the other hand, to achieve—euphemistically speaking—a specific influencing effect. Psychological operations target selected audiences with information, whether the audiences are insurgents, local nationals, or others.[3] Unlike public affairs, PSYOP is a sales pitch by definition, designed to induce or reinforce specific favorable attitudes and behavior. Thus, its effectiveness depends on how well its purveyors finesse it and on the audience's willingness to buy into a message easily recognized as tendentious.[4] The inherently manipulative PYSOP process, over time, reaches a point of diminishing returns. Inducement requires not just a persuasive message but also a credible source.

Moreover, repetitive exhortations limit PSYOP ability to influence the population at large. After five years of PSYOP in Iraq, Iraqi citizens have become desensitized to repeated themes and messages advocating GOI unity, reconciliation, no safe haven for insurgents, and intelligence reporting. Today, the coalition's PSYOP avowals have become so cloying they no longer possess any credibility. One wonders at what point they actually become counterproductive.

Meanwhile, Iraqis are frustrated by the lack of timely and accurate information. They want immediate access to news, not coalition sales pitches. They find it aggravating to have outdated information foisted on them from Iraqi media sources, especially when it merely recaps American or international news already reported. The best way to break this paradigm is for the coalition to support and use the Iraqi media.

Challenges Facing the Iraqi Media

The perception of Iraqi media ineffectiveness comes not from poor media skills. Their problems are more a matter of their past and present status and the conditions under which they operate today. During Saddam's reign, few news outlets existed, and those that did were government sanctioned, funded, and operated. The news they reported was all pro-government, and attempts to disseminate any facts or images contrary to the government's version of events could mean early and final retirement.

Once the coalition removed these barriers, a plethora of free media outlets emerged to produce abundant information, some of it unbiased. The counterinsurgency became the sole focus of these

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Interviews with IA soldiers on checkpoints near the town of Tuwaythah, formerly an al-Qaeda safe haven, 8 August 2007.

newly formed media outlets. However, as Iraq's security environment deteriorated, working for an Iraqi media outlet became one of the most dangerous jobs in the world. Estimates indicate 118 media deaths and over 300 media casualties in Iraq since March 2003, many the result of assassinations.[5]

Despite recent coalition and Iraqi security forces (ISF) successes, working for the Iraqi media remains dangerous. Terrorists target Iraqi media correspondents solely because they report stories of hope and progress inimical to insurgent purposes. If an Iraqi reporter were supporting the insurgency, he would simply make up stories in the safety of his dwelling, but any correspondent braving danger to work a story opposing the insurgency and terror tactics is at risk. Most Iraqi reporters die trying to convey to the world the rampant suffering of their people. Fox News Channel's Jerry Burke notes the ordinary dangers facing all correspondents: "The media has a very difficult job. We have to cover some aspect of the story so we cover what we can cover without getting our anchors and our reporters blown up."[6]

In addition to the danger, Iraqis face coalition discrimination. In discussions with Iraqi journalists, Task Force Marne PAOs learned that many are perturbed over experiences they have had working with the coalition. They perceive that they are not given the same opportunities as American or international media correspondents. Native correspondents have difficulties registering and obtaining media credentials. Furthermore, the coalition has done very little to include Iraqi media in its daily battle rhythm. The amount of attention and access the coalition gives to American and international media operating in Iraq on any given day far exceeds that given the Iraqi media. U.S. and international journalists, though fewer in number, possess better funding, logistics, and reach-back capability to their home stations. Iraqi media crews cannot compete in these areas.

Although Iraqi correspondents are under appreciated, Multi-National Force-Iraq (MNF-I) has resourced a staff section in the international zone to fulfill coalition requests for Iraqi media embeds. The section, the Iraqi media engagement team (IMET), is the operational link between Iraqi media and coalition forces. The three-person team is a component of MNF-I's larger Combined Press Information Center, which supports American and international media.[7] The IMET supports every unit below corps level requesting embedded Iraqi media. However, fulfilling such requests is often problematic. With priority of support primarily to MNF-I and Multi-National Corps-Iraq, scheduling events for multiple multi-national division-level customers remains difficult.

Task Force Marne's Media Initiatives

Task Force Marne established an Iraqi media section (IMS) to capitalize on Iraqi media capabilities and the advantages of using them. The section consists of 11 personnel working in three departments—battlefield circulation, articles and press releases, and media monitoring (see figure). In a departure from current Joint and Army doctrine, the IMS does not work for the public affairs officer. Instead, it falls under the direction and oversight of the effects coordinator (ECOORD). This

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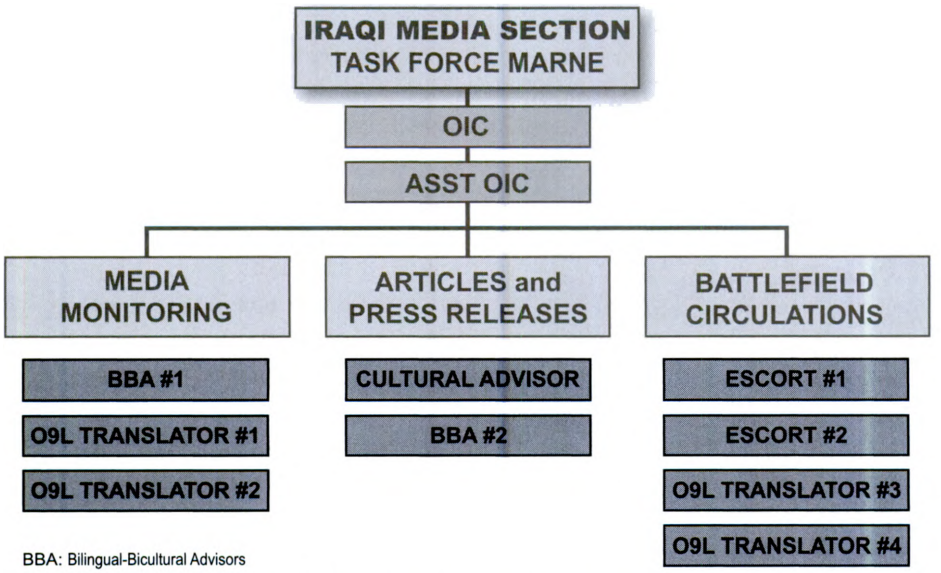


Figure 1. Iraqi media section organization.

non-doctrinal alignment allows the public affairs detachment to focus on internal and American audiences, and gives the effects staff responsible for PSYOP another influencing tool. However, having staff coordination responsibility for IMS relations with the Iraqi media does not entail a PSYOP mission role. This relationship creates the potential to moderate PSYOP with better coordination and synchronization of themes and messages. The IMS link to PSYOP is based strictly on the fact that it has the same target audience.[8] It bears repeating that the IMS mission remains the core public affairs mission—informing.

Staff separation and effectiveness. Having the effects and PA elements concentrate on separate audiences better focuses the command's influencing and informing efforts to support the strategic communications plan as well as the non-lethal targeting process. During non-lethal targeting working group sessions, the ECOORD prioritizes and synchronizes the Iraqi media section's efforts with those of all other non-lethal contributors, including information operations, public affairs, civil military operations (governance and economics), Iraqi advisory task force, and the staff judge advocate (rule of law).

During a division strategic communications conference, the commanding general of Task Force Marne, Major General Rick Lynch, noted, "Targeting the American audience is a PA responsibility, and targeting the Iraqi audience is an effects responsibility." Having worked as the MNF-I strategic effects coordinator for General George W. Casey during OIF III, Lynch experienced the benefits of partnering effects with Iraqi media. By separating the Iraqi media from PA, Lynch established clear lanes of responsibility based on his experiences working with these different audiences. Moreover, because current Army doctrine emphasizes that the decisive counter-insurgency battle is for the people's minds, having effects staff responsible for coordinating engagement with Iraqi media greatly enhances PSYOP thematic relevance.[9]

This novel, non-doctrinal approach has worked well for Task Force Marne. As of this writing, the IMS has conducted 38 battlefield circulations with Iraqi media crews, and it has translated over 300 "good-news" articles into Arabic and disseminated them. Market penetration for IMS-translated articles remains at just over 50 percent. Battlefield circulations average over 98 percent.

Although the IMS is separate from PA, the same standards apply; relationships between the IMS and the Iraqi media depend on professionalism, credibility, and trust.

Battlefield interaction and monitoring. The IMS began as a two-person operation that focused solely on Pan-Arab media monitoring, also referred to as open source intelligence. Army military occupational specialty O9L Soldiers handled the media monitoring function to obtain atmospherics (information on what the media was reporting on the coalition) and to identify any particular trends. Having current insights on Pan-Arab and Iraqi sentiments and perceptions of the coalition helps commanders validate or adjust the division's strategic communications plan.[10]

With the addition of two personnel, the IMS expanded its mission to include developing, translating, and disseminating coalition-related stories to Iraqi media outlets. Starting with seven radio stations, eight television stations, and 13 newspaper

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outlets, the media section quickly established itself as a credible source for timely articles and information. As it continued to disseminate its stories to its Iraqi media contacts, more journalists became aware of the value of the information the IMS provided. Today, the IMS has contacts with 11 radio stations, 13 television stations, 27 newspaper outlets, and a host of media websites.[11] In addition, the media section signed an exclusive contract with the popular *Al-Sabah* newspaper.[12] The contract guarantees that "high priority" Task Force Marne stories of tactical and operational importance are disseminated to a large segment of the public. The IMS regularly receives requests for interviews, military information, updates to developing stories of interest, and occasional thank-you notes. Articles are published with full Task Force Marne attribution, leading to frequent unsolicited tips from concerned citizens on insurgent activity.[13] Although the IMS currently does not have the staff or equipment to accommodate television interviews, cross-talk and the leveraging of the division's organic PA capabilities adequately accomplishes the mission.

To interact with the Iraqi media effectively, the IMS had to understand local organizational dynamics. Significant cultural and language barriers were only two of many challenges. Iraqi media personnel are no less demanding than American or international media. They expect the same level of professionalism, cooperation, treatment, and courtesies. Knowing their concerns and quickly handling any issues that arise can make the difference between a good media event and a complaint. To lessen the likelihood of mishap during a media event, the IMS employs military escorts and linguists to accompany Iraqi media crews to ensure coalition forces treat the crews fairly and with respect and keep them on schedule, focused on the mission, and out of harm's way.

Coordinating the logistics of battlefield circulations is another major IMS challenge. Battlefield circulations are resource-intensive; however, the payoff in media penetration is tremendous.[14] Freedom of movement is currently limited throughout most of Iraq, and getting Iraqi media crews out to stories that the coalition wants highlighted is no small feat. Aircraft delays and tight security measures at the International Zone, last minute changes to missions, and occasional media cancellations frustrate and inconvenience Iraqi journalists and IMS escorts. Using rotary-wing assets is the preferred and safest method for transporting media crews on battlefield circulations; however, at times, ground convoys become a necessity. In either case, having detailed back-up plans usually alleviates much of the stress of change while on the go. A typical battlefield circulation entails IMS escorts and translators flying from Camp Victory to the International Zone in Baghdad to link up with the Iraqi media crew.[15] From there, the team continues air travel to the forward operating base closest to the event. The requesting maneuver unit sends a personal security detachment to provide ground movement to the event. The mission is not complete until the IMS safely escorts the media crew back to the International Zone and they return to Camp Victory.



U.S. Army, CPT Matthew Lindsey

Iraqi media interviewing former displaced citizens returning to their homes near the town of Lutifiyah.

For example, the IMS conducted a successful battlefield circulation in al-Rashida, a small town southwest of Baghdad, which had been an Al-Qaeda safe

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haven. The local Sunni population had grown tired of Al-Qaeda militants roaming the area, attacking coalition forces along Route Malibu, intimidating peaceful citizens, and committing heinous crimes. The townspeople banded together and formed a concerned citizens' group that operated checkpoints at several key intersections and kept watch over their neighborhoods day and night. Within a short period, the citizens' group forced Al-Qaeda out of the area. Since then, Al-Qaeda has had no significant presence or activity in al-Rashida or along that portion of Route Malibu. The IMS felt it important to capture this "good-news" story because it highlighted the positive effect that citizens' groups had on preventing terrorism and securing neighborhoods. The battlefield circulation also allayed Shia neighbors' fears that the coalition was arming Sunni concerned citizens' groups. Task Force Marne also felt this story would encourage the Shia population to develop its own groups to help fight Shia extremism. Having Iraqi reporters tell this "success" story underscored the importance of having an Iraqi face on important messages supporting coalition efforts.

The IMS escorted *al-Iraqiya* and *al-Fayhaa* television crews to the site, where they conducted interviews with group leaders and citizens. The segments aired for several days on Iraqi television. The stories depicted Iraqi citizens taking a stand against criminals and securing their neighborhoods. The battlefield circulation was so influential that *al-Fayhaa* produced a 15-minute special program on concerned citizens' groups, which aired the following week. To keep the momentum going in the press, the IMS published several articles on the event and disseminated them to its Iraqi media contacts. Numerous Iraqi print and Internet outlets picked up the stories, indicating a significant public interest in such groups. Since the airing of the special segment, other citizens' groups around al-Rashida have sprouted. Today, concerned citizens' group membership totals 8,000 persons. Leaders from 2d Brigade, 10th Mountain Division, happily reported a dramatic decrease in insurgent-type activity as a result of the citizen's actions within its operating environment.

One of the greatest benefits of a battlefield circulation is putting an Iraqi face on the story; an Iraqi reporter talking to fellow Iraqis has a much greater effect on the Iraqi psyche than if a coalition reporter told the story. Having local government ministers or representatives present during the planning of the media event and during the event itself dramatically increases the interview's impact. To ensure success, a goal of the IMS is to establish relationships of trust with the Iraqi media; however, this is a slow and long-term process. The vast majority of first-time Iraqi media journalists with whom the media section works have little experience interacting with coalition forces.[16] Iraqis are constantly forming and refining their opinions of the coalition and its interaction with the populace. For this reason, the IMS and its escorts have to do whatever is necessary to make the Iraqi media representative's initial experience a positive one. Maintaining a media crew's level of enthusiasm, optimism, and dedication about providing a valuable service to Iraq is paramount to winning the war of images.



U.S. Army, CPT Matthew Lindsey

Interview with concerned citizens at their new group headquarters near the town of al-Rashida, 27 December 2007.

Another important factor during the coordination phase is providing the designated media crews with as

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much information about the upcoming mission as possible. Of course, operations security (OPSEC) measures are part of each media event to ensure the safety of both Iraqi journalists and coalition Soldiers.[17] When the IMS informs Iraqi media representatives what to expect, they are less likely to get upset if the mission's parameters change. The key to success is to remain optimistic and flexible in communicating and developing the battlefield circulation plan.

Enlisting the experts' help. The IMS could not function without the dedicated support of its four O9 Lima translators. These Soldiers are the workhorses of the section and support all three IMS departments. At times, the O9 Limas perform multiple tasks simultaneously, serving as translators on a battlefield circulation in the morning, spending the afternoon coordinating events by phone with the Iraqi media, and translating articles in the evening. Their insights into streamlining processes have contributed immeasurably to the IMS's overall success.

In addition, the IMS acquired an Iraqi cultural advisor to help members better understand cultural, religious, and ethnic differences that affect working relationships. The cultural advisor interacts directly with the various media outlets, acts as the IMS's initial face, and reviews all stories and transcripts for proper translation and cultural sensitivities. Having an Iraqi cultural advisor communicating directly with the Iraqi media establishes the IMS's credibility and increases the media's willingness to partner on future events.

In addition to the cultural advisor and the four Army O9 Limas, the IMS hired two bi-lingual, bi-cultural advisors to write and translate articles and serve as media analysts. The advisors ensure that the tone and substance of articles resonate acceptably with the target audience.

Some English words, phrases, and titles simply do not translate into Arabic. Failure to recognize these subtle linguistic nuances has caused friction and misunderstanding in the past. As an example, the term "foreign fighters" generated considerable negative feedback from the IMS's readership because the vast majority of Iraqis think the term refers to the coalition as well as to cross-border insurgents. Hence the obvious friction.[18] Storywriters and the cultural advisor have helped limit such linguistic imprecision and have ameliorated effects of the coalition's idiosyncratic expressions.

The IMS staff is also adept at preparing articles so the audience better understands a story's intent. By emphasizing what Iraqis find most interesting, the IMS increases market penetration and acceptance. Although many coalition operations revolve around rebuilding and providing essential services, the IMS does not overly publicize these acts.[19] Iraqis understand the coalition is here to assist the GOI and its population, but they do not necessarily want the U.S. to remind them about it repeatedly. The fine point of this relationship is that the core PA function of informing enhances the core PSYOP function of influencing. The IMS sensitivity to informing thereby helps moderate the PSYOP mission of influencing. Such sensitivity does not cynically mask the heavy hand of PSYOP. Rather, it makes the honest effort to make the truth known.

In addition, when PA articles mention units and Soldiers by name, the IMS filters that information for better meaningful translation and simplicity. Given the target audience, providing specific details pertinent to Soldiers and their backgrounds is extraneous to IMS focus.[20] The U.S. military's goals are to portray accurately the coalition's efforts. Extraneous detail can only muddle that effort.

Teamwork and communication. The IMS does not operate autonomously from within the division headquarters. It works with each of the brigade combat team (BCT) ECOORDs to identify events worthy of media coverage. However, the IMS sometimes plans events based on division-level input. This practice remains an exception, not the norm. The BCT ECOORDs synchronize planning efforts with each of their maneuver battalions and nominate events for Iraqi media coverage. Once approved by the BCT commander, ECOORDs develop a detailed concept of the operation plan (CONOP) and submit it to the IMS for scheduling. Typical events planned for and covered by Iraqi media include school openings, combined medical engagements, civil project completions, and community leader interviews. If the IMS receives multiple CONOPs that request media for the same day, it prioritizes the requests based on significance and supportability.[21] The IMS carefully reviews each BCT's battlefield circulation request because the process to allocate media to particular events is

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complicated. With careful coordination, Iraqi media crews are able to capitalize on other newsworthy opportunities, interview concerned citizens and tribal leaders, and cover extemporaneous community events. Currently, the IMS can support two battlefield circulations per day.[22]

Cultural and political limiting factors. Working closely with the Iraqi media engagement team, the IMS has to consider religious factors before assigning Iraqi media crews. Sunni reporters may not feel comfortable entering a Shia community or covering a Shia event and vice versa. Security requirements do not allow disclosure of exact locations prior to the events, and the IMS works diligently with the engagement team to accommodate religious sensitivities and concerns. Iraqi correspondents with opposing religious affiliations sometimes choose to cancel the day of an event if they find it coincides with a religious holiday or observance. This forbearance prevents potential friction. Such scheduling changes occur especially during Islamic religious holidays, including the month of Ramadan.[23] In addition, some journalists perceive some areas as simply too dangerous and will not support certain missions under any circumstances. Examples of areas that have frightened off Iraqi media are former Al-Qaeda sanctuaries, areas with high levels of criminal activities, and areas with high numbers of extremist militias.

Continuing Progress

The future holds much promise for continued growth for the IMS. However, its expansion depends largely on two factors: changing coalition perceptions of Iraqi media at the company through brigade-level, and increasing the fidelity of deliberate media planning. Commanders should embrace the reality that Iraqi media are a powerful, influential tool because they have inherent credibility as informing agents possessing sincere motives.

Commanders need to consciously avoid jaundiced perceptions of the Iraqi media as a second-rate, unfriendly, or uneconomical presence. Iraqi media can be a force-multiplier. Coalition forces should treat Iraqi media crews with respect on a par with American or international counterparts. Once the coalition recognizes the value and potential of the Iraqi media, the IMS can better use and align its limited resources to support high-yield events.

The IMS is currently considering hiring independent Iraqi correspondents and developing a sustainable network of informed journalists. Using informal media facilitators will significantly reduce the expenditure of IMS resources for translators and escorts and decrease the time required to provide Iraqi media coverage on the battlefield.

Developing an external IMS webpage is another initiative that has merit. The IMS hopes to create an online venue and repository for all its articles and media alerts on a par with many Arab media online sites. Public access to articles will allow the Iraqi populace to gauge forward momentum in Iraq.

The IMS also plans to offer a mobile media-credentialing program to expedite vetting and registering of potential Iraqi journalists. Currently, only the Combined Press Information Center provides this service, which is often problematic and time-consuming. Having the IMS take on this function will reduce information center's involvement and spare Iraqi reporters the long traveling distances to the International Zone. Moreover, the IMS will have more Iraqi media contacts to dispatch on future battlefield circulations.

As the coalition shifts its focus from security to governance and economics, the need to cooperate with the Iraqi media will acquire new importance. Having a credible, capable mechanism that publicizes GOI and coalition force successes with media authenticity will enhance rebuilding efforts. The IMS has demonstrated the benefit of partnering with the Iraqi media to this end. Reaching the populace with credible information has led to results that would be impossible to achieve via PSYOP assets alone.

Market penetration and continuous dissemination of stories by the Iraqi media will enhance the local population's awareness of the GOI and coalition's labors. Stories of reconstruction, partnership, and progress show Iraqis that there is more transpiring in Iraq than combating insurgents. Through continued partnership with the Iraqi media, the IMS is increasing the level of optimism throughout Task Force Marne's area of operations.[24] ***MR***

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NOTES

1. Mark Memmott, "Reporters in Iraq under fire there, and from critics," *USA Today*, 22 March 2006.

2. Refer to Joint Publication (JP) 3-61, *Public Affairs* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office [GPO], 9 May 2005), Chapter 2, "Public Affairs Responsibilities."

3. Refer to Field Manual (FM) 3-13, *Information Operations* (Washington, DC: GPO, 28 November 2003), Chapter 2, "Information Operations Elements and Related Activities, Psychological Operations."

4. Refer to JP 3-13, *Information Operations* (Washington, DC: GPO, 13 February 2006), Chapter 2, "Core, Supporting, and Related Information Operations, Psychological Operations."

5. For more information on media casualties since the coalition's occupation in Iraq, see "Casualties of the Iraq War," <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Casualties_of_the_conflict_in_Iraq_since_2003>.

6. Memmott.

7. For additional information on the MNF-I Combined Press Information Center, visit <www.mnf-iraq.com>.

8. The deconfliction of Iraqi media section (IMS) written products and PSYOP themes and messages is under the direction of the G7. In order to keep IMS and PSYOP efforts separated, the G7 utilizes the current operations element to synchronize efforts to maximize desired target audience effects.

9. For more information on the synchronization of information operations along all other logical lines of operation, refer to FM 3-24, *Counterinsurgency* (Washington, DC: GPO, 15 December 2006), Chapter 1, "Some of the best weapons for counterinsurgents do not shoot."

10. Negative perceptions and fictitious or inaccurate reporting could indicate flaws in the plan and the need for modifications.

11. IMS media monitoring statistics report 50 percent of articles, 100 percent of media alerts, and one or more Iraqi/Pan-Arab media outlets picked up 98 percent of battlefield circulations. Figures could actually be higher for articles and battlefield circulations, but cannot be verified due to limited media monitoring capabilities. Because larger Pan-Arab companies outside Iraq own many of the local Iraqi media outlets, the IMS has far-reaching market penetration.

12. The *Al-Sabah* newspaper is primarily a government of Iraq affiliated paper with no specific sectarian affiliation. Its readership of approximately 60,000 is concentrated in Baghdad and in the Southern Belts. Both Sunni and Shia accept the paper as being truthful. The paper is published daily and costs about 35 cents U.S. There is an English section on the newspaper's website. For more information, visit <www.alsabah.com/English.html>.

13. All actionable intelligence obtained by the IMS is transferred to the G2 section for immediate analysis and action.

14. Battlefield circulations have a 98 percent media penetration rate; one or more media outlets air the event.

15. The Iraqi media engagement team provides Iraqi media crews with transportation from the Combined Press Information Center to Landing Zone Washington.

16. The high turnover rate with journalists in Iraq is due primarily to the numerous threats and the lack of security in many areas. Many journalists find that the stress and hours can be demanding and therefore pursue other employment.

17. Operations security, one of the five core elements of IO as listed in FM 3-13, is a critical element in the coordination and planning phases of battlefield circulations. Although the Iraqi media desires as much information up-front, the IMS, according to SOP, does not disclose the location of the event prior to their arrival at the landing zone. This ensures no information leaks that could potentially lead to an insurgent attack.

18. Also, local citizen misinterpretations may originate from PSYOP products. The same level of scrutiny of terms used with written articles is also required for the production of PSYOP messages and themes.

19. In order for articles to resonate favorably with the Iraqis, they are written as modestly as possible and without too much coalition "back-patting."

20. Coalition force unit identifiers and/or mottos seldom translate into Arabic or are not appropriate for the audience. An example is the Cavalry Troop called the "Assassins." Translating this into Arabic and disseminating this to the Iraqi populace would cause some concern. For IMS purposes, the term "assassin" would be changed to "a coalition troop."

21. If more requests occur than available media crews, the IMS supports the ones that will yield the greatest non-lethal effects payoff.

22. Battlefield circulations require one escort and one translator. The IMS currently has two available captains and two translators (MOS, O9L) to conduct battlefield circulations. In rare cases where IMS is over-tasked, the brigade combat team's leadership can provide escorts and translators to conduct the battlefield circulation.

23. The IMS ensures it provides religiously sensitive meals, if needed, and always respects religious observances.

24. The increasing level of freedom of maneuver or "permissiveness" for coalition forces is indicative of increasing stability.

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Why the U.S. Should GENDER Its Counterterrorism Strateg

Lieutenant Colonel Miemie Winn Byrd, U.S. Army Reserve, and Major Gretchen Decker, U.S. Army Reserve

THE U.S. MILITARY should address gender issues when designing counterterrorism strategies aimed at winning hearts and minds. As governments and development organizations around the world have already discovered, the "gendering" of policies, programs, and activities can improve the effectiveness of long-term strategies. Unfortunately, terrorist organizations are also discovering the benefits of selectively forgetting gender prejudices and abandoning traditional assumptions. During the first quarter of 2008, there were seven women suicide bombers in Iraq compared to only six in all of 2007.[1] And in January 2008, British authorities warned of an increasing threat from radicalized Muslim women.[2]

There is a direct link between the perception of economic inequity and violence. Economic disparity leads to feelings of dissatisfaction, inferiority, and alienation. As unemployment rates in many areas of the world fail to improve, discontent among those who feel deprived or economically exploited creates an environment ripe for ideological exploitation. Sociological research suggests that when economic disparity aligns with existing social cleavages (alienation based on religion, politics, race, ethnicity, caste, or region), the ensuing resentment kindles rancor, extremism, and militancy. In such circumstances, people become vulnerable to terrorist recruitment. What is typically overlooked in this societal dynamic is the relationship among gender, socioeconomic inequity, resentment, and alienation.

Women and the Attractions of Extremism

Dr. Meir Litvak of Tel Aviv University claims that Islamic terrorists are "exploiting the personal frustrations and grievances of . . . [disadvantaged] women for their own political goals, while they continue to limit the role of women in other aspects of life."[3] These terrorists capitalize on the feeling of inferiority and the limited choices that undeveloped societies often foist upon women.

A society that offers most women little opportunity to employ their intellectual talents arouses in them great frustration and an urgent need to prove their usefulness to society.[4] Such women, especially in impoverished communities, often feel that they can only achieve equality in death. For them, the primary attraction to terrorist organizations is the opportunity for heroic self-sacrifice and martyrdom.[5]

A woman who succumbs to this attraction invests in fantasies of moral worth, deriving imaginary justification from her extremist coterie and

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PHOTO: A woman and child seek care from a USAID-funded mobile women's-health work team in Tewala Village, Iraq. (USAID, Debbi Morello)

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...[W]omen, especially in impoverished communities, often feel that they can only achieve equality in death.

reciprocating with her support. As fanatics (of both sexes) always have, she clings to dogma and a menacing enmity to lift her from dire mediocrity to an elevated identity. In extremism, her exclusionary hatred becomes the vessel of her self-worth. The oppressive weight of economic disadvantage, alienation, and cultural inferiority vanishes in an aura of imagined noble purpose.

The more deeply pronounced a woman's sense of alienation and helplessness, the more it feeds her need for noble purpose with a tragic internal consistency. The more inferior she feels, the more she requires validation from her male extremist manipulators. In submission to self-sacrifice, she finds self-respect. She may turn to devotedly indoctrinating the next generation with her religiously sanctified rancor, encouraging in her children perhaps a fate of glorious self-immolation, or she may aggrandize herself further by fulfilling her sacrificial fantasy in a murderous spasm of spiritually fulfilling violence.

Tellingly, one of the most controversial groups in Britain, Hizb u-Tahrir, has asserted that it doesn't need to practice terroristic tactics if it can radicalize women: "Hizb u-Tahrir's goal is to promote a global Islam, cleansed of all ethnic or cultural traditions. And women are an essential tool."[6] Women adherents will ensure that their extremist ideology continues into future generations. As bewildered functionaries of an exploitative misogynistic ideology, women indeed are merely tragic tools.

Improving the economic lot of women in societies vulnerable to terrorist influence could help ameliorate their sense of low self-worth and their resentment, and thereby possibly dull their attraction to extremism and terrorism. During stability operations, the military should take measures to encourage women to act in their own economic self-interest, helping them to avoid succumbing to the seductive psychological allures of extremism and terrorism.

...she may aggrandize herself further by fulfilling her sacrificial fantasy in a murderous spasm of spiritually fulfilling violence.

Lessons from Women and Development

Poverty afflicts women and children disproportionately. The majority of the world's poor are women and their children. According to the U.S. Agency for International Development's (USAID's) Office of Women in Development—

- 70 percent of the people living in poverty around the world are women and children.
- Two-thirds of the 876 million illiterate adults worldwide are women.
- Two-thirds of the 125 million school-aged children who do not attend school worldwide are girls, and girls who do go to school are less likely to complete school than boys are.
- More than three-quarters of the world's 27 million refugees are women and children.
- Every day, 1,600 women (mostly poor) die needlessly during pregnancy and childbirth.[7]

Societal effects of economic inequity. Women are less likely to receive health care and education in poor countries. Lacking as well any rights to property, business ownership, or credit, they tend to be the most marginalized group within such societies. Women earn less money than their male counterparts do, and if they are single parents, they tend to suffer the vicious cycle of poverty more.[8]

Although gender disparity appears to harm women the most, studies have shown that "the full costs of gender inequality ultimately harm everyone."[9] Gender inequality directly and indirectly limits overall economic growth. When societies marginalize women, the community as a whole loses essentially 50 percent of its possible productivity. In backward areas of the world, gender and poverty create mutually reinforcing barriers to socioeconomic development. Educational attainment and the future financial status of children are much more likely to reflect those of the mother than the father. According to the World Bank, "Mothers' illiteracy and lack of schooling directly disadvantage their

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At Samagan School, Afghanistan, girls of all ages returned eagerly to school in 2006. USAID-supported educational programs renovated classrooms and provided new textbooks and supplies.

young children. Low schooling translates into poor quality of care for children and then higher infant and child mortality and malnutrition."[10]

Investing in women. When women are educated, there is a high probability that their children will be educated. In addition, educated women tend to meet their families' nutrition and health needs. As Stephen C. Smith and Michael Todaro have found, "Increasing women's education not only increases their productivity on the farm and in the factory but also results in greater labor force participation, later marriage, lower fertility, and greatly improved child health and nutrition."[11] In fact, "studies from around the developing world consistently show that expanding basic education for girls earns among the very highest rates of return of any investment—much larger, for example, than most public infrastructure projects."[12] As if that weren't enough, World Bank and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) studies indicate that projects targeting women realize higher returns on investment than any other developmental program.

Integrating women into a nation's growth process helps ensure that investments in human capital are more likely to pass to future generations. Human capital—the knowledge and skill resident in the population of an economy—is perhaps the most important prerequisite for sustainable growth, education, and enhanced economic status. Women are critical to a country's ability to achieve its long-term development objectives:[13] "Research findings suggest that countries that take steps to increase women's access to education, health care, employment, and credit, thereby narrowing the differences between men and women in terms of access to economic opportunities, increase their pace of economic development and reduce poverty."[14] In sum, the way a society treats its women is directly related to its political viability and its moral and economic potential.

Mainstreaming gender. According to development experts, women are the most important agents in a nation's development process. Their natural role as the first-in-line caretakers and teachers of children make them so. Accordingly, in many parts of the world today, enlightened countries leverage women's roles to spur development. A 2005 World Bank study of Uganda suggests that the country could gain as much as two percent in annual GDP growth by eliminating gender inequality.[15] A 2001 World Bank study showed a correlation between the increased influence of women in public life and a lower level of corruption within the government. This correlation suggests that women pursuing economic parity have a moral influence that affects rule of law and good governance.[16]

Women have always mattered in human development, even when largely relegated to semi-slave status as domestic laborers. They were crucial to the survival of America's colonies because they shaped communal life and economic development. In the West today, the level of female involvement in commerce, politics, higher education, and the professions is striking given the relatively small numbers of women active in those areas. (Even in progressive Western societies, gender norms dictate that women and girls take primary responsibility for household maintenance and care activities—the legacy, in developed nations, of their slave-like status).

In the past, when leaders in developed and developing countries pondered ways to boost growth, reduce inequality, and improve living standards, the last thing on their minds was empowering women.[17] Now, they are beginning to understand how gender differences in behaviors and roles can have significant macroeconomic consequences. Public policies

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have different effects on men and women, and these differences may lead to unintended outcomes. Thus, "economists are now taking a much stronger interest in how gender affects aggregate income as well as key components of overall economic demand, focusing on household decision making."[18] Since the 1995 Beijing World Conference on Women, systematic examination of the impact budget programs and policies have on women (the "mainstreaming" of gender into government policies) has gained prominence:

> Mainstreaming [does not mean] to analyze only programs that are specifically targeted to females or to produce a separate "women's" budget. Rather, it is intended to examine the gender effects of all government programs and policies. For instance, cutting back on clean water spending may disproportionately harm women and girls because they typically bear the time and physical burden of providing clean water to households when it is not readily available. Just as reducing a tax credit for child-care expenses may disproportionately burden women, who are responsible for the greater share of child-rearing activities [*sic*].[19]

Empowering women through microfinance. The microfinance industry is leading the move to leverage the economic power of women in the poorest parts of the world. Bestowal of the 2006 Nobel Peace Prize on Dr. Mohammad Yunus, founder of Bangladesh's Grameen Bank and a champion of microfinance, attests to the efficacy of developing micro-credit into an effective tool for fighting poverty. Dr. Yunus revolutionized the microfinance sector by lending primarily to women—the heart of the Grameen Bank's winning strategy. Experience has shown that women tend to pay back loans at a higher rate than men do. In addition, women tend to help the whole community when they have access to micro loans. The Grameen bank has concluded that "annual household consumption expenditure increases 18 taka for every additional 100 taka borrowed by women from credit programs, compared with just 11 taka for men."[20]

Why the Military Should Care

Terrorists are recruiting women as a pragmatic move to regain the strategic advantage.[21] In an increasingly tighter security environment, female recruitment is a logical next step, since society and security forces at large view women as less likely to be violent (even though history warns against such complacency). According to Jessica Stern, a lecturer on terrorism at Harvard University, "The perception that women are less prone to violence, the Islamic dress code, and the reluctance to carry out body searches on Muslim women [make] them the 'perfect demographic'" for terrorists.[22] Put simply, it is easier for female terrorists to get through security checkpoints.

Fighting vertical transmission. As aforementioned, even if women do not participate directly in terrorist activities, they often support their men's militancy by nurturing families committed to violent extremism.[23] Since women in most societies are traditionally responsible for passing on the cultural expectations of their communities to their children, women become vehicles for transmitting norms of violence, radicalism, and martyrdom. Cultural transmission theorists refer to this dynamic as "vertical transmission."[24] Women perform this function in societies as "the vanguard of social transformation."[25] Individuals and societies continuously reshape, repackage, and reuse cultural traits. As first caregivers and teachers, women serve as a key node for influencing and spreading cultural traits to the next generation. Historically, military conflicts needed women's support for sustainability, and today that phenomenon applies to terrorists/terrorism and insurgents/insurgency.[26]

To affect the collective mindset of a community, counterinsurgents and counterterrorism measures should address this critical node of influence. According to Narmin Othman, Iraq's acting minister for women's affairs, there are as many as two million widows in Iraq today.[27] These women should be the prime target population for organized economic assistance during stability operations. Not only are women the primary transmitters of cultural traits, but as the past has shown, they can also serve as an important force in conflict mitigation and reconciliation.[28] Thus, military planners should war game the different effects actions have on men and

...women become vehicles for transmitting norms of violence, radicalism, and martyrdom.

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AP Photo/Hadi Mizban

Iraqi widows wait to receive aid distributed by the al-Sadr office in Shula neighborhood of northwestern Baghdad, Iraq, 1 October 2007. The al-Sadr office donated food to victims of sectarian violence.

women in the same way they currently war-game second- and third-order effects.

Gendering doctrine. The Army's Field Manual (FM) 3-24, *Counterinsurgency*, stresses the importance of civil considerations during mission analysis.[29] However, the FM's social structure section should explicitly recommend gender consideration as one of the items planners address. It pertains to roughly 50 percent of the local populace and is the most likely category of civil considerations to be neglected.[30]

For example, if a unit is planning to dig a well for a community, planners should consider how the distance between the well and the community might affect women and girls. If the well is too far away, the girls will spend more time fetching water, which may encroach on other productive activities such as attending school. Similarly, if women and girls are the primary providers of water for the households in a community, then unit information operations activities near and en route to water wells must be sensitive to their needs in order to be effective.

Leveraging USAID

The Percy Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act, signed into law in 1973, requires that gender issues be incorporated into the government's overall development efforts. Since then, USAID has been integrating gender concerns throughout its portfolio in the developing world. Women received 63 percent of the micro-loans issued through USAID-supported programs in 2004.[31] In the past three decades, the agency has gained tremendous insight into the significant roles women play in developing societies. Its office of Women in Development (WID) testifies to the great attention USAID is paying to the role of gender in nation building.

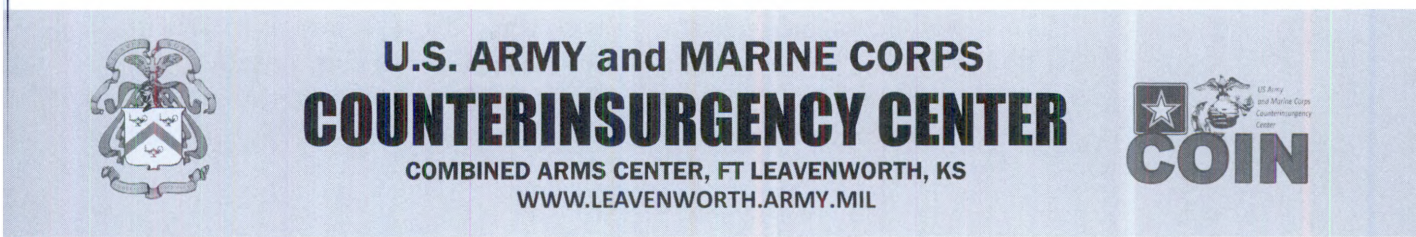
By collaborating with USAID and using WID's expertise on gender integration as part of a comprehensive counterterrorism strategy, the military can more effectively address the negative socioeconomic conditions that make areas ripe for terrorist exploitation.

The recent trend of increasing women suicide bombers from Chechnya to Gaza and to Iraq may be just the tip of the iceberg. It is likely an indicator of the underlying current of increased radicalization of women. Since women naturally hold the critical node for passing down cultural norms and beliefs in societies, they serve as the proliferators of radical and militant ideology for future generations. Therefore, long-term countermeasures and counterterrorism strategy must seriously consider the affects of gender to be effective. ***MR***

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KNOWLEDGE MANAGEMENT by the Generating Force

Lieutenant Colonel (P) E.J. Degen, U.S. Army

THE COLD WAR lulled the Army into the complacency of a deliberate, methodical, and time-consuming doctrinal process. Today, however, the accelerated operational tempo of the War on Terrorism has forced us to take an honest, in-depth look at how we collect, analyze, debate, codify, write, and disseminate doctrine. We now find that we must alter our approach to provide timely, accurate, and relevant doctrine to the field and the schoolhouses.

As the proponent for the generating force, the U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC) must be proactive and innovative in its approach to knowledge management to provide the best possible support to the operating force—those units deployed, preparing for deployment, or returning from deployment. The current wars exacerbate the challenges of knowledge management, and as the demand to do more with less increases, the job gets even tougher. However, the history of doctrine reveals that the community has faced significant adversity in the past. Today's challenges are nothing new.

Historical Perspective

Field Manual (FM) 3-0, *Operations*, defines Army doctrine as "a body of thought on how Army forces intend to operate as an integral part of a joint force. Doctrine focuses on how to think—not what to think."[1] Army doctrine complements joint doctrine. It describes the Army's approach and contributions to full-spectrum operations on land. Army doctrine is authoritative but not prescriptive. Where conflicts between Army and joint doctrine arise, joint doctrine takes precedence. Doctrine shapes the way the Army thinks, prepares, and conducts warfare. "Think" and "prepare" equate to "educate" and "train." Doctrine is the heart of our professional competence. FM 3-0 explains that doctrine establishes common approaches to military tasks, promotes mutual understanding, facilitates communication among Soldiers, and serves as the basis for training and leader development.[2] Useful doctrine must be widely known and easily understood. It must have a philosophical and intellectual foundation as well as a practical purpose.

Although this sophisticated view of doctrine dates from the 1960s, the Army only recently began to give it credence. For a long time, "doctrine" had a different meaning to the Army. From the time of the American Revolution to the late 19th century, "doctrine" meant "drill." Up through the Civil War, the U.S. Army used Baron von Steuben's revised Prussian manual ("the Blue Book") and Winfield Scott's *Infantry Tactics* to train troops to move and maneuver on the battlefield. These works were valuable in their day,

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but became obsolete when the era of Napoleonic warfare ended.

Until the beginning of the twentieth century, doctrine was an individual endeavor, as there were few published doctrinal manuscripts to facilitate training either the individual or the unit. In 1905 the War Department published its first Field Service Regulations, outlining the organization of the division and how it operated. "Doctrine" now meant "organization and tactics" rather than "drill." It stayed that way until the 1962 version of FM 100-5, *Operations*, moved away from discussing arms and services to discussing the nature of war and the operational environment.

In 1973, as the U.S. Army completed its withdrawal from Vietnam, TRADOC emerged from the break-up of the old Continental Army Command. For the first time in its history, the Army had an organization dedicated to the formulation of doctrine. TRADOC soon made its mark. The next versions of FM 100-5 refocused on the operational level of war and brought us AirLand Battle, a doctrine aimed at defeating massed Soviet armor formations. The Soviet Union fell in 1991, but that same year the Army employed AirLand Battle doctrine masterfully in Iraq, during Operation Desert Storm.

Unfortunately, the end of the Soviet Union and the successful conclusion of the Gulf War did not usher in an era of peace and stability. Terrorist attacks on U.S. embassies, barracks, and naval vessels overseas, as well as an attack on the Pentagon and two attacks on the World Trade Center, made it evident that the United States faced a deadly enemy that it could only defeat with a combination of conventional and counterinsurgency operations. Doctrine had to change to reflect the new situation.

The Army's concept of doctrine has thus changed from "drill" to "organization and tactics" to an overview for worldwide operations; but this process has not been a smooth one. Doctrine based solely on theory seldom works. Only with experimentation and constant study of actual operations can the Army expect to keep abreast of developments in a world threatened by an increasingly lethal, decentralized, and unconventional enemy.

Some would say, "We are too busy for doctrine." The facts on the ground argue otherwise. Leaders preparing for missions or actively involved in current missions thirst for information and relevant, up-to-date doctrine. One of our clear challenges is to be able to gather, process, and disseminate knowledge fast enough to make it useable and readily available to those leaders. We must strive for efficiencies without compromising effectiveness, yet still produce accurate, useable, and reliable knowledge products.

Doctrine as the Driving Force

Doctrine enables the Army to operate as part of a joint or multinational team. It applies to all operations across the spectrum of conflict in the present, and it will continue to do so in the near future. Doctrine tells us *how* to think about training and operations as opposed to *what* to think. Effective doctrine fosters initiative and creative thinking among our Soldiers and their leaders.

Doctrine also establishes a foundation for thinking that allows our Soldiers and leaders to solve complex problems. It offers a menu of choices based on experiences, and it provides standards and measures to accomplish military tasks across the full spectrum of operations. Doctrine provides a common language for military professionals that enables clear, succinct, and articulate communications. Joint Publication 1-02, *Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms*, states that doctrine constitutes the "fundamental principles by which the military forces or elements thereof guide their actions in support of national objectives. It is authoritative, but requires judgment in application."[3] The Army definition is similar to the joint one. Finally, and quite possibly most important, doctrine forms the basis for military curricula in the formal education process and establishes standards for training. Doctrine is a result of our analysis of linkages between history, theory, experimentation, and practice.

TRADOC will continue to develop the Army's doctrinal theories in its 525 series of pamphlets, which forecast land-power requirements up to 20 years in the future. The command will also

Doctrine tells us* how *to think about training and operations as opposed to* what *to think.

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continue to validate theory with experimentation. Once TRADOC validates and codifies information gleaned from experiments, it derives the fundamental, enduring principles that comprise doctrine and guide forces to achieve national objectives. These principles reflect the Army's collective wisdom regarding past, present, and future operations. Contained in the apex of Army doctrinal FMs, these principles are the philosophical underpinning of all we do and are. By themselves, however, the principles are not sufficient to guide successful operations. Tactics, techniques, and procedures (TTP) provide more specific guidance, including both descriptive and prescriptive methods to support implementation of the principles of higher level doctrine.

JP 1-02 defines "tactics" as "the employment and ordered arrangement of forces in relation to each other."[4] Army doctrine concurs, but adds that tactics are "primarily descriptive; tactics vary with terrain and other circumstances; they change frequently as the enemy reacts and friendly forces explore new approaches."[5] Normally, tactics require the application of techniques and procedures, which vary according to the situation.

Both joint and Army doctrine state that techniques are "non-prescriptive ways or methods used to perform assigned missions and functions or tasks."[6] Techniques are the primary method of conveying the wisdom that successful units accumulate in operations. More than one technique may be applicable to accomplishing a specific mission or task. Commanders may use the techniques they deem necessary based on their assessment of the current situation.

Joint and Army doctrine also agree that procedures are "standard, detailed steps that prescribe how to perform specific tasks."[7] They are prescriptive and normally consist of a series of steps to be accomplished in a set order. Checklists are a good example of procedures: Soldiers execute them the same way at all times, regardless of circumstances. Techniques and procedures make up the lowest level of our doctrinal hierarchy. They often depend on the type of unit, equipment, mission, geographical location, and numerous other factors.

There is another body of knowledge as well. "Best practices" are not doctrinal concepts, but Soldiers use them throughout the Army. They are similar to techniques, except that proponents have not formally vetted them and codified them into doctrine. The Army must understand and define best practices and publish them. They bring clarity to the field, and they give leaders' access to potentially useful information, even if that information has not been fully validated.

The publication of doctrine and best practices—common knowledge—establishes a common philosophy and language for Army operations. In doing so, it facilitates unity of effort and joint interoperability. The philosophy appears in fundamental principles that apply across a broad spectrum of operations. The language consists of doctrinal terms describing how the Army operates and the symbols it uses to portray its operations. Well-understood doctrine facilitates the rapid team building, tailoring, and task organizing among units and Soldiers required for today's fast-paced operations. It aids readiness by establishing common ways of accomplishing military tasks. Well-established terms and symbols and commonly accepted practices allow for shorter orders and their rapid production, dissemination, and understanding.

The Army is a learning organization. Its doctrine cannot afford to be static. The Army must continuously revise its doctrine based on history, evolving theory, experimentation, and an ever-changing security environment.

The Army is a learning organization. Its doctrine cannot afford to be static.

Doctrine Hierarchy

We have clear echelons of knowledge in the Army, and they have joint counterparts. As figure 1 depicts, tier-1 manuals correspond to above-the-line joint publications and tier-2 manuals correspond to below-the-line publications in the joint library. Tier 1 has three categories of knowledge: capstone, keystone, and supporting doctrine.

Capstone doctrine contains the fundamental principles from which keystone doctrine derives tactics and techniques, and tier-2 manuals establish techniques and procedures. FM 1, *The Army,* and FM 3-0, *Operations*, are the two capstone field

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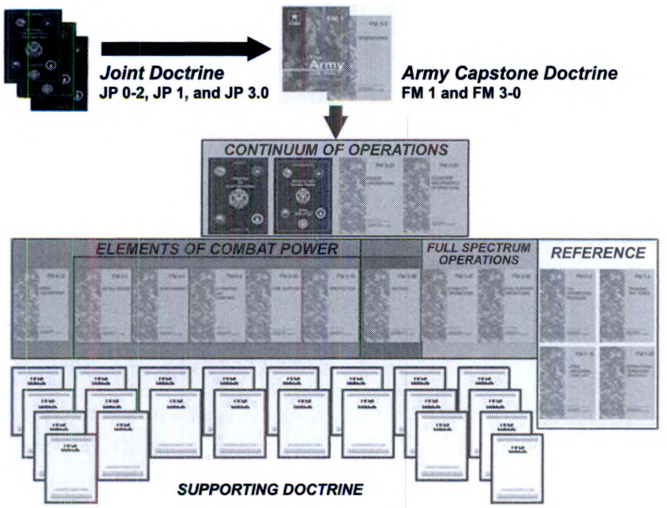


Figure 1. Army doctrine hierarchy.

manuals. They link Army doctrine with the National Security Strategy and the National Military Strategy and serve as the primary links between joint and Army doctrine.

Keystone doctrine is organized around the fundamental principles outlined in FM 1 and FM 3-0. Keystone manuals address the subjects that form the framework for conducting full-spectrum operations. The themes and subjects described in keystone manuals link to joint and Army capstone doctrine. Many keystone manuals establish the doctrinal base for a series of subordinate manuals. In many cases, these subordinate manuals comprise supporting doctrine.

Supporting doctrine addresses subjects that significantly affect the conduct of full-spectrum operations. Doctrine at this level focuses on coordinating and synchronizing forces across the full spectrum of conflict. Like keystone doctrine, supporting doctrine can establish the foundation for an entire series of subordinate FMs.

Tier-2 publications include FMs not designated as tier 1 due to the nature or narrow focus of their content. Because tier-2 manuals are concerned only with techniques and procedures, they can be much more descriptive and prescriptive than the higher echelon documents. We normally associate tier-2 FMs with specific Army branches and functional areas.

The process used to produce capstone and keystone doctrine is adequate, but it would be more efficient if TRADOC used collaborative forums for staffing the manuals. Because the manuals establish the foundation from which all else emanates, it is critical that their development remain formal and rigorous enough to infuse the proper intellectual energy in operations, both present and future. The capstone manuals must continue to tie theory, experimentation, history, and practice together. While doctrine must be up-to-date for the current fight—it cannot afford to be mired down and must remain forward thinking—doctrine production continues to require the involvement of seasoned, experienced senior Army leaders.

Those who are involved in the current fight are thinking about the close fight; they do not necessarily have the time or inclination to think about the distant warfighting future—that is TRADOC's responsibility. The Combined Arms Center (CAC) at Fort Leavenworth continues to lead this effort for TRADOC and the Army by staffing and coordinating doctrinal and best-practices publications throughout the Army and with the sister services. TRADOC will continue to host quarterly doctrine and concepts conferences for Army senior leaders to develop the contents of these publications further. (Unfortunately, supporting and tier-2 manuals, which emanate from and nest in the capstone and keystone manuals, are lagging far behind as the higher echelons of doctrine undergo major change.)

An entire echelon of publications seeks to capture what we deem best practices. The Center for Army Lessons Learned (CALL) is at the forefront of this effort for the Army, while the Air Land Sea Application Center conducts a similar function for the joint force. A plethora of handbooks, smart cards, bulletins, circulars, digital newsletters, and other products produce a quick return on information before it is rendered irrelevant.

The Only Constant is Change

The ever-changing security environment and the greater speed with which the Army transmits information absolutely require that we change how we manage the knowledge at our disposal. The Army's interim FMs have a shelf life of two years, but best practices and lessons learned are replacing some of our TTP documents. The number of forums and sources for best practices and lessons learned is staggering. This is not necessarily a bad

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thing because Soldiers and leaders actively engaged in different missions throughout the world have a thirst for the knowledge these forums provide. In fact, the forums have been critical to mission success, and Army leaders should continue to encourage them. But, how do we manage the avalanche of knowledge that advancing global technologies bring us?

Information, regardless of its source, can translate into an advantage on the battlefield. We believe that the tools of the information age are key to tactical or operational adaptation on today's battlefield. These tools, however, can also be dangerous. They can misinform us or overload our ability to synthesize available data. Therefore, Army leaders must ensure that the best practices available are accurate and vetted.

Many factors affect how we manage knowledge. Nearly every leader in the Army has an information-rich database readily available. Unfortunately, much of that information becomes dated and obsolete quickly. The question arises, "Who is managing this data to ensure that the obsolete is discarded and the useful is captured and integrated into the doctrinal hierarchy?" As the target in figure 2 depicts, TRADOC's charge is to extract and distill what is important from collected data and inject it into the doctrinal hierarchy to help shape current and future operations. In many cases, this mission has become very difficult. While TRADOC endures cutbacks in personnel and resources, technology floods its systems with increased information.

Information about best practices is emerging from many joint, Army, sister-service, and civilian sources. Much of it comes from the bottom up. Blogs posted on the Internet convey unfiltered information quickly. Communities of practice such as *PlatoonLeader Net, CompanyCommand Net, S3-XO Net*, and *CAVNET* are just a few of the sites that allow operators in the field to contribute immediate information and knowledge to the system.

The Center for Army Lessons Learned heads the TRADOC initiative to collect best practices through their observations-insights-lessons (OIL) program. In conjunction with other Army proponents, CALL examines OILs and determines their validity, relevance, and implications for Army doctrine. Many OILs eventually find their way into a CALL product of one type or another. With its added filters,

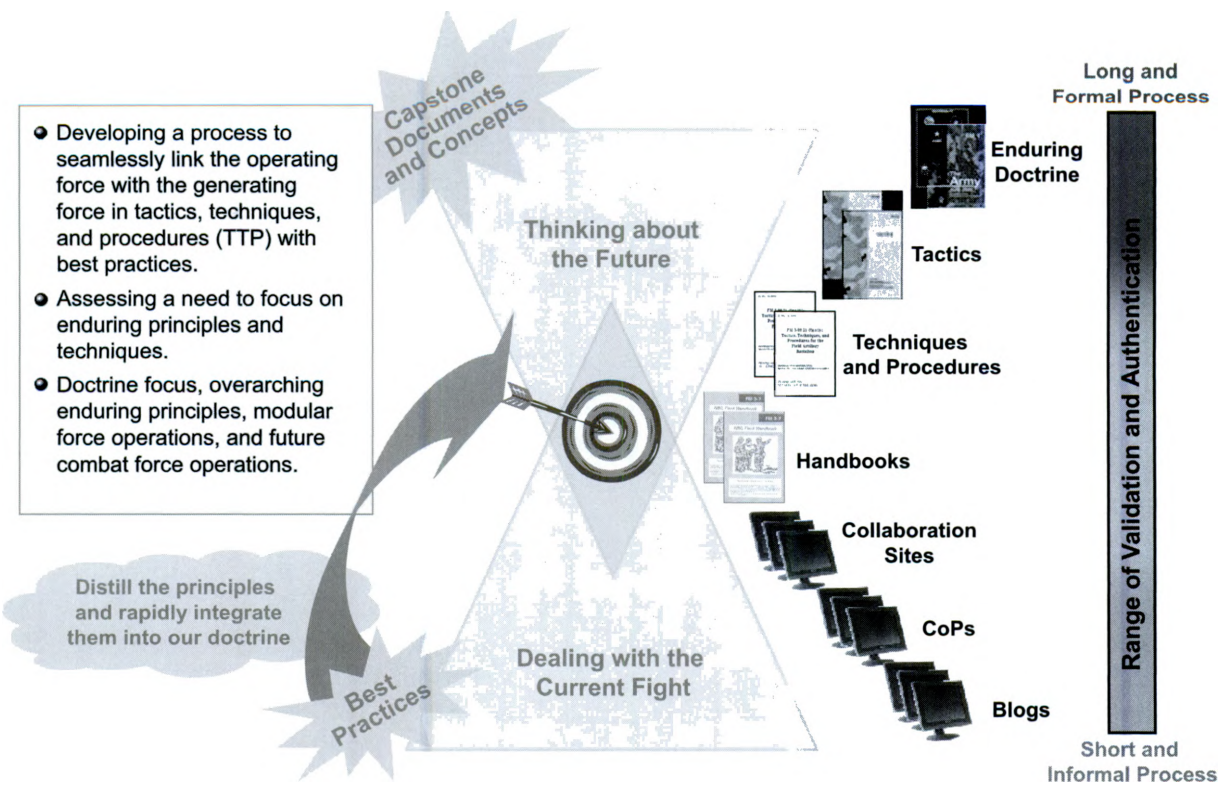


Figure 2. The challenge to validate.

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this more formal process makes the information more reliable than that appearing in communities of practice.

The fast pace of operations, the enemy's constant adaptation, and the speed with which information moves from one point to another make it imperative that TRADOC evaluate its best practices and optimize them to support the operating force. What was good enough during the Cold War may not meet today's requirements or tomorrow's.

Knowledge Management and Improving Efficiencies

TRADOC faces a major knowledge management challenge. An abundance of best-practice information is floating around that may or may not be useful to the supporting manuals, but TRADOC has only limited resources to gather, process, validate and codify it, let alone write it into doctrine and disseminate it to the user in a timely fashion.

TRADOC must take advantage of knowledge initiatives to increase its efficiency and effectiveness in knowledge management. Multi-service projects like those that the U.S. Army Field Artillery Center has co-produced with the Marines are fine examples of leveraging the knowledge and resources of both services for the good of all.[8] While co-producing a higher level manual such as FM 3-0 in a multi-service forum would not be practicable (the Army's fundamental operating principles and Title 10 responsibilities differ from the Marines'), producing a multi-service manual of TTP on "Attacking a Built-up Area" makes good sense. Every TRADOC component should explore multi-service collaboration where logical and feasible.

CALL's Lessons-Learned Integration (L2I) initiative is a start. Although it currently does nothing to codify information and formulate it into doctrine, L2I can help improve the efficiency and effectiveness of collection and validation. A collaborative process, L2I places liaisons in nearly all agencies that have a hand in the doctrine process. (See figure 3.) For implementation, the program depends on command emphasis at Army schools and centers and in field units. Besides enhancing collection and validation, L2I has another superb benefit: it *pushes* data to TRADOC as opposed to TRADOC having to *pull* data from its points of origin. With L2I, the abundance of sources producing

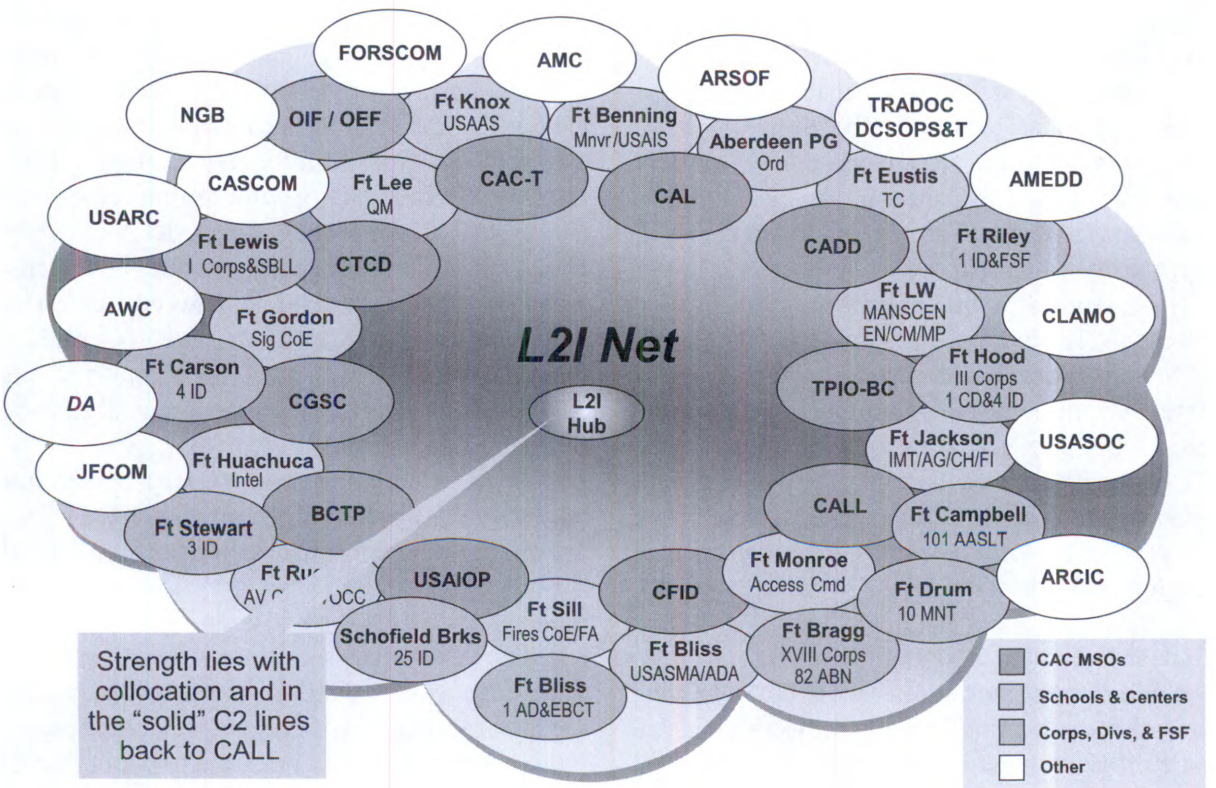


Figure 3. CAC L2I collaboration network.

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and posting data critical to knowledge-management will ensure that we capture enduring knowledge in our publications.

The Army's centers of excellence (COEs) and its branch schools now have standardized doctrine and training divisions that are better prepared to update best-practices knowledge in Army classrooms and manuals. CALL will establish an L2I liaison in these cells. Each COE commander should remember that the reward is fleeting if he only solves the warfighter's immediate need without documenting appropriate changes for future doctrine. Only a cell robust enough to process knowledge and include it in the doctrinal staffing process can capture changes that will endure.

As the modular force evolves with its Strykers and Future Combat System (FCS), so will doctrine—if the Army continues to leverage the capabilities of the organizations that support the force. The Warrior Training and Leader Development Center at Fort Lewis, Washington, is a great resource for developing the requirements for Stryker units and helping Army schools and agencies develop doctrine to support these new formations. Forces Command may soon follow with similar efforts for the infantry brigade combat team and the heavy brigade combat team. The involvement of the COEs, the Combined Arms Center, and TRADOC Capability Manager-Stryker are critical to ensuring that Stryker doctrine is sound and nested in present principles. To ensure uniformity and compliance across the force, the COEs and CAC must maintain approval authority over the doctrine produced by these efforts.

The emerging Future Force Integration Division and Army Evaluation Task Force at Fort Bliss, Texas, can gain great efficiencies by mirroring the Stryker efforts as the Army introduces FCS into the force. Early unified efforts will save valuable time in developing doctrinal principles to integrate FCS formations rapidly into the operating force. They will prevent the formation of stovepipes in concept development.

Building Synergy

While many organizations across TRADOC and the Army are working hard to manage knowledge more efficiently and facilitate the rapid, effective production and dissemination of doctrine, many of them or the systems they employ are not mature enough, and their efforts are unsynchronized. General (Retired) Frederick M. Franks once observed, "Our approach to doctrine is still mired in an industrial approach."[9] His words resonate today. We should heed General Franks, take the next step, and embrace the many initiatives that could help pull the Army into the information age.

L2I shows great promise. But the program still must depend on command emphasis; the raw information it collects must be reviewed and validated before it can enter Army doctrine, and it is personnel-intensive with 37 analysts and liaisons in position now, and the number due to increase to 46 in the near future.

The Battle Command Knowledge System (BCKS) (figure 4) is another initiative that supports generating, applying, managing, and exploiting Army knowledge online. BCKS fosters collaboration between the field and the Army's institutional base and among the institutions in the base. Although virtual, BCKS offers targeted, personalized forums that can greatly enhance the speed with which TRADOC codifies and validates information. Initial results of BCKS's electronic staffing process are very promising. Using the process, TRADOC cut several months off the production of a keystone document that normally would have taken two years to complete. This process will only become more efficient as the force becomes more aware of its capabilities and more comfortable employing them. By using electronic notifications to concerned parties via Army Knowledge Online (AKO), the Army could nearly eliminate mailing all draft documents and greatly decrease the time between the collection and dissemination of knowledge. As with L2I, however, we can only realize the promise of this collaborative tool if the chain of command requires, utilizes, and monitors it.

Object-based publishing (OBP) is another new knowledge-management initiative. OBP breaks knowledge into stand-alone objects (called "chunks"), tags and classifies them for easy retrieval, and stores them in a repository of knowledge the generating or operating force can easily access. Not only is the data simple to retrieve, but the user can tailor his query to get as much or as little as he needs. If required, the user can extract and print an entire manual. OBP postures these chunks of knowledge for the next generation of

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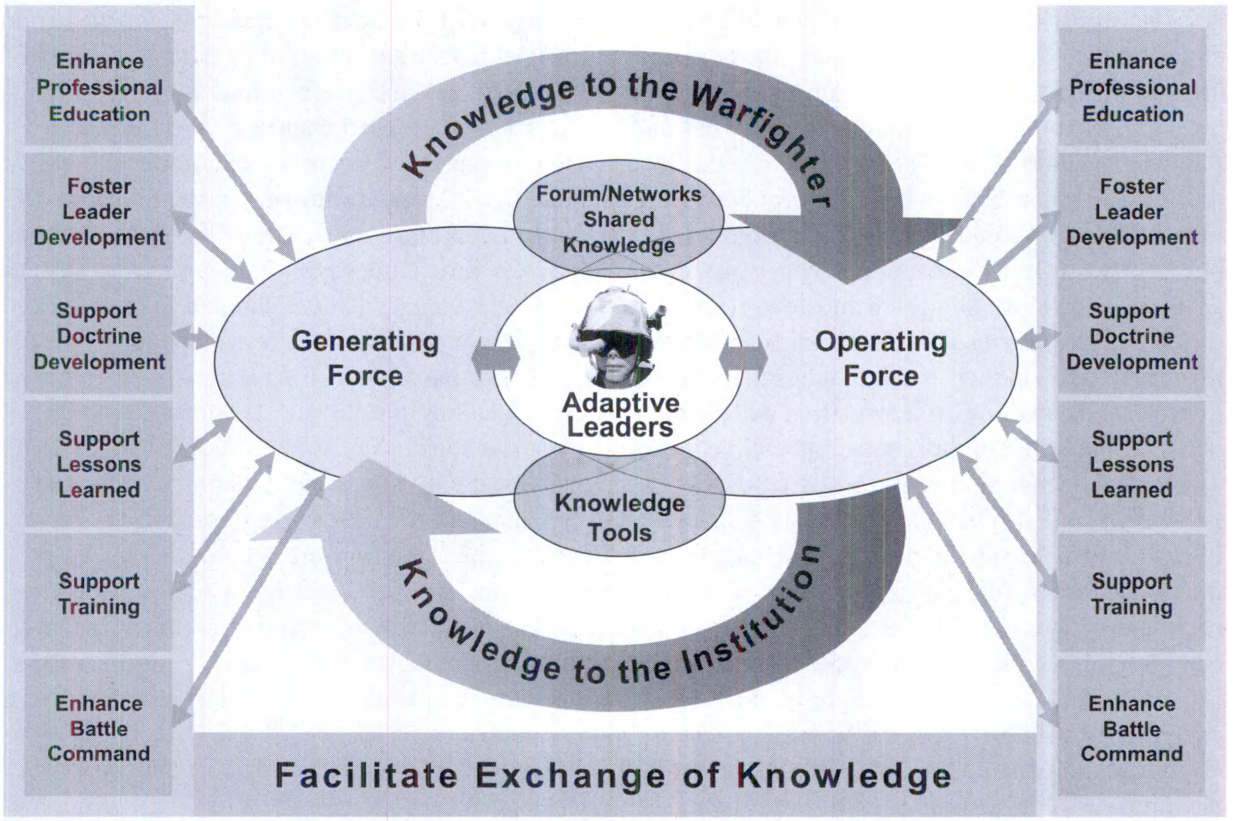


Figure 4. KM/BCKS concept and objectives.

technology and allows for rapid staffing and updating via a collaborative process, such as BCKS. After a proponent updates a knowledge chunk, it becomes published doctrine stored in the digital repository. There is no lengthy staffing and publication process, thus saving critical time. OBP already resides behind the AKO portal, and it benefits from existing search and information-security technology.

The Army has nested OBP concepts in the Army Knowledge Management Strategy, which is transforming the Army into a network-centric, knowledge-based force. The future vision is to have a force with agile capabilities and adaptive processes powered by world-class network-centric access to knowledge, systems, and services–all interoperable in the joint environment. OBP has great potential for tier-2 issues, and possibly even supporting doctrine, but it may be of limited use for capstone and keystone documents because of the intertwined themes that spread from start to finish through these documents.

In the near future, Army leaders will be able to empower the entire doctrinal system, from capstone through tier 2, by putting it all into an interactive, linked environment similar to TRADOC's "Road to Deployment" site (Secret Internet Protocol Router Net access only). The site could contain the doctrinal principles in chunks, complete digital manuals, links to after-action reviews, footage of actual operations or training, interviews, training aides, historical vignettes, and more. Right now, this data is spread across numerous sites. The synergy we build will enable us to improve our products and our timelines.

To ensure reliability and security and to keep the repository current, an appropriate proponent should control each piece of doctrinal information. Collecting data simply to have a large repository will not help the warfighter or the trainer. The great work that CALL does now on the restricted side of its Non-classified Internet Protocol Router site is an example of how this can work: experts in each topic area ensure the quality and validity of information contained within the site.

Program Executive Office-Soldier has fielded the first installment of Land Warrior to a unit that will

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actually deploy with it to a theater of war. We should all take notice of this event and study the potential this system has for the future of information gathering and dissemination. Although the Army has not funded Land Warrior, we will eventually see the Soldier tied continuously to a network. Not only will this increase situational understanding on the battlefield, but it will also grant the leader nearly instantaneous access to knowledge anywhere and anytime.

Someday leaders may have a commander's digital assistant (CDA) in their hands that ties them to the network and can draw on information databases to better prepare them for missions. Interactive video and virtual scenarios built into this repository of knowledge will also be instantaneously accessible. Information overload will not be a concern because the leader can set filters on his CDA to access and receive only what he needs at any given time. The continuous network connectivity Soldiers have will help disseminate data to the warfighter, and it should aid collectors of best practices. As our Soldiers use the CDA for after action reviews, collaborative planning sessions, and information exchanges, the collectors can also reap this data for study.

We must also consider human factors. Leaders at all levels should discuss, debate, write about, and publish their thoughts on warfighting, especially after they return from a mission with their experiences still fresh in their minds. The Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, does a great job assigning meaningful monograph topics to students in graduate programs. The Army should implement the practice from the ranks of captain through colonel. Just as we choose advanced education programs that develop the Soldier and thereby help the Army, we should never let a Soldier write a meaningless monograph or thesis for educational credit in an Army program. We must challenge leaders to study and write in ways that help their profession and challenge our military faculties to review, edit, debate, and write about knowledge and doctrine. This is too important to leave to only a few people in doctrine and training cells within our schools.

Conclusion

The challenges we face today in knowledge management pale in comparison to those we will face in the future if we do not adapt our systems and our practices to take advantage of existing technologies. TRADOC will have to continue to do more with less, and it will only be successful if it casts away its old methods of doctrine generation, especially at the tier-2 level. Optimizing current information technologies and continuing to develop future ones is a clear way to improve. Challenging established timelines by employing collaborative tools for the staffing and approving process shows great promise. Object-based publishing enhances this effort to speed a quality product to the operating force.

As the "architect of the Army," TRADOC must ensure that doctrine remains relevant and is responsive to the needs of the warfighter. It must support the operating force with responsive processes that provide the knowledge our operators need to overcome an adaptive enemy. The training baseline begins with doctrine, and the proper implementation of the Soldier in the operating force depends on it.

History has demonstrated repeatedly that success now and in the next war may depend on how well we capture the best practices from the current fight, harvest the durable knowledge, and integrate it into our doctrine. TRADOC is studying all of our knowledge systems to improve its ability to serve the operating force now and in the future. To paraphrase S.L.A. Marshall, knowledge does not do much good when we hold it to ourselves. TRADOC must work to improve its knowledge management skills, and in that vein, it is proactively seeking to make the great work it does even better in the future. Victory Starts Here! ***MR***

NOTES

1. Field Manual 3-0, *Operations* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office [GPO], February 2008), D-1.
2. Ibid.
3. JP 1-02, *Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms* (Washington, DC: GPO, 2001), 169.
4. Ibid., 534.
5. FM 3-0, D-2.
6. JP 1-02, 541.
7. Ibid., 432.
8. FM 3-09.31, Marine Corps Reference Publication (MCRP) 3-16C, *Tactics, Techniques and Procedures for Fire Support for Combined Arms Commander*, dated October 2002 and FM 9-09.12, MCRP 3-16.1A, *Tactics, Techniques and Procedures for Field Artillery Target Acquisition*, published in June 2002, are just two fine examples of service coordination and doctrine of mutual interest.
9. Interview via email with General (Retired) Frederick M. Franks Jr., 22 September 2006. General Franks was the eighth TRADOC commander (August 1991 to October 1994). He has stayed involved with Army and joint operations and concepts since his retirement.

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The Sole Superpower in Decline: The Rise of a Multipolar World



Shri Dilip Hiro

The following is a reprint from the Journal of the United Service Institution of India, *Vol. CXXXVII, No. 569, July-September 2007.*

WITH THE COLLAPSE of the Soviet Union in 1991, the United States stood tall—militarily invincible, economically unrivalled, diplomatically uncontestable, and the dominating force on information channels worldwide. The next century was to be the true "American century," with the rest of the world moulding itself in the image of the sole superpower.

Yet, with not even a decade of this century behind us, we are already witnessing the rise of a multipolar world in which new powers are challenging different aspects of American supremacy—Russia and China in the forefront, with regional powers Venezuela and Iran forming the second rank. These emergent powers are primed to erode American hegemony, not confront it singly or jointly.

How and why has the world evolved in this way so soon? The Bush administration's debacle in Iraq is certainly a major factor in this transformation, a classic example of an imperialist power, brimming with hubris, over-extending itself. To the relief of many—in the U.S. and elsewhere—the Iraq fiasco has demonstrated the striking limitations of power for the globe's highest-tech, most destructive military machine. Regarding Iraq, Brent Scowcroft, National Security Adviser to two U.S. Presidents, concedes in a recent op-ed, "We are being wrestled to a draw by opponents who are not even an organized state adversary."

The invasion and subsequent disastrous occupation of Iraq and the mismanaged military campaign in Afghanistan have crippled the credibility of the United States. The scandals at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq and Guantanamo in Cuba, along with the widely publicized murders of Iraqi civilians in Haditha, have badly tarnished America's moral self-image. In the latest opinion poll, even in a secular state and member of NATO like Turkey, only 9 percent of Turks have a "favorable view" of the U.S. (down from 52 percent just five years ago).

Yet there are other explanations—unrelated to Washington's glaring misadventures—for the current transformation in international affairs.

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These include, above all, the tightening market in oil and natural gas, which has enhanced the power of hydrocarbon-rich nations as never before; the rapid economic expansion of the mega-nations China and India; the transformation of China into the globe's leading manufacturing base; and the end of the Anglo-American duopoly in international television news.

Many Channels, Diverse Perceptions

During the 1991 Gulf War, only CNN and the BBC had correspondents in Baghdad. So the international TV audience, irrespective of its location, saw the conflict through their lenses. Twelve years later, when the Bush administration, backed by British Prime Minister Tony Blair, invaded Iraq, Al Jazeera Arabic broke this duopoly. It relayed images—and facts—that contradicted the Pentagon's presentation. For the first time in history, the world witnessed two versions of an ongoing war in real time. So credible was the Al Jazeera Arabic version that many television companies outside the Arabic-speaking world—in Europe, Asia and Latin America—showed its clips.

Though, in theory, the growth of cable television worldwide raised the prospect of ending the Anglo-American duopoly in 24-hour TV news, not much had happened due to the exorbitant cost of gathering and editing TV news. It was only the arrival of Al Jazeera English, funded by the hydrocarbon-rich emirate of Qatar—with its declared policy of offering a global perspective from an Arab and Muslim angle—that, in 2006, finally broke the long-established mould.

Soon France 24 came on the air, broadcasting in English and French from a French viewpoint, followed in mid-2007 by the English-language Press TV, which aimed to provide an Iranian perspective. Russia was next in line for 24-hour TV news in English for the global audience. Meanwhile, spurred by Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez, Telesur, a pan-Latin-American TV channel based in Caracas, began competing with CNN in Spanish for a mass audience.

As with Qatar, so with Russia and Venezuela. The funding for these TV news ventures has come from soaring national hydrocarbon incomes—a factor draining American hegemony not just in imagery but in reality.

Russia, an Energy Superpower

Under President Vladimir Putin, Russia has more than recovered from the economic chaos that followed the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. After effectively renationalizing the energy industry through state-controlled corporations, he began deploying its economic clout to further Russia's foreign policy interests.

In 2005, Russia overtook the United States, becoming the second largest oil producer in the world. Its oil income now amounts to $679 billion a day. European countries dependent on imported Russian oil now include Hungary, Poland, Germany, and even Britain.

Russia is also the largest producer of natural gas on the planet, with three-fifths of its gas exports going to the 27-member European Union (EU). Bulgaria, Estonia, Finland, and Slovakia get 100 percent of their natural gas from Russia; Turkey, 66 percent; Poland, 58 percent; Germany, 41 percent; and France, 25 percent. Gazprom, the biggest natural gas enterprise on Earth, has established stakes in 16 EU countries. In 2006, the Kremlin's foreign reserves stood at $315 billion, up from a paltry $12 billion in 1999. Little wonder that, in July 2006 on the eve of the G8 summit in St Petersburg, Putin rejected an energy charter proposed by the Western leaders.

Soaring foreign-exchange reserves, new ballistic missiles, and closer links with a prospering China—with which it conducted joint military exercises on China's Shandong Peninsula in August 2005—enabled Putin to deal with his American counterpart, President George W. Bush, as an equal, not mincing his words when appraising American policies.

"One country, the United States, has overstepped its national boundaries in every way," Putin told the 43rd Munich Trans-Atlantic conference on security policy in February 2007. "This is visible in the economic, political, cultural and educational policies it imposes on other nations . . . This is very dangerous."

Condemning the concept of a "unipolar world," he added: "However one might embellish this term, at the end of the day it describes a scenario in which there is one centre of authority, one centre of force, one centre of decision-making. It is a world in which there is one master, one sovereign. And this is pernicious." His views fell on receptive ears in the capitals of most Asian, African, and Latin American countries.

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The changing relationship between Moscow and Washington was noted, among others, by analysts and policy-makers in the hydrocarbon-rich Persian Gulf region. Commenting on the visit that Putin paid to long-time U.S. allies Saudi Arabia and Qatar after the Munich conference, Abdel Aziz Sagar, chairman of the Gulf Research Centre, wrote in the Doha-based newspaper *The Peninsula* that Russia and Gulf Arab countries, once rivals from opposite ideological camps, had found a common agenda of oil, anti-terrorism, and arms sales. "The altered focus takes place in a milieu where the Gulf countries are signaling their keenness to keep all geopolitical options open, reviewing the utility of the United States as the sole security guarantor, and contemplating a collective security mechanism that involves a host of international players."

In April 2007, the Kremlin issued a major foreign policy document. "The myth about the unipolar world fell apart once and for all in Iraq," it stated. "A strong, more self-confident Russia has become an integral part of positive changes in the world."

The Kremlin's increasingly tense relations with Washington were in tune with Russian popular opinion. A poll taken during the run-up to the 2006 G8 summit revealed that 58 percent of Russians regarded America as an "unfriendly country." It has proved to be a trend. This July, for instance, Major General Alexandr Vladimirov told the mass circulation newspaper *Komsolskya Pravada* that war with the United States was a "possibility" in the next 10 to 15 years.

A strong, more self-confident Russia has become an integral part of positive changes in the world.

—Foreign policy document released by the Kremlin, April 2007

Chavez Rides High

Such sentiments resonated with Hugo Chavez. While visiting Moscow in June 2007, he urged Russians to return to the ideas of Vladimir Lenin, especially his anti-imperialism. "The Americans don't want Russia to keep rising," he said. "But Russia has risen again as a centre of power, and we the people of the world need Russia to become stronger."

Chavez finalized a $1 billion deal to purchase five diesel submarines to defend Venezuela's oil-rich undersea shelf and thwart any possible future economic embargo imposed by Washington. By then, Venezuela had become the second largest buyer of Russian weaponry. (Algeria topped the list, another indication of a growing multipolarity in world affairs.) Venezuela acquired the distinction of being the first country to receive a license from Russia to manufacture the famed AK-47 assault rifle.

By channeling some of his country's oil money to needy Venezuelans, Chavez broadened his base of support. Much to the chagrin of the Bush White House, he trounced his sole political rival, Manuel Rosales, in a December 2006 presidential contest with 61 percent of the vote. Equally humiliating to the Bush administration, Venezuela was, by then, giving more foreign aid to needy Latin American states than it was.

Following his re-election, Chavez vigorously pursued the concept of forming an anti-imperialist alliance in Latin America as well as globally. He strengthened Venezuela's ties not only with such Latin countries as Bolivia, Cuba, Ecuador, Nicaragua, and debt-ridden Argentina, but also with Iran and Belarus.

By the time he arrived in Tehran from Moscow (via Minsk) in June 2007, the 180 economic and political accords his government had signed with Tehran were already yielding tangible results. Iranian-designed cars and tractors were coming off assembly lines in Venezuela. "The cooperation of independent countries like Iran and Venezuela has an effective role in defeating the policies of imperialism and saving nations," Chavez declared in Tehran.

Stuck in the quagmire of Iraq and lashed by the gusty winds of rocketing oil prices, the Bush administration finds its area of manoeuvre woefully limited when dealing with a rising hydrocarbon power. To the insults that Chavez keeps hurling at Bush, the American response has been vapid. The reason is the crippling dependence of the United States on imported petroleum which accounts for 60 percent of its total consumed. Venezuela is the fourth largest source of U.S. imported oil after Canada, Mexico, and Saudi Arabia; and some

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refineries in the U.S. are designed specifically to refine heavy Venezuelan oil.

In Chavez's scheme to undermine the "sole superpower," China has an important role. During an August 2006 visit to Beijing, his fourth in seven years, he announced that Venezuela would triple its oil exports to China to 500,000 barrels per day in three years, a jump that suited both sides. Chavez wants to diversify Venezuela's buyer base to reduce its reliance on exports to the U.S., and China's leaders are keen to diversify their hydrocarbon imports away from the Middle East, where American influence remains strong.

"The support of China is very important [to us] from the political and moral point of view," Chavez declared. Along with a joint refinery project, China agreed to build 13 oil drilling platforms, supply 18 oil tankers, and collaborate with the state-owned company, Petroleos de Venezuela S.A. (PdVSA), in exploring a new oilfield in the Orinoco Basin.

China on a Stratospheric Trajectory

So dramatic has been the growth of the state-run company Petro China that, in mid-2007, it was second only to Exxon Mobil in its market value among energy corporations. Indeed, that year three Chinese companies made it onto the list of the world's most highly valued corporations. Only the U.S. had more with five. China's foreign reserves of over $1 trillion have now surpassed Japan's. With its gross domestic product soaring past Germany's, China ranks number three in the world economy.

In the diplomatic arena, Chinese leaders broke new ground in 1996 by sponsoring the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO), consisting of four adjoining countries: Russia and the three former Soviet socialist republics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan. The SCO started as a cooperative organization with a focus on countering drug-smuggling and terrorism. Later, the SCO invited Uzbekistan to join, even though it does not abut China. In 2003, the SCO broadened its scope by including regional economic cooperation in its charter. That, in turn, led it to grant observer status to Pakistan, India, and Mongolia—all adjoining China—and Iran, which does not. When the U.S. applied for observer status, it was rejected, an embarrassing setback for Washington, which enjoys such status at the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

With its gross domestic product soaring past Germany's, China ranks number three in the world economy.

In early August 2007, on the eve of an SCO summit in the Kyrgyz capital of Bishkek, the group conducted its first joint military exercises, code named Peace Mission 2007, in the Russian Ural region of Chelyabinsk. "The SCO is destined to play a vital role in ensuring international security," said Ednan Karabayev, foreign minister of Kyrgyzstan.

In late 2006, as the host of a China-Africa Forum in Beijing attended by leaders of 48 of 53 African nations, China left the U.S. woefully behind in the diplomatic race for that continent (and its hydrocarbon and other resources). In return for Africa's oil, iron ore, copper, and cotton, China sold low-priced goods to Africans, and assisted African countries in building or improving roads, railways, ports, hydro-electric dams, telecommunications systems, and schools. "The western approach of imposing its values and political system on other countries is not acceptable to China," said Africa specialist Wang Hongyi of the China Institute of International Studies. "We focus on mutual development."

To reduce the cost of transporting petroleum from Africa and the Middle East, China began constructing a trans-Burma oil pipeline from the Bay of Bengal to its southern province of Yunan, thereby shortening the delivery distance now travelled by tankers. This undermined Washington's campaign to isolate Myanmar. (Earlier, Sudan, boycotted by Washington, had emerged as a leading supplier of African oil to China.) In addition, Chinese oil companies were competing fiercely with their Western counterparts in getting access to hydrocarbon reserves in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

"China's oil diplomacy is putting the country on a collision course with the U.S. and Western Europe, which have imposed sanctions on some of the countries where China is doing business,"

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> ***China's oil diplomacy is putting the country on a collision course with the U.S. and Western Europe...***
>
> ***—William Mellor, Bloomberg News***

comments William Mellor of Bloomberg News. The sentiment is echoed by the other side. "I see China and the U.S. coming into conflict over energy in the years ahead," says Jin Riguang, an oil-and-gas advisor to the Chinese government and a member of the Standing Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Council.

China's industrialization and modernization has spurred the modernization of its military as well. The test-firing of the country's first anti-satellite missile, which successfully destroyed a defunct Chinese weather satellite in January 2007, dramatically demonstrated its growing technological prowess. An alarmed Washington had already noted an 18 percent increase in China's 2007 defence budget. Attributing the rise to extra spending on missiles, electronic warfare, and other high-tech items, Liao Xilong, Commander of the People's Liberation Army's general logistics department, said: "The present day world is no longer peaceful, and to protect national security, stability, and territorial integrity we must suitably increase spending on military modernization."

China's declared budget of $45 billion was a tiny fraction of the Pentagon's $459 billion one. Yet, in May 2007, a Pentagon report noted China's "rapid rise as a regional and economic power with global aspirations" and claimed that it was planning to project military force farther afield from the Taiwan Straits into the Asia-Pacific region in preparation for possible conflicts over territory or resources.

The Sole Superpower in the Sweep of History

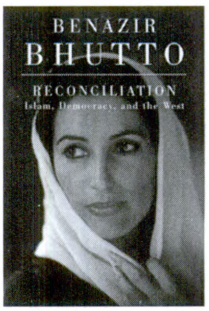
This disparate challenge to American global primacy stems as much from sharpening conflicts over natural resources, particularly oil and natural gas, as from ideological differences over democracy, American style, or human rights, as conceived and promoted by Western policymakers. Perceptions about national (and imperial) identity and history are at stake as well.

It is noteworthy that Russian officials applauding the swift rise of post-Soviet Russia refer fondly to the pre-Bolshevik Revolution era when, according to them, Tsarist Russia was a Great Power. Equally, Chinese leaders remain proud of their country's long imperial past as unique among nations.

When viewed globally and in the great stretch of history, the notion of American exceptionalism that drove the neo-conservatives to proclaim the Project for the New American Century in the late 20th century—adopted so wholeheartedly by the Bush administration in this one—is nothing new. Other superpowers have been there before and they, too, have witnessed the loss of their prime position to rising powers.

No superpower in modern times has maintained its supremacy for more than several generations. And, however exceptional its leaders may have thought themselves, the United States, already clearly past its zenith, has no chance of becoming an exception to this age-old pattern of history. ***MR***

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BENAZIR BHUTTO, RECONCILIATION: Islam, Democracy, and the West, Benazir Bhutto, HarperCollins Publishers, New York, 2008, 352 pages, $27.95.

Benazir Bhutto's *Reconciliation* is a reasoned and impassioned plea for support for an open and democratic Pakistan. Bhutto's book, completed shortly before her death, places Pakistan squarely in the center of an Islamic world under siege from internal forces that seek to "exploit religion for their own political agenda." She aims to "trace the roots, causes, and potential solutions to the crisis within the Muslim world and the crisis between the Muslim world and the West." Bhutto argues forcefully that Samuel Huntington's oft referred to "clash of civilizations" (*The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order,* Simon and Schuster, New York, 1997), particularly between Islamic and Western nations, is not inevitable; instead, she highlights "the need for an enlightened renaissance both within Islam and between Islam and the rest of the world." Her work describes the tensions inherent in the current dialogue between Muslim scholars and militant fundamentalists, explains the challenges leaders faced to establish an independent Pakistan freed from colonialism and other Western interventions, and proposes new initiatives to improve the future.

Bhutto maintains that to achieve durable reconciliation, both Islamic and Western nations must acknowledge their contributions to current trends, commit themselves to achieving mutual understanding, support political and social reforms, and contribute to programs that will promote economic and intellectual development in Pakistan. For their part, followers of Islam must separate the central tenets of the religion found in the Qur'an from tribal traditions such as "the wearing of the burqa, the isolation of women in their homes, female circumcision, and the banning of girls'education." The latter, Bhutto claims, has "no basis in Islam." The Prophet Mohammad, she explains, called for tolerance and respect for all monotheistic religions, valued justice and equality, and advocated military action only in the context of justified defensive war. Islam, Bhutto argues, is not incompatible with democracy, women's equality, science, or education; indeed, the Qur'an fails to establish clerics as the exclusive interpreters of the religion. She states unequivocally, "Suicide-murder is specifically and unambiguously prohibited." Islamic scholars must address the challenge of reinterpreting the principles of the Islamic faith from within the context of modern society. Bhutto documents the fledgling effort of scholars to do so and urges non-Muslims not only to support this dialogue, but also to promote greater tolerance and education regarding the faith.

For their part, Western nations must acknowledge their contributions to the current problems within the Islamic world. Bhutto claims that most non-Muslims fundamentally misunderstand the religion; moreover, Western support for colonialism and authoritarian rulers in support of larger strategic objectives—noncommunist dictators during the Cold War, for example—contributed significantly to the growing crises. Bhutto calls for economic development plans, personnel, and material exchanges that promote understanding, tolerance and freedom, and greater involvement from nongovernmental organizations and women's groups as possible solutions. These initiatives, Bhutto acknowledges, should generate not only from within Pakistan itself, but also from the larger community of Islamic Gulf States and democratic Western nations. Thus, the road to a more stable Pakistan and a better life for its citizens runs directly through democracy.

Bhutto's tragic death reminds us of what is at stake if the issues she identifies are left unresolved or are clouded by misunderstanding, prejudice, and poverty. If the primary function of the state in the 21st century is, as some scholars have noted, to enable economic opportunity and consumer market power through incentives, a democratic Pakistan represents a viable option that Americans can readily support (see Phillip Bobbit's *The Shield of Achilles: War, Peace and the Course of History*, Alfred A. Knopf, 2003). Bhutto's discussion of the reinterpretation of Islam would almost certainly have made her a target of religious extremists had she survived. The programs she describes would be expensive, she reminds us, but so are the costs of political instability, poverty, and persistent military conflict.

Deborah Kidwell, Ph.D.,
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

ANOTHER BLOODY CENTURY: Future Warfare, Colin S. Gray Phoenix Paperbacks, London, 2006, 431 pages $14.95.

The author's title tells us much about his view of the future. Colin Gray believes that the more that war changes, the more it seems to stay the same. He believes that those who think the 21st century will see a dramatic change in the nature of war will be disappointed, and he predicts a similar disappointment for those who predict an end to war. War will endure and the best guide, in fact the only reliable guide, to its future course is history. From this starting premise, *Another Bloody Century*

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represents Gray's attempt to reconcile the enduring truths of organized violence with those features of war that are entirely new, such as the terrorist pursuit of weapons of mass destruction and the military exploitation of cyberspace.

Though the author is respectful of history, he is not a historian. Gray identifies himself, instead, as a strategist. And, though he currently serves as a professor of international politics at the University of Reading in Berkshire, he is not an academic standing aloof from the messy world of public policy. Over the last several decades, Gray has served on a variety of advisory positions within the U.S. government. This experience, along with his command of the relevant historical record and impressive writing skills, help us understand why this book won a recent Royal United Services Institute award for excellence in military literature.

Gray is especially emphatic in emphasizing what will not change. In the 19th century, Clausewitz was correct in identifying war as a political act. Though we tend to forget it, the Prussian theorist is still right. The war of the future will take place in new social and cultural contexts and will feature new technology; nevertheless, war in the 21st century will still be organized violence in pursuit of political objectives. Our own military, in particular, is guilty of ignoring this fact. Gray writes, "Americans have demonstrated notable incompetence in translating the effort and sacrifice of their soldiers into the political reward they merit." We are also guilty of obscuring the enduring truths of warfare in buzz phrases like Network-Centric Warfare, and Effects-Base Operations. Within the U.S. military, "the market for panaceas, pretentious expert-sounding jargon, decoration and redecoration of the devastatingly obvious, and rediscovery of ancient wisdom, will never decline." The author suggests the result of our fuzzy thinking is a form of "strategic autism" that equates targeting with strategy.

Clearly, *Another Bloody Century* is not a good news bedtime story. Instead, it is a bracing and well-written challenge to those who would ignore war's past when predicting its future.

Scott Stephenson, Ph.D.,
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

CHINA'S WAR ON TERRORISM: Counter-Insurgency, Politics and Internal Security, Martin I. Wayne, Routledge, New York, 2008, 196 pages, $125.00.

Martin Wayne delivers much more than the book's title implies. The work is well organized, meticulously documented, and succinct, providing a thorough background on China's challenges in Xinjiang, its westernmost province, and placing China's insurgencies in the context of today's global jihad and War on Terrorism. The book begins by viewing China's "bottom-up" approach to countering Xinjiang's Uyghur minority insurgency and follows with an outline of the insurgent/terrorist groups in western China. Wayne also provides a detailed overview of Chinese counterinsurgency (COIN) from both theoretical and historical perspectives.

The book illuminates the genesis of Uyghur terrorism in the Afghan-Soviet War of the 1980s and Al-Qaeda's rise to power. It discusses China's role in supplying Soviet-style weaponry and, most importantly, mules to the mujahedeen efforts in Afghanistan, bringing to light an area unknown to many. Wayne is critical of Beijing's assertion that all terrorist activities are simply a phenomenon of radical and militant Islam, arguing that Uyghur terrorism is a unique and indigenous movement. He asserts the Uyghur insurgency is based on multiple reasons, not only radical Islam but separatism and Han Chinese oppression and exploitation of Xinjiang's natural resources.

Perhaps the most salient point of Wayne's treatise is his discussion of China's bottom-up approach to counter the insurgency in Xinjiang. He argues that China has been successful, whereas the American heavy-handed "top down" approach in Iraq, which favors military action, may be counterproductive. He discusses interrelated categories of targets pursued as part of a Chinese "society centric action" to COIN operations. These targets are (1) individuals, (2) organizations and groups, (3) insurgent organizations abroad, and (4) ideas and ideology detrimental to Chinese control and security.

Wayne questions official Chinese sources that raise the specter of Al-Qaeda and terrorism in connection with all Uyghur attempts to redress grievances. He questions whether China is witnessing a nascent rebellion with aims of secession and if Chinese repression is smothering legitimate dissent. The veracity of Chinese claims is hard to determine as all media is state-controlled by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Nonetheless, society's demand for stability has allowed the communist regime's free approach in handling unrest in Xinjiang.

Is Xinjiang a theater of Al-Qaeda's influence? Wayne posits that though there are Al-Qaeda ties between insurgent activities in Xinjiang, they are only a portion of the "terror-social unrest-separatism" spectrum present in the country. Al-Qaeda connections should be viewed in the entirety of terror attacks elsewhere in China growing from wide-spread unrest associated with rapid industrialization and social change.

One shortfall of Wayne's book is his lack of discussion on China's organized "sinicization" program. The state, through various mechanisms, has imported Han Chinese cadres loyal to the CCP to regain control of local political institutions. Through this transmigration process, the once dominant Uyghur minority has lost its dominance. (A similar process has occurred in China's restive Tibet province.)

Uyghurs loyal to the CCP remain ensconced in the party while those overtly practicing Islam are ushered out. Purges were and are common; however authorities have to be careful to legitimize the communist presence by employing Uyghur and other minority cadres in the local level leadership.

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An insurgent and real terrorist threat with links to the global jihad exists in Xinjiang. However, China's bottom-up approach, or what Wayne terms "society-centric warfare," has kept the insurgency to a manageable level and has even turned society against it. Indeed China's ability to penetrate and effectively operate within Xinjiang society has hindered the insurgency's growth. It is the responsibility of society to police itself and for families and neighbors to inform on one another. This bottom-up approach to COIN strategy has been very successful for China.

Wayne's book is authoritative—he has researched in Xinjiang, witnessing firsthand the Uyghur insurgency and Chinese reaction. This is a relevant and timely, albeit pricey, book. Those wishing to expand their knowledge on the War on Terrorism will find it professionally interesting. Although we cannot draw too many parallels between the U.S. efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan and the Chinese War on Terrorism, Wayne does offer insights that bear consideration as we pursue operations in Iraqi Freedom and Enduring Freedom.

LTC Steven Oluic, Ph.D.,
West Point, New York

HOW WE MISSED THE STORY: Osama bin Laden, the Taliban, and the Hijacking of Afghanistan, Roy Gutman, United States Institute of Peace, 2008, 304 pages, $26.00.

The story of Afghanistan from the Soviet invasion in 1979 through the rise of the Taliban and their post 9/11 removal from power is an exciting tale that includes shifting clan loyalties, historic ethnic enmity, larger-than-life personalities, and good old-fashioned, bare-knuckle politics. Roy Gutman's *How We Missed the Story* is a comprehensive account of each of these elements. Gutman specifically asks the question, why did the U.S. miss Osama bin-Laden's hijacking of the Afghanistan government and acquisition of the freedom of action to plan and conduct terrorist attacks?

The book is well organized with good footnotes and a chronology of events that helps the reader follow the myriad shifting alliances and countervailing war crimes. The author's first-hand interviews and good documentation lend authenticity to the account and provide insight into the perspective of key players both internal and external to Afghanistan.

Where the book falls short is in its failure to remember the world as it was. Gutman specifically states that the attack on 9/11 was not an intelligence or military failure. Rather, it was a strategic policy failure. Gutman holds the National Command Authority, the State Department, and the CIA responsible for failing to recognize that Osama bin-Laden had hijacked Afghanistan, that Bin-Laden's declaration of war against the U.S. was real, and that Pakistan was complicit in supporting the Taliban (and, by proxy, Bin-Laden himself). Gutman argues that had we recognized these facts we would have supported Massoud or invaded Afghanistan in the 1998-2000 time period.

These assertions reflect pre-9/11 amnesia. As Gutman correctly points out, it was the potential dissolution of NATO that forced U.S. engagement in the Balkans, where our distaste for supporting either side's war criminals had kept us neutral for a prolonged period. The events in Afghanistan (Mazar-i-sharif's massacre of at least 2000 Taliban, and the numerous massacres by the Taliban) would have required that the U.S. possess the ability to distinguish between war criminals and warlords. We still do not have this ability.

Finally, there is a qualitative difference between "missing" the story and getting it wrong. Zalmay Khalilizad did not miss the story but he did get it wrong. Michael Sheehan, Secretary Madeleine Albright's counterterrorism aide, did not miss the story but got it wrong. The notion of a sovereign state turning over both domestic and international policy to a foreign national and leader of a terrorist organization was simply not imaginable prior to 9/11.

Nonetheless, *How We Missed the Story* presents an eminently readable account of the events transitioning Southwest Asia from a backwater of U.S. policy to the centerpiece of our War on Terrorism.

Steven W. Rotkoff,
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

KORAN, KALASHNIKOV, AND LAPTOP: The Neo-Taliban Insurgency in Afghanistan, Antonio Giustozzi, Columbia University Press, New York, 2008, 259 pages, $24.95.

With his book *Koran, Kalashnikov, and Laptop*, Antonio Giustozzi has produced the definitive volume on the resurgent Taliban for policymakers, diplomats, and military leaders involved in the ongoing Afghanistan conflict. It is a must-read given its insights into the workings of this resilient and dangerous insurgent force.

Giustozzi provides an in-depth look at Neo-Taliban insurgents—their strategy, organization, tactics, and the reasons for their successful revival. He details the role Pakistan plays with the Taliban and in Afghan politics, and highlights the efforts and shortcomings of the Afghan government and its foreign allies. Buttressed by impeccable research and analysis, largely done on the ground in Afghanistan with personal interviews, Giustozzi demonstrates that the return of the Taliban has as much to do with its own efforts as it does with the policy failures of the Afghan regime and its U.S. and foreign allies.

Giustozzi posits that the weakness of state administration is a key factor in the delegitimization of the Karzai government in the eyes of the local population. This failing, coupled with excessive tribal-based government patronage and intense corruption among the Afghan police and military forces, has alienated large segments of the population and provided a breach for the Taliban to penetrate. Equally, U.S. and NATO forces have conducted a weak psychological operations and public relations campaign directed at the

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Afghan populace. Coalition military operations have compounded this deficiency through over-reliance on firepower, lack of attention to developing local understanding and familiarity, and excessive rotation of personnel—particularly at the command level, which makes continuity of policy and knowledge almost impossible.

The author illustrates that the Taliban has overcome a number of internal and external organizational challenges while at the same time developing a real strategy to prosecute its insurgency in the face of a more powerful military foe. It has slowly become a learning organization, and this adaptability has enabled it to gain the upper hand among the population in a number of key provinces.

Giustozzi has excellent credentials for this book. He is a member of the Crisis States Research Center at the London School of Economics with over 10 years of research and practitioner experience with Afghanistan. With superb notes, an index and bibliography, and excellent maps, this well-researched book should be required reading for all U.S. Army field grade officers and senior diplomats.

Kevin D. Stringer, Ph.D.,
Zurich, Switzerland

RUPERT RED TWO, Jack Broughton, Zenith Press, St. Paul, MN, 2007, 352 pages, $26.95.

How does one become a great leader, and what does that really mean? Jack Broughton provides superb examples of what it means to lead, and how one learns to lead. His bottom line: to be a great leader, pay attention to and learn from great examples. His perspective of leaders and leadership has little to do with rank, and a great deal to do with character. Although discussion of his combat experiences are numerous, the leadership lessons that stand out in the book have more to do with moral courage than with physical courage.

Broughton has been a personal hero of mine ever since I read *Thud Ridge*. Unlike his previous writing (*Going Downtown* was published in 1988), *Rupert Red Two* examines the periods before and after the Viet Nam conflict in some detail, from 1941 when he first entered the U.S. Military Academy, to the turn of the 21st century. The real meat of this book is the period from 1945 to about 1965. You don't have to be an aviation history buff to appreciate Broughton's personal, behind-the-scenes perspective on the rush to demobilize immediately after World War II, and the abysmal state of readiness for the Korean War. As a Thunderbird Leader from 1954 to 1957, and as an F-106 Squadron Commander on the northern tier of fighter interceptor bases at the height of the Cold War, Broughton amassed a personal treasure trove of experiences to draw from.

Broughton's accounts of air combat in Korea and Vietnam are gripping, but his accounts of everyday peacetime leadership challenges are truly exceptional. He learned from leaders who shielded him from potentially career-ending consequences of neophyte mistakes, and also learned hard personal lessons from a few who were willing to sacrifice him and his subordinates for the sake of bureaucratic expedience. He also struggled with the all too common and challenging leadership question: "When do I cut this guy some slack, and when do I simply cut him off?" By his own account, he didn't always get it right, but the experiences he describes are superb case studies in leadership. His experiences with the F-106, its maintenance challenges, and its ejection seat hazards in particular, stand out as superb examples of exceptional moral courage that occasionally requires officers to "bet their oak leaves."

This is a fun read, and it also provides a superb study of practical leadership, both good and bad. I highly recommend it, especially to aspiring young leaders—of any branch of service.

Thomas E. Ward, II, Ph.D.,
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

SPYING ON THE BOMB: American Nuclear Intelligence From Nazi Germany to Iran and North Korea, Jeffrey T. Richelson, W.W. Norton and Company, New York, 2007, 734 pages, $17.95.

This exceptionally well researched and documented history provides an overview of the growth and development of U.S. nuclear intelligence from World War II until early 2007. The straightforward text transforms deep technical details of atomic weapons manufacture into easily comprehensible language that reads like a spy novel revealing the actual story of America's secret quest for information about the nuclear capabilities of other nations. This is an important addition to the unclassified record of the ultra-secret world of atomic intelligence and counterintelligence. It achieves its greatest value by collecting virtually all publicly available information on America's atomic spying in one concise location.

The book explains the exigent challenges and unique solutions that America's intelligence services faced in gathering and analyzing the atomic information that other countries did not want to reveal. Before the end of World War II, U.S. leadership enhanced and focused its spy network to determine if Nazi Germany could develop nuclear weapons. At the end of the war, the U.S. further improved and then re-directed its espionage capability at the Soviet Union. As the number of nations seeking atomic weapons grew, the U.S. increased its ability to identify atomic bomb building and detonation by using a variety of technical advances, including satellites, high altitude spy planes, atomic particle collectors, sound detectors, and seismic monitors. This richly detailed account also presents the decisions and influence of the politicians and scientists involved in developing and containing nuclear weapons.

However, this history provides no central thesis beyond a comprehensive, yet basic, story of atomic spying. Richelson does not provide an argument or attempt to persuade,

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and he ends the discussion without an explicit conclusion. This informative technique powerfully impels the reader to draw conclusions free of tendentious authorial implications. Moreover, his text provides an excellent introduction to the subject and is a superb resource for additional research. For anyone interested in a pure history, unadulterated by a particular point of view, this book is a real joy.

William K. Jakola,
Baghdad, Iraq

BANKRUPTING THE ENEMY, Edward S. Miller, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, MD, 2007, 352 pages, $32.00.

In *Bankrupting the Enemy*, Edward Miller painstakingly details the economic strategy the U.S. employed against Japan prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor in retaliation for its aggression in Manchuria, China, and Indochina. Miller proposes that the most devastating American action against Japan was a financial freeze, which ultimately led to the war. He uncovers and examines government records to bring to life the government leaders and their evolving decision process that led to the freeze.

Before Japanese aggression in Manchuria, Japan was America's second largest supplier of goods (primarily raw silk) and third largest international customer (primarily oil and other natural resources). Raw silk, in fact, comprised 25 percent of all Japanese exports outside the Japanese Empire, with the majority destined for the U.S. Because the Japanese yen was inconvertible outside the Japanese Empire, as Miller notes, the flow and commercial use of these commodities held great significance for Japan.

Standing in the extraordinary position of controlling nearly all the world's negotiable currency while systematically barring exports of commodities for its own defense, including—later—those needed by the Japanese military, the U.S. government went about financially isolating Japan to drive it into bankruptcy.

The instrument for such a strategy was a relic from World War I known as Section 1(b) of the Trading with the Enemy Act—a single paragraph that empowered the president to freeze dollars owned by foreign countries, enemy or not. The intent was to deny Japan the means to wage war, bring it to its senses, and convince it to relinquish conquered territories. Economic victory was preferable to armed conflict.

Japan, however, was not about to forego its decade of conquests by withdrawing from Indochina, China, or Manchuria. Leaving would have meant giving up hard-fought gains that had cost the lives of 200,000 Japanese soldiers and huge expenditures of money, and had required significant sacrifices by the Japanese people.

Anticipating U.S. restrictions on vital commodity exports and the likelihood of a financial freeze on Japanese-held U.S. dollars and gold, Japan initiated clever schemes to either hide its dollars and gold reserves or spend it to purchase and stockpile strategic defense-related resources. Miller explores similarly cagey U.S. efforts to deny Japan vital resources such as oil. Without imposing an embargo, the U.S. claimed shortages in meeting domestic needs to justify withholding exports to Japan, a claim that was later proven false.

Many U.S. government experts had calculated that Japan was already heading toward absolute depletion of its gold reserves and hard currency foreign assets. Several dates were boldly projected suggesting when this might occur and, by inference, when the war in China would be over. The first date uttered was September 1939, later pushed forward to March 1941. Both were wrong. Japan had secretly secured enough U.S. dollar and gold reserves to fund a long war against China and to prepare for a possible war against the U.S.

It was to counter this possibility that U.S. leaders decided to freeze Japan's dollar assets. An asset freeze had to be done all at one time to be effective, and it happened on 26 July 1941. By then, however, Japan had already succeeded in withdrawing most of its dollars from U.S. banks. Nevertheless, the freeze essentially bankrupted Japan, and, even though it had over $200 million by the end of 1941, it could buy nothing.

The historical insights provided in this book are intriguing and astonishing. Certainly, this is the most detailed American account on the subject to date. Miller explains the complexities of international economics and finance in such a way that novices on the subject will have no difficulty understanding the impact U.S. economic policies had on Japan.

My only criticism is that the book falls short in detailing Japan's perspective. Nonetheless, I would recommend *Bankrupting the Enemy* to anyone seeking insight into how the economic instrument of national power was used against Japan, what lessons were learned from that experience, and how those lessons might be used in the future.

LTC David A. Anderson,
USMC, Ph.D., Retired,
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

VICTORY GIRLS, KHAKI-WACKIES, AND PATRIOTUTES The Regulation of Female Sexuality During World War II, Marilyn E. Hegarty, New York University Press, 2008, 250 pages, $45.00.

In *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patriotutes,* historian Marilyn Hegarty offers a fresh perspective on the construction of gender roles during wartime by examining the experience of women who performed morale-maintaining, or as she terms them, "sexualized services" during World War II. Hegarty's subject is Rosie the Riveter's more disconcerting counterpart, the "patriotute," as she was labeled by a prominent public health official. Just as there existed a generalized cultural anxiety that the women who worked at munitions factories and joined the Women's Army Corps would become overly masculine, so too

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the military establishment and the culture at large worried that women who traded on their sex appeal in morale-boosting roles might become overly promiscuous. These women were viewed as at once necessary to the war effort and potentially detrimental to it, as they posed a threat to the health and fighting ability of our troops through the spread of sexually transmitted disease.

The armed services' need for a morale-boosting program dovetailed with a more general public campaign to repress prostitution in order to maintain national health by controlling the spread of sexually transmitted disease in the wartime state. In this climate the civilian women who volunteered to attend dances and other organized recreational activities at military bases, or those who worked in the service industries that supported military facilities, found themselves in a precarious and suspect position.

The May Act of 1941 made prostitution in proximity to an Army or Navy base a federal crime, and by 1944 the perception was that the "noncommercial girl," in the words of the then U.S. Surgeon General, was supplanting "the prostitute as the main source of venereal infection." In Hegarty's view, in a coordinated and systematic effort to control the female sexuality that had been unleashed in the service of the war, the civilian female population came under the surveillance of local, state, and federal social agencies and law enforcement. FBI statistics show a 100-percent increase in the number of women under the age of 20 who were arrested on sex-related offenses between 1941 and 1942, and tens of thousands of women were incarcerated on morals charges during the war years. Some of them were held in detainment facilities acquired by the federal government from the Army for the specific purpose of quarantining sexually diseased and promiscuous women. A lack of testimonials from detainees and "partial statistics" leave us with many questions left unanswered. In the absence of hard numbers, Hegarty relies on anecdotal evidence, which, while intriguing, does not convince the reader of her charge that the U.S. government was waging a secondary "war against women" on the home front.

Anne Taranto, Ph.D.,
Manlius, New York

MACARTHUR, Richard B. Frank, foreword by General Wesley K. Clark, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2007, 224 pages, $21.95.

More than 40 years after his death, Douglas MacArthur can still stir strong emotions. While Clayton James's three-volume biography portrays him in all his complexity, briefer treatments have characterized him as either America's greatest 20th-century military commander or a dangerous megalomaniac. In this brief, shrewd, and fair biography, Frank shows us that MacArthur was brilliant, deeply flawed, and endlessly fascinating. From his days at West Point, MacArthur exhibited great talents and an ego that made it difficult for him to cooperate with fellow commanders or civilian superiors. The latter led President Harry Truman to end MacArthur's career in 1951, 52 years after he entered the Army.

Frank addresses MacArthur's origins, his motivations, strengths, and failings. One can argue his greatest accomplishments spanned his whole career before and after World War II: his heroism and leadership in World War I, his service as West Point superintendent and as Army chief of staff, his vision as ruler of occupied Japan, and his daring Inchon landing in the Korean War.

As the chief of staff, MacArthur presided over Army experiments in mechanization that were curtailed by the Great Depression. Frank correctly identifies one of MacArthur's great achievements as keeping the Army's education system intact and not letting the officer corps disappear under the budgetary axe. His success in the 1930s allowed the Army to expand to 44 times its 1939 strength by 1945. Frank identifies the nadir of MacArthur's generalship as the Philippine campaign of 1941-1942 and the initial battles for Buna in 1942. He equaled these low points in his panic after the Chinese intervention in Korea in 1950. His repeated instances of public insubordination that began in the Philippines brought his dismissal in April 1951.

In examining his wartime generalship, Frank explores the idea that MacArthur's casualties were less than those of the Navy and Marine Corps in the Central Pacific. First promoted by the Hearst press during the war and perpetuated by historians afterward, Frank investigates the records and concludes that MacArthur's forces suffered more casualties than the forces under Admiral Nimitz's command. He also states that American forces had proportionally fewer casualties overall: for every American who died fighting Japan about nine Japanese perished.

Frank stresses that MacArthur's powerful charisma and command presence prevented nearly all his superiors from managing him after 1941. His insubordination was overlooked until it became impossible to ignore. One reason for MacArthur's influence and power was the length of his career. By 1941, he was senior to all of his erstwhile military superiors. It is important to note that in 1950 MacArthur had been a general since 1917, while Generals Omar Bradley and James Lawton Collins Jr. (the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff and the Army chief of staff respectively) had been junior officers in 1917. The only comparable military figure to parallel MacArthur's career and longevity was George Marshall (Army Chief of Staff, Secretary of State, and Secretary of Defense).

Ultimately, Frank demonstrates MacArthur could not accept that men he thought inferior to himself were in charge of the Army and the government. Although MacArthur's political insensitivity did not prevent him from practicing a high level of statesmanship in the U.S. occupation of Japan, the policies he instituted were devised in Washington or on his Tokyo staff without his counsel. As Frank shows, when he was good, he was indispensable; when he was

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bad, he made colleagues and superiors think of firing squads.
Lewis Bernstein,
Seoul, Korea

MIDWAY INQUEST: Why the Japanese Lost the Battle of Midway, Dallas Woodbury Isom, Indian University Press, Bloomington, 2007, 408 pages, $29.95.

Dallas Woodbury Isom's *Midway Inquest: Why the Japanese Lost the Battle of Midway* attempts to answer the question of why Japanese Admiral Chuichi Nagumo failed to launch his ready aircraft against U.S. carriers on the morning of 4 June 1942. Long a controversial issue, the failure to launch a second strike, either against the island of Midway or against the U.S. carriers, made the four Japanese carriers vulnerable. When dive bombers from the Yorktown and Enterprise attacked the Japanese carriers, the carriers had torpedo bombers and some dive bombers in the hangar decks. Three were damaged beyond repair, turning the tide in the Pacific War. When read in conjunction with another book on Midway, *Shattered Sword: the Untold Story of the Battle of Midway* by Jonathan B. Parshall and Anthony P. Tully, Isom's book provides some tantalizing answers to this critical question.

Isom concludes that the launch of the second strike was delayed due to mechanical issues involving unloading bombs and loading torpedoes on the Nakajima B5N2 Kate torpedo planes. After extensive interviews with aircraft mechanics, Isom believes the procedure, frequently assumed to be only 40 minutes in duration, was at least 1 hour long. With this assessment, Nagumo could not have launched a strike with torpedo planes any time before the fatal attack by U.S. carrier aviation at 1030 that morning.

Isom also conducts an interesting counter-factual analysis of the battle, speculating what would have happened if the Japanese attack had been launched against the U.S. carriers.

However, Parshall and Tully's *Shattered Sword* remains the more complete of the two books. When Isom's account is added to the detailed analysis of the entire battle offered by Parshall and Tully, the two books together finally appear to have answered the question of why the Japanese carriers were so vulnerable that June morning. The details of analysis presented by Isom, added to the more comprehensive analysis by Parshall and Tully, offer a cautionary note to anyone who fails to account for the details of any military engagement. Without careful and comprehensive analysis, understanding of any military engagement is likely to depend on myth and legend. These authors deserve credit for their careful analyses of this critical battle of World War II.
Peter J. Schifferle, Ph.D.,
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

FIRST TO THE RHINE: The 6th Army Group in World War II, Harry Yeide and Mark Stout, Zenith Press, St. Paul, MN, 2007, 376 pages, $27.95.

Harry Yeide and Mark Stout's *First to the Rhine: The 6th Army Group in World War II* provides a deeply factual and objective history of one of the lesser known aspects of the War in Europe—the 6th Army Group's campaign from the invasion of Southern France through VE Day. Yeide and Stout seek to redress the short shrift typically given to this important aspect of the war, especially given the logistic and strategic importance of Marseilles and the Rhone River valley. At least 40 fully supplied American and French combat divisions were able to enter the fight against German forces in the west through the southern French ports liberated by the French 1st and American 7th Armies. Furthermore, the authors use the larger setting of the 6th Army Group's operations to provide the backdrop for some of the war's most notable episodes, particularly the personal experiences and exploits of men such as Audie Murphy, the most decorated soldier of the war.

To detail this usually neglected and often-misunderstood aspect of the war, authors Yeide and Stout relied heavily on a wide array of primary sources that include after-action reports, award citations, unit operations journals, and personal diaries. Key secondary sources were also utilized and include unit histories and biographies of important individuals to provide pertinent background information to command decisions. The authors used a mix of the sources to present a well-balanced chronological history of the Army group's operations from the initial stages of the Dragoon landings in August 1944 up through the German counteroffensive, Operation Nordwind, during the bitter cold of January 1945, to the final campaigns along the Danube and into Austria in April 1945.

Neither the French nor the American contributions to the campaigns are neglected and the authors even provide ample information on the German dispositions, plans, and personalities that figured prominently in the campaigns as well. Key allied command personalities, such as Generals Jacob Devers, Jean de Lattre, Alexander Patch, and Lucian Truscott, are all included but so too are the common soldiers' contributions down to the squad level to provide a comprehensive understanding of the nature of the fighting on the southern edge of Eisenhower's Great Crusade.

While meticulously researched, the authors do not get bogged down in unnecessary details; Yeide and Stout use a crisp narrative style that takes readers into the strategic and operational command decisions and yet also makes them feel the agonies and sacrifices endured by the common soldiers of both sides. The authors also take great care to place the southern operations into the larger picture of the war in Europe so that the reader understands the 6th Army Group's purpose and contributions without taking anything away from their better known counterparts in Bradley's 12th or Montgomery's 21st Army Groups. *First to the Rhine* fills a long-felt void in the European

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Theater's operational histories and proves valuable to both the casual historical reader and the serious student of military history.

Dan C. Fullerton, Ph.D.,
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

ROGUE: A Biography of Civil War General Justus McKinstry, John K. Driscoll, McFarland and Company, Jefferson, NC, 2006, 193 pages, $39.95.

In the contemporary context of financial fraud and abuse cases plaguing the Department of Defense, it is instructive to be reminded that unethical practices and self-serving crooks in uniform are not a modern invention. This is exactly what John K. Driscoll does in his compact biography of West Point alumnus Justus McKinstry, who eventually rose to the temporary rank of brigadier general of volunteers in the Union Army.

In the modern vernacular, to be a "rogue" most often means an underdog fighting the good fight (think Marcinko's Rogue Warrior series, for instance, or political references to John McCain's roguish streak). The author intends no such flattery in detailing the life of a dishonest knave, incapable of adhering to the duty-honor-country values of his alma mater.

After a tough road to graduation from the U.S. Military Academy in 1838 (he entered as a plebe in 1832), McKinstry followed a typical career for his generation that took him from Florida to Mexico to California, ending in 1861 with a final posting at St. Louis serving under another infamous rogue, 1856 Republican presidential candidate John Charles Fremont.

The author delivers a well-documented chronology of quartermaster McKinstry's unseemly career of patronage and fraud at the taxpayers' expense. Driscoll sprinkles his story with background and anecdotes on such topics as frontier business practices in California and the chaotic mobilization for war against the South in St. Louis. These add context and color to the otherwise unhappy story of a life ruined by greed and poor moral choices. Although the author occasionally takes a prosecutorial tone, I commend the story to anyone interested in the ethical stewardship of public resources.

COL Sean M. Callahan,
Kaneohe, Hawaii

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CHECKOUT OUR NEW WEBSITE!





On 1 July 2008, *Military Review*'s public website will change its look. BCKS, CALL, CSI, *Military Review,* and CADD are now part of the Combined Arms Center Knowledge Command (CAC-K). You will find *Military Review* listed under the Knowledge link in the list of subordinate organizations on the CAC-K website.

Another new feature of the *Military Review* website is our blog. On our blog you will be able to finally discuss in real time the articles and issues that matter most to you. You can subscribe to the RSS feed available on the blog to know when new items are posted and what new content is available.

GOOD LUCK, ART!

With this edition, *Military Review* bids farewell to LTC Arthur Bilodeau who was our best managing editor in recent memory. His rare blend of infantry toughness, English literature expertise, and intelligence brought dignity to the publication with refreshing style. For authors lucky enough to be published under his watch, his fine touch made them all shine well beyond their own merits. Whatever his virtues, though, they were all surpassed by his uncanny ability to slice fat from turgid prose. And in our business, that ability means the world. After a 27 year military career, LTC Bilodeau is retiring to Louisville, KY.

Defenseless under the night
Our world in stupor lies;
Yet, dotted everywhere,
Ironic points of light
Flash out wherever the Just
Exchange their messages:
May I, composed like them
Of Eros and of dust,
Beleaguered by the same
Negation and despair,
Show an affirming flame.



—W.H. Auden (last stanza of the poem, "September 1st 1939")

HAVE FUN, PAT!

How do you say goodbye to an Icon? How do you say thank you to a mentor, guide, and friend? Patricia Wilson has been with the *Military Review* staff for over 26 years and at the end of July will retire with 40 years of civilian service. As *MR*'s administrative assistant, she has logged thousands of manuscripts, kept track of *MR*'s writing contests, ensured we were all paid, mailed magazines to authors, and all the while kept our computers up-to-date and answered our innumerable computer-related questions. Always a source of steadiness, she kept the journal on an even keel through thick and thin. We'll miss you, Pat.



—the Military Review crew

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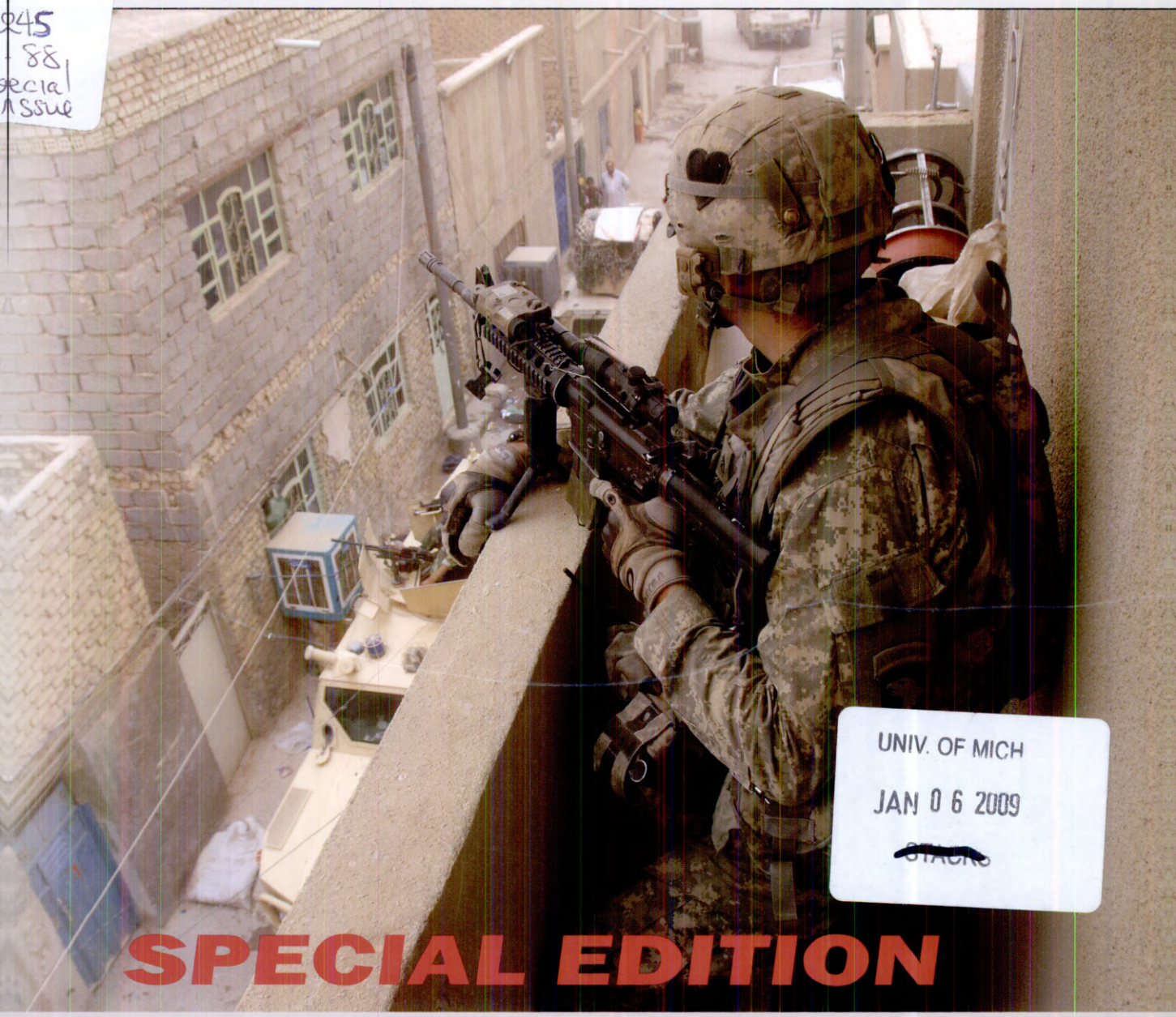
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SPECIAL EDITION

COUNTERINSURGENCY READER II

COMBINED ARMS CENTER, FORT LEAVENWORTH, KANSAS

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Preface

In October 2006, the U.S. Army Combined Arms Center published a volume of selected articles in conjunction with the release and distribution of the Army/Marine Corps Field Manual 3-24, Counterinsurgency. Subsequently, numerous articles have been written exploring other dimensions of counterinsurgency not treated, or not well understood, when the first volume was published. These articles reflect both the vastly expanded range of knowledge and experience that U.S. land forces have obtained as well as the painful cost of such lessons with regard to fighting and defeating insurgencies in Iraq, Afghanistan, the Philippines, and elsewhere. Many outline the first-hand lessons learned in the current operational environment. As the Intellectual Center of the Army, the Combined Arms Center recognizes the importance of sharing these first-hand documents. The Counterinsurgency Center (COIN Center) and editors of Military Review have designed this second collection to complement the recently released FM 3-0, Operations and the soon to be released Counterinsurgency Handbook (produced by the COIN Center); FM 3-24.2, Counterinsurgency Tactics; FM 3-07, Stability Operations; and FM 3-28, Civil Support. While doctrinal field manuals lay out principles and supporting theory for dealing with the asymmetric aspects of warfare inherent in insurgency conflicts, these articles are intended to provide specific lessons and observations drawn from operations in the field.

DANIEL S. ROPER
Colonel, Field Artillery
Director, Counterinsurgency Center

WILLIAM B. CALDWELL, IV
Lieutenant General, US Army
Commander, US Army Combined Arms Center

PHOTO: U.S. Army SGT Yensy Santana keeps suspicious activity in his sights during a mission in the Thawra 2 neighborhood of the Sadr City District of Baghdad, 11 May 2008. (U.S. Army, SGT Zachary Mott)

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2 America's Frontier Wars: Lessons for Asymmetric Conflicts
Congressman Ike Skelton
Congressman Ike Skelton suggests how to overcome the threat of asymmetrical warfare by examining yesteryear's battles to develop strategies and tactics for tomorrow's conflicts.

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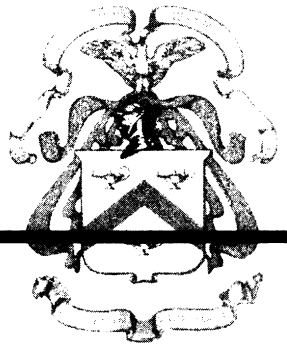
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America's Frontier Wars: Lessons for Asymmetric Conflicts

Congressman Ike Skelton

Congressman Ike Skelton suggests how to overcome the threat of asymmetrical warfare by examining yesteryear's battles to develop strategies and tactics for tomorrow's conflicts.

IN JULY 1755, Major General Edward Braddock, commander in chief of all British forces in North America and a 45-year career soldier, was killed along with 900 of his men by a smaller French and Indian force. On his way to capture Fort Duquesne, Pennsylvania, Braddock had split his force into two divisions. Because of the difficulty of crossing the wilderness, they opened a distance of 60 miles between the "flying column" division of rapidly moving soldiers and a support column hauling "monstrously heavy eight-inch howitzers and twelve-pound cannons" completely unsuited to the terrain.

The lead column stretched a mile in length and was attacked on the far side of the Monongahela River by Indians streaming along either British flank and hiding within the forest they had long used as hunting grounds. The British responded using traditional tactics—continuously trying to form companies and return fire but only concentrating their number further for Indian attack. Braddock ordered forward the main body of his troops, which then collided with retreating elements ahead. In the resulting confusion, 15 of the 18 officers in the advance party were picked off. Still, the remaining forces continued to fight the way they were taught: maintaining platoon formations and firing together even as they drew heavy fire to the line from well-hidden Indians. It was not until Braddock himself was shot in the back that the British broke in retreat, carrying off the body of their commanding officer.[1]

Asymmetric Warfare: Yesterday and Tomorrow

Why do I begin an article addressing tomorrow's conflicts with an account of a battle fought two and a half centuries ago? As an avid student of history, I believe it is critically important for us to understand that asymmetric warfare is not something new. In fact, it has been a recurring theme of American military history and is familiar to many of today's military officers. Many of its best historical examples come from the series of conflicts we collectively refer to as the Indian Wars. Braddock's defeat highlights as many useful insights as contemporary examples of asymmetric action, like Russian battles with the Chechens. Overcoming future challenges will require that we both understand the lessons from the past and develop strategies and tactics appropriate to tomorrow's battlefield.

While asymmetric warfare is not something new, it is very much in vogue today in the aftermath of the Persian Gulf War. Given America's resounding success in that conflict, potential adversaries have learned Iraq's lesson that it is foolish to try to match us conventionally. Instead, they are seeking ways to

turn our strengths against us. This is the heart of the concept of asymmetry, broadly defined by Steven Metz and Douglas Johnson of the US Army War College as: "In the realm of military affairs and national security, asymmetry is acting, organizing, and thinking differently than opponents in order to maximize one's own advantages, exploit an opponent's weaknesses, attain the initiative, or gain greater freedom of action."[2]

Asymmetry on the Future Battlefield

In operational terms, asymmetry derives from one force deploying new capabilities that the opposing force does not perceive or understand, conventional capabilities that counter or overmatch the capabilities of its opponent, or capabilities that represent totally new methods of attack or defense—or a combination of these attributes.[3] The US Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC) now thinks of ways to characterize tomorrow's asymmetric challenges.[4] In considering its arguments, I was struck again by the utility of lessons learned from earlier campaigns against Native Americans such as Braddock's defeat. So I have matched TRADOC's insights for the future with asymmetric examples from the past. Only by studying the lessons of history are we likely to adapt to asymmetric challenges.

TRADOC's analysis begins by stressing the differences between our current perception of the future operational environment and what is likely to be true. Today we think of close combat as involving deliberate actions conducted at a tempo decided by the United States and characterized by the application of technology and systems that leaves opponents virtually helpless to respond or retaliate. Therefore, the public expects military operations to involve few casualties and precision attacks, secure our homeland and be short-lived. On the contrary, potential adversaries will likely choose to fight in ways that negate these expectations. Future close combat will be much more dynamic and lethal, marked by greater intensity, operational tempo, uncertainty and psychological impact. We cannot expect the experience of the Gulf War to be repeated.

Likely Characteristics of Adversaries

With this as a starting point, TRADOC has discussed attributes a potential enemy is likely to possess: greater knowledge of the physical conflict environment, better situational awareness, a clearer understanding of US military forces and an ability to adapt quickly to changing battlefield conditions. These attributes strongly mirror challenges for British, and later American, soldiers in Indian campaigns of yesteryear.

The physical environment remains the defining variable of close combat. For US military forces, it is almost certain that future conflicts will occur in regions where the enemy has a greater understanding of the physical environment and has better

We think of close combat as involving deliberate actions conducted at a tempo decided by the United States and characterized by the application of technology and systems that leaves opponents virtually helpless. . . . Potential adversaries will likely choose to fight in ways that negate these expectations. Future close combat will be much more dynamic and lethal, marked by greater intensity, operational tempo, uncertainty and psychological impact.

Opposing forces will also have greater situational awareness. . . . We should expect them to have human networks operating over telephone lines or with cellular phones and using commercial imagery systems. . . . Even with its sophisticated intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance systems, [the United States] will have difficulty in complex settings unless it builds a more effective human intelligence

optimized his forces to fight. A common characteristic of many Indian campaigns was the Indians' superior knowledge of the terrain. A great example of this was the attack on the forces of Colonel Henry Bouquet during his march to relieve Fort Pitt, Pennsylvania, during Pontiac's War in August 1763. The Indians attacked in an area of old growth forest, offering limited fields of fire, around Bushy Run. They forced Bouquet's forces back into a defensive position on a hilltop, attacking the position repeatedly but without waiting for a counterattack. Their detailed knowledge of the area allowed them to simply fade into the forest, suffering few casualties.[5] This is but one example of the advantages that accrued to many Indian tribes through the late 1800s.[6]

Opposing forces will also have greater situational awareness in future conflicts. We should expect them to have human networks operating over telephone lines or with cellular phones and using commercial imagery systems. This will be critical, not only because the adversary can distribute information quickly but also because crucial information will only be available through human interaction. The United States, even with its sophisticated intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance systems, will have difficulty in complex settings unless it builds

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During the Second Seminole War, Major Francis L. Dade and all but three soldiers of his 110-man detachment were killed on 28 December 1835 during an ambush near Ocala, Florida.



Museum of Florida History, Tallahassee, Florida

The Seminole Indians adapted continuously during the second Seminole War of 1835-1842. . . . Where other eastern Indians could usually be depended upon to follow the rules of the game—to defend a fixed position and be routed—the Seminoles . . . regularly rejected pitched battles and instead relied on ambushes and raids to bleed the Army, sap its strength, and generally discourage its leadership. In the future, such an adaptive enemy would put additional pressure on the United States' ability to respond, as their battlefield successes would be covered instantly by the global media.

a more effective human intelligence capability in strategically important regions. Moreover, these new adversaries will learn not only how to adapt technology but also tactics, formations and operations in light of changing battlefield conditions during the course of operations. Such adaptations will help them counter a precision warfare strategy by creating uncertainty while also trying to control the nature and timing of combat engagements.

During the war in Chechnya, the Chechens fought using few prepared positions, preferring instead, as Chechen Vice President Yanderbaijev said, to "let the situation do the organizing."[7] They would move from city to city to deny Russian maneuver and fire superiority and would use the local population as cover for their activities.

Similarly, the Seminole Indians adapted continuously during the second Seminole War of 1835-1842. One noted historian puts it this way: "The second Seminole War did not follow the precedent set in earlier Indian wars by producing a single dazzling stroke by a spectacularly brilliant leader. No fewer than seven American commanders would try and fail to bring the war to a successful conclusion. When confronted with superior firepower and at a tactical disadvantage, the Seminoles simply dispersed into small bands and continued to fight a guerrilla war . . . best suited to the terrain and their own temperament. Where other eastern Indians could usually be depended upon to follow the rules of the game—to defend a fixed position and be routed—the Seminoles . . . regularly rejected pitched battles and instead relied on ambushes and raids to bleed the Army, sap its strength, and generally discourage its leadership."[8]

In the future, such an adaptive enemy would put additional pressure on the United States' ability to respond, as their battlefield successes would be covered instantly by the global media, instantaneous communications and media coverage.

Finally, our future adversaries will almost certainly have greater knowledge of US forces than we will of theirs. We are the most studied military in the world. Foreign states have regular military features and, in some cases, entire journals (most notably Russia's *Foreign Military Review*) devoted to the assessment of US military force structure, doctrine, operational concepts and capabilities. All major US Army field manuals (FMs) and joint doctrinal publications are freely available on the Internet, and many foreign organizations access them regularly. As an example, in April 2001 alone, the Center for Army Lessons Learned recorded 5,464 sessions on its website from Europe and 2,015 from Asia. This access, combined with their knowledge of battlefield terrain, greater situational awareness and adaptability, will make future adversaries far more menacing.

How Will They Fight?

The essence of future asymmetric warfare is that adversaries will seek to offset our air, intelligence, surveillance, reconnaissance and other technological advantages by fighting during periods of reduced visibility and in complex terrain and urban environments where they can gain sanctuary from US strikes. This will also deny these areas and their inherent protective characteristics to US forces, keeping us exposed and on the defensive.

US forces will have to contend with greater uncertainty in the field as adversaries mask the size, location, disposition and intentions of their forces. They will seek to convince US commanders that they are using conventional tactics while making us vulnerable to unconventional, adaptive and asymmetrical actions.

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Geronimo (*in front of horse*) with some of his warriors during negotiations with General George Crook in 1886. During this period, telegraph linemen (*inset*) and Apache warriors were antagonists in a 19th-century precursor to 21st-century cyberwar.

National Archives



National Archives

There is a relevant Indian war complement to today's challenges. . . . By 1882, the Apache had learned [the telegraph's] function and its method of operation. When they jumped the reservation, they would cut the lines and remove long sections of wire, or they would remove a short piece of wire and replace it with a thin strip of rawhide, so cleverly splicing the two together that the line would appear intact and the location of the break could take days of careful checking to discover. This disruption foreshadows the potentially far greater problems from cyberattacks.

At the same time, adversaries will use both old and new technologies to great effect on the battlefield. They may use older technologies in unique ways as the Chechens did by buying commercial scanners and radios to intercept Russian communications. They will also try to acquire advanced niche technologies like global positioning system jammers and systems for electronic attack to significantly degrade our precision strike capabilities. Moreover, we must be prepared for adversaries to upgrade software capabilities in the middle of an operation, potentially allowing for a more networked opposition.

While some of the technology may be new, the Indian campaigns again provide useful insights. Many Indian campaigns demonstrated the effectiveness of asymmetric tactics in countering larger and better-armed British and American forces. In fact, "Indian skulking tactics—concealment and surprise, moving fire, envelopment and, when the enemy's ranks were broken, hand-to-hand combat—remained the cardinal features of Native American warfare" over a period of 140 years.[9] The longevity of their effectiveness shows how important it is to develop appropriate responses to asymmetric tactics.

One of the most successful Indian tactics was the ambush. Captain William Fetterman's massacre in 1866 near the Lodge Trail Ridge in Wyoming left 92 American soldiers dead in a classic ambush some believe was masterminded by Sioux leader Crazy Horse. A lesser-known battle, almost a century before, shows the effectiveness of the ambush, particularly when matched with reckless leadership. At the Battle of Blue Licks in August 1782, a group of 182 Kentucky militiamen, led by Colonel John Todd and including Daniel Boone and members of his family, was in hot pursuit of Indians who had attacked an American fort. Boone noticed the Indians were concealing their numbers by sharing tracks, yet making the trail easy to follow. He smelled an ambush by a force he estimated at 500 and advised

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breaking off the pursuit until reinforcements could arrive. A more junior officer yelled, "Them that ain't cowards follow me," and recklessly charged across the river toward several decoy Indians, with much of the force following him. The remaining Indians were waiting in ambush, as Boone had feared, and delivered a devastating defeat to the rangers.[10]

Like Blue Licks, the Battle of Bushy Run not only shows the efficacy of Indian raids until defeated by Bouquet's brilliant feigned retreat and flanking maneuvers; it also shows how an enemy can use deception effectively. The official history of Bushy Run says Bouquet's forces were engaged and surrounded by Indian forces at least equal in size to his own. However, when I toured the battlefield, Indian recreators, who have studied the battle extensively from the Indian point of view, maintained that the Indians numbered no more than 90 and that the tactics they used in the forest made their numbers seem larger. This disparity is a good example of attempts to confuse conventional forces so that the size of the opposing force is impossible to discern.

Our future adversaries will... have greater knowledge of US forces than we will of theirs. We are the most studied military in the world.... All major US Army FMs and joint doctrinal publications are freely available on the Internet, and many foreign organizations access them regularly.... This access [is] combined with their knowledge of battlefield terrain [and] greater situational awareness.

Finally, the Indian campaigns provide some excellent examples of the role of technological advances in asymmetric campaigns. Noted historian Armstrong Starkey emphasizes that the Europeans arrived in North America during a time of military revolution in Europe: "European soldiers brought the new weapons and techniques of this revolution with them to North America and by 1675 had provoked a military revolution of a sort among Native Americans, a revolution that for 140 years gave them a tactical advantage over their more numerous and wealthier opponents."[11]

Specifically, King Philip's War (1675-1676) was the first conflict in which the Indians had modern flintlock firearms. This proved an important advantage because some of the American militias were only equipped with matchlocks and pikes, and because the Indians were excellent marksmen.[12] More than 200 years after the Civil War, the same faulty assumptions were still at work—namely, that the US military retained unmatched technical advantages over its more primitive adversaries. At that time, the US government rearmed its forces with breechloaders in place of magazine rifles—due to a bias against unaimed shots and excessive use of ammunition—while the Plains Indians acquired such weapons by direct purchase and thus, in some cases, had superior arms in the 1870s. We must be on the lookout for technological matches like these in our own future conflicts.

New Threats

We have seen the great utility of examining historical conflicts between Europeans and Native Americans to learn lessons about possible future conflict. Yet there are two additional dimensions to asymmetric warfare that must be mentioned—the threat of weapons of mass destruction, potentially used against the American homeland, and of cyberattacks on US military, government and private information systems.

At the heart of asymmetry is the assumption that an adversary will choose to attack the weakest point. In the case of the United States, asymmetric tools may well entail terrorist acts—with or without nuclear, biological or chemical weapons—on the US homeland designed to disrupt deployments, limit access, erode public support and take the fight to the American people. In some respects, this homeland tactic is not new. Beginning with King Philip's War, the New England Indians abandoned their traditional restraints and "prepared to wage total war on all of the colonists, making no distinction between combatant and non-combatant."[13] Attacks on Americans using weapons of mass destruction take these homeland tactics to a new level. Because of the devastation of these attacks and the interest of many potential adversaries in acquiring these capabilities, the United States must develop strategies for preventing and responding to such an occurrence.

The cyberthreat now facing the United States is equally compelling and risks both the effectiveness of US forces on the battlefield and the safety of private and government systems throughout the United States. Recent Joint Chiefs of Staff-directed cyberwarfare exercises like *ELIGIBLE RECEIVER* and *ZENITH STAR* showed how vulnerable command and control networks are to cyberattacks, a prime asymmetric target given the US military's continued reliance on information technology. Moreover, there are now approximately 30 nations that have developed "aggressive computer-warfare programs."[14]

Again, there is a relevant Indian war complement to today's challenges. Indians of the Southern Plains disrupted American efforts in the West through unconventional means. "The telegraph line, which once had commanded their awe, no longer was mysteri-

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ous. By 1882, the Apache had learned its function and its method of operation. When they jumped the reservation, they would cut the lines and remove long sections of wire, or they would remove a short piece of wire and replace it with a thin strip of rawhide, so cleverly splicing the two together that the line would appear intact and the location of the break could take days of careful checking to discover."[15] This disruption foreshadows the potentially far greater problems from cyberattacks if we do not design strategy and tactics for dealing with this as part of an asymmetric campaign.

Preparing for Asymmetric Attacks

The first step in preparing to better meet tomorrow's challenges is to learn from the past. As the examples drawn here indicate, there is a rich history to be tapped in the early American experience. But there are many other examples as well—Yugoslav partisans fighting the occupying Nazis or Afghans against the Russians and Serbs in the recent NATO operation in Kosovo. Military commanders must study history. Modern, technologically sophisticated warfare—with the asymmetric challenges that accompany it—makes that requirement more true, not less.

Our forces must also be adaptive. Just as our adversaries will continuously change tactics and approaches to seek our weaknesses, so must we be able to counter them through continuous adaptation. If we do not, we risk the mistakes of the past. "While European military revolutions provided states with the means to project power into the interior of North America, they did not provide troops with appropriate training and tactics to succeed on the frontier."[16] Therefore, our forces, doctrine and tactics must continue to embrace agility and adaptability and prepare for a range of missions. The Army continues to do so in its most recent doctrinal publications, FM 1 and FM 3-0.[17] Efforts to address asymmetric threats must also retain the unique American strengths—superior training, leadership and technology—that give us an edge against any potential adversary.

Many Indian campaigns demonstrated the effectiveness of asymmetric tactics in countering larger and better-armed British and American forces. . . . [and] remained the cardinal features of Native American warfare over a period of 140 years. The longevity of their effectiveness shows how important it is to develop appropriate responses to asymmetric tactics.

Finally, we must guard against arrogance. An account at the time of Braddock's defeat noted the irony that his preparations for the march to Fort Duquesne were precise. He attended to every minute detail except "the one that mattered most: Indian affairs."[18] He dismissed those Ohio Indian chiefs who might have been allies for his expedition as savages who could not possibly assist disciplined troops. We must not fall into the same trap of underestimating a potential adversary because of his different culture or seemingly inferior capability. To do so would be to repeat the errors of the past with potentially devastating future consequences. ***MR***

NOTES

1. Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), 94-107.
2. Steven Metz and Douglas V. Johnson II, *Asymmetry and US Military Strategy: Definition, Background, and Strategic Concepts* (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, January 2001), 5.
3. This operational definition of asymmetry is drawn from my conversations with General Montgomery Meigs, Commander of US Army Forces, Europe, who is an excellent source for insights on operational art.
4. I am deeply indebted to General John Abrams and his staff, especially Colonel Maxie MacFarland at TRADOC for many of the ideas presented here. In addition, I would like to thank Professors Graham Turbiville and William Robertson at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, for their assistance with the historical examples. Their help was invaluable in constructing this article. I am also grateful to Erin Conaton, professional staff member with the House of Representatives' Committee on Armed Services, for her assistance with researching and writing this article.
5. See Anderson, 547-63.
6. Jack Lane's biography of General Leonard Wood notes that as a new surgeon in the Army Medical Department, Wood "learned why the Apaches . . . proved to be the army's most impervious foe in the 1870s and 1880s. Perfecting guerrilla warfare to a fine art, the Apaches operated in small raiding parties rarely numbering more than 100 braves. The hardy warriors had developed incredible stamina and a seemingly unlimited ability to endure with only the bare necessities for long periods in the almost impenetrable, barren mountains and deserts of southern Arizona and northern Mexico. Organizing themselves into small bands, they roamed the Arizona territory at will until, pursued closely by the army, they retired into the strongholds of the Sierra Madre Mountains. To defeat such an enemy required exceptional leaders and men." See Jack C. Lane, *Armed Progressive: General Leonard Wood* (San Rafael, CA: Presidio Press, 1978), 4.
7. "Chechen Commander on Modern Separatism," *Nezavisimoye Voyennoye Obozreniye* (22-28 January 1999), 2.
8. John D. Waghelstein, "The Second Seminole War: Lessons Learned, Relearned and Unlearned," *Low Intensity Conflict and Law Enforcement* (Winter 1992), 4.
9. Armstrong Starkey, *European and Native American Warfare, 1675-1815* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 167.
10. Isaac Newton Skelton III and Earl Franklin Skelton, *Ike, This is You* (Washington, DC: 1995), 132-41. The author's great-great-great grandfather, Squire Boone, was wounded during this battle.
11. Starkey, viii.
12. Ibid., 71-72.
13. Ibid., 72.
14. James Adams, "Virtual Defense," *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2001), 102.
15. Odie B. Faulk, *The Geronimo Campaign* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), 46.
16. Starkey, 169.
17. US Army FM 1, *The Army* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office [GPO], June 2001); FM 3-0, *Operations* (Washington, DC: GPO, June 2001).
18. *The Journal of Captain Robert Chomley's Batman*, 20 and 23 May 1755, cited in Anderson, 94. The rest of the account of Braddock's defeat is largely drawn from Anderson's work; see 94-107.

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Developing a National Counterinsurgency Capability for the War on Terror

John Hillen, Ph.D.

THE WAR ON TERROR pits the United States and its allies against violent ideologues who would replace secular governments or (to their minds) apostate states with theocratic regimes hostile to the values upon which inclusive democratic societies are based. Our enemies' strategies and tactics collectively amount to a global series of insurgencies, competing for the right to govern in predominantly Muslim nations around the world. In many ways, we can usefully characterize the war as a counterinsurgency (COIN) campaign against an ideologically driven collection of insurgents who act transnationally, are highly networked, and, like cancer, are adapting and metastasizing. If we are to prevail in the long war, we must mobilize and synchronize all elements of our national power—diplomatic, military, economic, social, and informational—to develop antibodies to and eventually find a cure for this new and dangerous kind of enemy.

Our national security system provides us with overwhelming capability to defeat conventional, state-based threats, but it is not organized to deliver the coordinated support to political, economic, civil, and educational institutions that our foreign partners need to prevail against locally based insurgents. During the Vietnam War, General Creighton Abrams said to a group of diplomats that "in the whole picture of this war, battles don't really mean much." This was an exaggeration, but only a slight one. National security and defense communities around the world agree that successful counterinsurgency is primarily political in nature, focusing on ameliorating or counteracting conditions that lead to popular support for insurgency, support without which no insurgency can hope to succeed.

Despite its inherently political nature, COIN theory has been almost entirely developed within military circles. This work, such as the new Army-Marine Corps COIN field manual, recognizes that every insurgency has a specific geographic, political, and social context, but all insurgencies have characteristics in common. Every insurgency originates in a competition for governance and/or resources, the perpetration of real or perceived injustices by a governing entity, competing visions of social and cultural equities in the affected society, or some combination thereof. Any effective COIN campaign, therefore, must address the political, economic, and social problems that gave rise to the insurgent movement in the first place. Although direct military action against insurgent leaders may be necessary when an adversary perpetrates destabilizing violence and does not respond to other means of engagement, military action in and of itself is not likely to result in redress of the local conditions that gave rise to the insurgency.

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It is a potentially crippling irony that the parts of the U.S. Government best suited to deliver essential COIN capabilities are those least engaged in current efforts to frame COIN policy and doctrine. This must change; the civilian departments and agencies of our government must make a deliberate, concerted effort to apply COIN principles to their policies, plans, programs, and operations where their missions and competencies can make a difference between success and defeat in the various battles of this war.

That's not to say our agencies aren't trying to adapt to the world in which we operate. Indeed, several seem to have contracted COIN fever, although that is not the term of art by which they refer to their efforts. The Department of Defense's *Quadrennial Defense Review* Building Partner Capacity and Irregular Warfare Roadmaps and the State Department's new Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization and Director of Foreign Assistance all seek to build what arguably could be considered COIN *capacity* in Defense and *capability* at State. The U.S. Agency for International Development has created a new Office of Military Affairs and is rethinking its strategic approach to development, clearly understanding that development is key to building and protecting responsible governance in underdeveloped regions of the world.

Moreover, in our efforts to realign and reform institutions, we should all be seeking to contribute resources and capabilities to President George W. Bush's National Strategy for Combating Terrorism (NSCT). This comprehensive document elaborates in great detail what Executive Branch departments and agencies must bring to the fight against terrorism. Enormous amounts of intellectual capital and other resources are being devoted to implementing the strategy in our individual and collective venues. A national COIN strategic framework would complement and further the NSCT by allowing us to knit together various instruments of national power *on an operational basis* in specific national, regional, and local contexts. A national COIN framework would serve our national goals in real and immediate ways, in places plagued by or at risk of destabilizing insurgencies.

There is growing awareness in the national security community that civilian capacity to plan and conduct interagency operations does not exist in the U.S. Government and must be created. This is easier said than done; it will require each agency to look beyond its own domain to a shared understanding of problems and then agree on shared approaches to solving them. The lack of a strategic COIN framework inhibits interagency coordination of responsibilities for COIN operations, undermines our ability to build partner capacities, and detracts from our ability to build international coalitions dedicated to defeating enemy insurgents. Until we create such a framework, we will have no basis for organizational or curricula design that would institutionalize lessons learned and support the development of the skill sets, tools, and policies that would make us successful COIN operators.

A national COIN framework would serve our national goals in real and immediate ways, in places plagued by or at risk of destabilizing insurgencies.

In his excellent article "Best Practices in Counterinsurgency," published in the May-June 2005 issue of *Military Review*, Kalev Sepp identified the key actions that must be taken in order to counter insurgency. These are—

- The provision of basic human needs, such as food, water, shelter, health care, and a means of living.
- Development of an adequately sized and trained police force able to gather and act upon intelligence at the community level, supported by an incorrupt and functioning judiciary.
- Enactment of population control to separate insurgents from indigenous support.
- Political and information campaigns that give people a stake in the success of their government and encourage the peaceful reintegration of insurgents.
- Deployment of military forces, both indigenous and supporting, organized and trained to support the police and fight insurgents.
- Adequate border controls to prevent the flow of foreign fighters and weapons that fuel the insurgency.

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• Empowerment of a single legitimate executive authority that can direct and coordinate counterinsurgency efforts.

Clearly the majority of these efforts involve work we associate with "civilian" skill sets and even agencies—but the uniformed military is often placed in the position of having to undertake such activities. Moreover, many conventional military units and commanders do not consider some non-kinetic COIN tasks to be core competencies—and that's not necessarily a bad thing.

We need to be able to field interagency teams of experts to assist and advise foreign governments and military forces in developing appropriate COIN strategies, operations, and tactics, particularly with regard to modifying local government behaviors that build support for insurgents and erode popular support for counterinsurgent goals. These interagency teams, whose members would be deeply experienced in their primary agency competencies (intelligence, policing, security sector reform, development, public information, and direct action), would be specially trained in counterinsurgency techniques and able to work in close concert with military forces in hostile or semi-permissive environments. In fielding these teams, U.S. agencies would strengthen their capacity for "jointness" and gain valuable, deployable expertise. To this end, we are developing COIN handbooks for use by both strategic planners and interagency field operators and will capitalize on existing programs to collect and disseminate lessons learned among current and future COIN practitioners.

Through advocacy and education, we must build support in the Congress for the authorities and funding that would create deployable capabilities and capacity in the U.S. Government to conduct COIN operations. Such capacity would complement and reinforce the Civilian Response Corps being developed at the State Department by the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization. While stabilization and reconstruction (S&R) capacity building focuses on post-conflict environments, COIN capacity, by definition, would be engaged before or during conflict. Although there is certainly significant overlap between the skill sets required for COIN and S&R, they are not identical, and there will be great value in developing each community in tandem to avoid duplication and achieve synergy of effort.

We need to be able to field interagency teams of experts to assist and advise foreign governments and military forces in developing appropriate COIN strategies, operations, and tactics...

As a first step, we are committed to establishing a national Center for Complex Operations that will work closely with entities, both inside and outside the government, that specialize in training and education on governance, development, rule of law, transitional security, S & R, and related issues. This center would help rationalize the many related and important, but currently uncoordinated, ongoing U.S. efforts to deliver COIN capabilities more effectively. State recently launched a COIN website, *www.usgcoin.org*, which we plan to expand to a robust information clearinghouse and virtual collaboration center for COIN professionals and public policy officials, perhaps under the sponsorship of the center.

In September 2006, the Departments of State and Defense co-hosted a seminal conference on "Counterinsurgency in the 21st Century," bringing together experts in diplomacy, defense, foreign policy, media relations, foreign assistance, irregular warfare, homeland security, development, stability operations, and conflict transformation. We are planning a similar event in Europe in early 2007 that will focus on building an understanding among partner nations of our effort. Such an event will encourage other nations to adopt and enable a similar approach to our shared security problems. We are working closely on this effort with the government of the United Kingdom, with which we share a vision on how best to deal with our shared security challenges.

In summary, State has assumed leadership of this important new national security initiative, one grounded both in the study of history and in recent painful national experience. We will seek to encourage and support the development of a holistic, robust national capacity to engage and defeat enemy insurgents as we seek peace, security, and prosperity for all in the 21st century. ***MR***

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Phase IV Operations:
Where Wars are Really Won

Lieutenant Colonel Conrad C. Crane, U.S. Army, Retired, Ph.D.

Portions of this article have been adapted from a monograph written for the Strategic Studies Institute by Conrad C. Crane and W. Andrew Terrill in 2003.[1]

Events in Iraq since March 2003 highlight the importance and complexity of operations during Phase IV of a campaign—activities conducted after decisive combat operations to stabilize and reconstruct the area of operations (AO). Phase IV is often described as postconflict operations, but that is a misleading term. Phase IV usually begins soon after the advent of combat during Phase III, and the two overlap. In addition, as in Iraq, significant fighting can still occur during Phase IV. A better descriptive term would be "transition operations," because military forces try to position the AO to move back to peace and civilian government control.

In the past, U.S. commanders often conducted detailed planning for Phase IV while Phase III was ongoing, such as during World War II. But, with modern warfighting concepts like Rapid Decisive Operations and schemes of maneuver designed to speedily defeat adversaries, such an approach is no longer wise or feasible. Even the concept of having separate phases during a campaign might be worth rethinking because the construct can stovepipe planning and hamper the holistic vision necessary to properly link combat to the end state that accomplishes national political objectives.

The views expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the position of the Department of the Army, the Department of Defense, or any other government office or agency.—Editor

Planning, as well as execution of Phase III and Phase IV must occur simultaneously, not sequentially, and we should also train that way. Too often training exercises ignore Phase IV operations or conveniently delay them until the conclusion of major combat operations. Real life is not that neat or simple.

When Lieutenant General John J. Yeosock took command of the U.S. Third Army during Operation Desert Storm, he could not get useful staff support to assess and plan for postconflict problems such as hospital beds, prisoners, and refugees. He later complained he was handed a "dripping bag of manure" no one else wanted to deal with.[2] Neither the Army nor the Department of Defense (DOD) had an adequate plan for postwar operations to rebuild Kuwait, and civilian agencies were even more unprepared. Only through adept improvisations by Army engineers and civil affairs personnel and the dedicated efforts of Kuwaiti volunteers and the Saudi Arabian Government was the situation salvaged.[3]

The Third Army was the first U.S. field army in combat since the Korean War, which might account for some of the deficiencies in postwar planning during Operation Desert Storm. Historically, postconflict planning has been a function of headquarters at echelons above corps (EAC), and continuing problems with more recent operations are at least partly attributable to the generally small scale of U.S. interventions.

For at least the latter half of the 20th Century, U.S. military leaders and planners focused on winning wars, not on the peacekeeping or nationbuilding that came afterward. The unpleasant result of the Vietnam War magnified this shortcoming, as the services

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developed doctrines, force structures, and attitudes to fight major conventional war and to avoid another experience like Vietnam.[4] But national objectives can often only be accomplished after the fighting ends; a war tactically and operationally won can still lead to a strategic defeat if transition operations are poorly planned or executed.

The ironic truth about Phase IV operations is that the U.S. military would rather not deal with them or would like to quickly hand them off to other U.S. Government agencies or international organizations, which, in turn, argue that nationbuilding tasks are rightfully within their sphere of responsibility. However, while there is universal agreement about who should ideally be rebuilding states, the harsh historical reality is that the world's greatest nationbuilding institution, when properly resourced and motivated, is the U.S. military, especially the U.S. Army. American military forces would like to quickly win wars and go home, but the United States has rarely accomplished long-term policy goals after any conflict without an extended American military presence to ensure proper results from the peace.

U.S. Occupations

Since its formation, the Army has had a lot of experience with postconflict or transition operations. During the 19th century, the Army had such missions in Mexico, the post-Civil War South, and the American West. Generally, these experiences were extremely unpleasant and at the end of the century helped motivate military reformers focus on building a military establishment worthy of a great power and designed to win major conventional wars. Reformers agreed with the philosophy of influential Prussian general and theorist Count Helmuth von Moltke, the Elder, that the primary role of the modern military was to successfully conclude major combat operations (once diplomats had gotten the nation into war) and then quickly withdraw while the diplomats resolved the aftermath.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, the United States has conducted generally successful efforts with reconstruction and nationbuilding in Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, Germany, Italy, Japan, Austria, South Korea, Panama, and Kuwait. Some successes came as a result of good planning, as during World War II; others came from adept scrambling, as after Operation Desert Storm. Notable failures occurred in Haiti, Nicaragua, Somalia, and Vietnam. Ongoing efforts continue in Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan, and Iraq. Recent history provides a number of useful examples to illustrate the missions and challenges involved in postconflict or transition operations. This article examines recent smaller scale contingencies (SSCs) and insights from major wars.

Panama. Operations in Panama leading to the overthrow of General Manuel Noriega's regime have been touted as a model use of quick, decisive U.S. military force, but postconflict activities did not go as smoothly. Combat operations were conducted superbly and quickly in a complex situation (with difficult terrain, many civilians, and restrained rules of engagement [ROE]) that required intricate joint planning and execution. The crisis period was exceptionally long, beginning with public revelations about Noriega's nefarious activities during June 1987 and culminating with Operation Just Cause during December 1989. Planning for military intervention began as early as February 1988.[5]

After Noriega annulled the May 1989 election, sent paramilitary thugs to assault opposition candidates, and increased harassment of Americans, the United States conducted Operation Nimrod Dancer, which was a show of force by U.S. Southern Command (SOUTHCOM) to demonstrate U.S. resolve to convince Noriega to modify his behavior. When Noriega did not conform to expectations, President George H.W. Bush ordered the action called Operation Just Cause, which was a textbook example of the quality of the new U.S. Armed Forces and doctrine and encompassed simultaneous nighttime assaults of 27 targets.[6]

Because of a focus on conducting a decisive combat operation, not a complete campaign, the aftermath of this SSC did not go smoothly. Planning for the postconflict phase—Operation Promote Liberty—was far from complete when the short period of hostilities began. Missions and responsibilities were vague, and planners failed to adequately appreciate the effects of combat operations and regime change.[7] Although guidance from SOUTHCOM on posthostility missions was fairly clear, tactically oriented planners at the XVIII Airborne Corps, in charge of the joint task force (JTF) carrying out the operation, gave postconflict tasks short shrift. The plan assigned a lone military police (MP) battalion to run a detention facility, protect all convoys, provide security for many key facilities, and prepare to restore law and order.[8] Although the battalion was mainly concerned with a relatively small geographic portion of the country, it was quickly overwhelmed by its responsibilities.

With the elimination of the Panamanian Defense Force, the task of restoring law and order became

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quite demanding. Looting and vandalism spread throughout the country, and chaos reigned, which is a common occurrence in situations where national security forces are removed, leaving instability and a security vacuum in their wake. U.S. forces scrambled to restore some semblance of order, but the MPs, trained in law and order missions, did not perform well in unfamiliar combat operations and were numerically inadequate to deal with the problems they faced.[9] The MPs also could not handle all the enemy prisoners of war (EPWs) and refugees for whom they were responsible. Similarly, there were not enough civil affairs personnel or engineers for the rebuilding effort, which seems to be a common occurrence in U.S. transition operations. Slow and disorganized U.S. Army Reserve (USAR) callups, relying on volunteers, exacerbated personnel deficiencies. Political-military interagency cooperation was also poor, many agencies were excluded from DOD planning, and the Embassy was severely understaffed.[10]

Senior commanders later admitted they had done poorly in planning postconflict operations and hoped the Army would remedy that situation in the future.[11] Despite these deficiencies, the U.S. Military Support Group, activated in January 1990 to support the growth of independent Panamanian institutions, deactivated just a year later in a much more stable country, although whether it or Panamanian leaders deserved the credit for this success was unclear.[12]

Haiti. Like Panama, the operation in Haiti was another SSC in response to a long-festering crisis that had begun with the military overthrow of President Jean-Bertrande Aristide by Lieutenant General Raoul Cedras in September 1991. On 1 April 1993, the Joint Chiefs of Staff sent the first alert order to the commander in chief, U.S. Atlantic Command (USACOM) (now U.S. Joint Forces Command) to begin planning for contingency operations in Haiti. Planning for active intervention intensified in October of that year after armed protesters in Port-Au-Prince turned away a ship loaded with UN peacekeepers.

During the next year, international pressure on the military leaders of Haiti increased and was intensified even further by obvious U.S. preparations for an invasion. In September 1994, the Haitian Government returned Aristide to power because it knew U.S. Army helicopters, 10th Mountain Division soldiers aboard the USS *Eisenhower*, and elements of the 82d Airborne Division were heading for Haiti.[13] In fact, Cedras did not begin to negotiate seriously with the U.S. diplomatic delegation until he had confirmed that the 82d Airborne contingent was in the air. The overwhelming force deployed in the initial occupation and U.S. soldiers' professional and disciplined conduct and appearance in continuing operations did much to deter and control the actions of potential troublemakers.[14]

Beginning occupations with a strong, pervasive ground presence to control and intimidate looters and deter potential resistance is always the best course of action, but this did not occur in Iraq in 2003. Even Ambassador J. Paul Bremer conceded that "[w]e never had enough troops on the ground" to adequately control the postwar environment.[15]

The long lead time between the beginning of the Haitian crisis and the actual military intervention, combined with lessons learned from operations like those in Panama and Somalia, greatly facilitated planning for Operation Uphold Democracy. USACOM prepared operational plans for both forced and unopposed entry, while DOD conducted extensive interagency coordination.[16] DOD's Haiti Planning Group, with the help of other government agencies, prepared a detailed interagency checklist for restoration of essential services.

The lead agency for all major functional areas was the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), with DOD support (mostly from Army units). The agency was to—

- Reestablish public administration.
- Conduct elections.
- Restore information services.
- Help the Department of Justice set up and train a police force.
- Prepare for and respond to disasters.
- Run airports.
- Care for refugees.

Military units had primary responsibility for—

- Security measures, such as disposing of explosive ordnance.
- Protecting foreign residents.
- Demobilizing paramilitary groups.

These were mostly Army functions, and the Army provided 96 percent of deployed military forces.[17]

Military leaders' desires to avoid getting involved with nationbuilding missions such as those that led to so much grief in Somalia affected these plans and their execution. Army lawyers wrestled with interpreting humanitarian requests for reconstruction and classified them as either mission-related or as nationbuilding. The lawyers approved requests that fell into the former category and denied those in the latter. Medical units focused on supporting the JTF, not on humanitarian assistance, because U.S.

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leaders did not want to replace the medical facilities of the host nation. This reluctance to embrace peacekeeping or nationbuilding had its most regrettable result on 20 September 1994 when restrictive ROE prohibited U.S. forces from intervening as Haitian police killed two demonstrators. The next day, U.S. officials expanded the ROE to allow more military involvement in restoring and maintaining law and order.[18]

Such mission creep should be expected; it has been part of virtually all U.S. involvement with complex Phase IV operations. A similar expansion of Army roles and missions occurred in almost all other restoration efforts in Haiti. The attorneys, rationalizing that any action that made Americans look good lessened security risks, began approving such efforts as mission-related. Other government agencies were slow to arrive or build up resources, so the military picked up the slack. Other departments had not done the detailed planning DOD had, often wanting more support than DOD had expected to provide.[19]

When the ambassador to Haiti asked for military advisers to help new government ministries get established until efforts from USAID and the Department of State could be established, a ministerial adviser team from the 358th Civil Affairs Brigade hastily deployed "the first large-scale implementation of a civil administration effort since World War II."[20] The scope and pace of civil affairs missions increased so rapidly they threatened to get out of control, raising fears such actions would only heighten Haitian expectations that U.S. forces could fix all the nation's problems, thus setting the people up for great disappointment later.[21]

The expanded military missions caused many other problems, to some extent because civil affairs units are relatively small organically and require considerable support from other organizations. Engineer planning, equipment, and personnel were inadequate for their required civil affairs and reconstruction projects. Soldiers had to develop new policies and procedures to help set up internal security forces and expend funds, which often required working around *U.S. Code*, Title 10, restrictions.[22] Soldiers assumed expanded roles in maintaining law and order, including manning and operating detention facilities and developing new crowd-control techniques. Items like latrines and police uniforms were in short supply. Doctrine and personnel were not available to establish proper liaison with the myriad civilian organizations working in the country. Intelligence assets were severely taxed, and the force in Haiti had to rely heavily on theater and national intelligence assets to make up for deficiencies.[23]

The military in general and the Army in particular received much praise for their performance in Haiti. Even so, once the last American troops left the island in April 1996, the situation there deteriorated to conditions approaching those that existed in the early 1990s. Without long-term military involvement, most U.S. policy goals were frustrated. The civilian agencies that replaced military forces did not have the same resources available, and the Haitian economy, judicial system, and political leaders obstructed reform.

U.S. officials decried the results of subsequent elections and admitted the failure of their policies. Even UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan recommended against renewing the mission there.[24] One key lesson from the frustrating experience in Haiti is that the United States should predicate redeployment of its military forces on the achievement of designated measures of effectiveness (MOEs) and not on time limits. Another is that follow-on civilian agencies must be capable of maintaining those accomplishments as well as achieving new ones.

The Balkans. The U.S. Army has picked up its usual heavy load of postconflict tasks that require several thousand troops to remain in Bosnia and Kosovo, and it looks as if doing so will be a long-term commitment.[25] Current U.S. operations in the Balkans reveal how force and mission requirements change during the transition phase. Eighteen months after the agreement between NATO and the Yugoslav Army in regard to Kosovo, U.S. Army troops were still engaged in "peacekeeping with an iron fist" to establish a safe, secure environment under the rule of law, with patrols backed by armored vehicles and detention centers to control trouble-makers. The UN-NATO justice system has been heavily criticized, and a Judge Advocate General Legal Assessment Team found the UN mission in Kosovo so severely short of facilities and personnel it recommended that teams of 15 Army lawyers rotate through the country to reinforce the UN effort. Impatient Kosovars resent that the UN seems to be making little progress toward a transition to local control.[26]

With efforts in Bosnia more advanced and the environment more secure and peaceful, U.S. Army task forces have become lighter and have moved from providing security to enhancing long-term stability. By late 1997, the Stabilization Force (SFOR) realized a disparity existed between the military force's ability to complete its General Framework Agreement for Peace (GFAP) tasks and its less-

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capable civilian counterparts' ability to implement them. SFOR realized it could not disengage with such a large GFAP gap remaining and expanded its mission to help international organizations set the conditions for civilian implementation of the GFAP to help transition the area of operations to a stable environment. U.S. military leaders on the scene recognized they were moving into the area of nationbuilding but saw no alternative if SFOR was ever going to be able to withdraw or significantly reduce its commitment without risking the peace.[27]

As the nature of stability operations and support operations in Bosnia evolved, so did the peacekeeping force's requirements. The force needed fewer combat troops and more engineers, military police, and civil affairs personnel. Intelligence requirements changed and expanded, and after-action reports (AAR) highlighted many shortfalls in the Balkans' force structure and peacekeeping policies, many of them common to previous SSCs. Army lawyers again proved adept at "thinking outside traditional fiscal rules and applications" to support operational requirements.[28] The roles of MPs expanded to include performing as maneuver battalion task forces and working with international law-enforcement agencies, but difficulties with tactical MPs trying to perform law and order missions reappeared.[29]

Problems also reappeared with shortages and recall procedures for Reserve Component (RC) engineer, military intelligence (MI), and civil affairs augmentation.[30] The massive engineering requirements for Operations Joint Endeavor and Joint Guard highlighted branch deficiencies with command and control, construction unit allocations, and bridging.[31] A split-based logistics system trying to meet requirements in the Balkans and the Central Region of Europe required considerable augmentation, but still strained combat support (CS) and combat service support (CSS) assets considerably.[32]

Liaison officers were in great demand to be Entity Armed Forces Joint Commission observers and to coordinate with the myriad nongovernment organizations and civilian agencies.[33] Shortages of linguists existed throughout the theater, exacerbating problems with intelligence. MI doctrine was inadequate to support peace operations. Understaffed MI units had to adapt as best they could to a complex multiservice, multiagency, and multinational situation complicated by a host of treaty requirements.[34] A Defense Science Board study concluded that Balkan operations revealed many shortcomings in psychological operations as well, especially in planning and resourcing to support all the geographic combatant commanders' engagement and postconflict activities.[35]

Even with all these problems, Army units in Bosnia have continued to compile a superlative record of accomplishments. Nonetheless, the GFAP gap remains, with recurring UN problems in coordinating and directing civilian agencies. Recent elections were dominated by continuing political divisiveness, which demonstrated the limited progress made in changing people's attitudes.[36] However, while American military leaders might complain about the troops remaining in the Balkans, the fact that decisions about their redeployment have been based on achieving MOEs and not on adhering to time limits has at least insured stability in the region.

The Philippines. In the aftermath of the Spanish-American War, the United States began a long occupation of the Philippine Islands that officially ended with their independence in 1946. This quite lengthy transition to self-government is not typical of U.S. experiences with occupation, and the most useful insights are to be gleaned from studying the early years when U.S. forces tried to subdue resistance and establish control.

The Army's Philippines experience reinforces that "postconflict operations" is a misnomer. To be successful, such actions must begin before the shooting stops and be conducted simultaneously with combat. Planning must be complete before the conflict begins, so military forces can immediately begin accomplishing transition tasks in newly controlled areas. All soldiers must accept duties that are typically considered in the purview of civil affairs detachments. There will never be enough civil affairs troops to go around, and whoever is on the scene must meet immediate needs. Even in the midst of combat, leaders and their soldiers must keep in mind the long-term goals of peace and stability and conduct themselves accordingly.[37]

In the Philippines, military and civilian officials recognized that the military leader on the scene was the best agent for local pacification. A situation where village attitudes and characteristics varied widely required considerable decentralization. Officers had great discretion and were not closely supervised, although they also had clear directives from higher headquarters.

The requirement for local familiarity meant the Army could not rotate soldiers quickly. Personal relationships are important in village societies and take considerable time and effort to establish. Even 1-year tours in a tribal society like Iraq are probably

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too short. In the Philippines, the Army had to accept some decline in unit combat efficiency to keep units in lengthy occupation duties. Troops had to be aware of the cultures they were in and not try to force U.S. values. Knowledge of the Koran and local customs were important for everyone. Even John J. Pershing, a captain at the time, could spend hours talking to local imams about religion. Being aware of how important personal relationships are does not lessen the requirement to achieve the right balance of force and restraint, but troops must consider long-term consequences for every action. General Leonard Wood's predilection for punitive forays in response to even minor incidents like theft cowed many Moro chiefs, but by doing so he also undermined many alliances and relationships local commanders had painstakingly established. Instead of quieting small disturbances, Wood's expeditions often created larger problems by driving pacified or neutral villagers into joining more rebellious ones, making it more difficult for his subordinates to gain local trust.[38]

Germany. The United States has occupied Germany twice in the past century. When World War I concluded, over 200,000 U.S. troops moved to positions around Coblenz and prepared for the possibility that the Germans would not sign the Versailles Peace Treaty. When the Germans agreed to sign in 1919, the occupation force rapidly diminished. By the end of 1922 only 1,200 U.S. troops remained.[39] Although the bulk of responsibility for the occupation and regime change fell on other Allied governments, U.S. troops did find themselves in charge of 1 million civilians. The U.S. Army and Government had not really accepted the administration of civil government in occupied enemy territory as a legitimate military function after the Mexican War, Civil War, or Spanish-American War, and the civil affairs officer for the U.S. military government in the Rhineland lamented that the U.S. Army of Occupation "lacked both training and organization" to perform its duties.[40]

As World War II approached, U.S. Army War College committees went back to World War I reports and developed formal doctrine for military government. During spring 1942, a School of Military Government was established at the University of Virginia, and thinking began there about postwar reconstruction of Germany, Japan, and Italy.[41]

By the time Germany surrendered in May 1945, detailed Allied planning for the occupation of that nation had been ongoing for 2 years. All staff sections at Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Forces, and Army Group headquarters invested considerable resources in developing what became Operation Eclipse. The plan correctly predicted most of the tasks required of the units occupying the defeated country. Within 3 months, those formations had disarmed and demobilized German armed forces; cared for and repatriated 4 million EPWs and refugees; restored basic services to many devastated cities; discovered and quashed a potential revolt; created working local governments; and reestablished police and the courts.[42]

Before any Allied armies entered Germany, planners designated military governance units to closely follow combat forces. The first civil affairs detachment set itself up in Roetgen, Germany, on 15 September 1944, only 4 days after U.S. troops entered Germany. Once the Third Reich surrendered, small mobile detachments went immediately to every town in the U.S. occupation zone. Typically, unit commanders confronted mayors with a number of demands (a list of local soldiers and party members; the turn-in of all military and civilian firearms; and housing for U.S. troops). Detachment leaders also imposed curfews and immobilized the population and had the authority to replace uncooperative mayors.[43]

The regime in Germany was changed from the bottom up. Throughout history, this has been the best approach to rebuilding states. Local elections and councils were allowed to function, and responsibility was shifted to local authorities as quickly as possible. State governments were next, and only after they were working effectively were national elections considered. Political life was strictly controlled to prevent any resurgence of radicalism, although public opinion polls were conducted on an almost weekly basis to monitor what the German people thought about occupation policies. Also, the German legal profession had been totally corrupted by the Nazis, and each occupying ally took a slightly different approach in reestablishing courts. The British used a lot of previous Nazi lawyers and judges, while the Americans tried to reform the whole system—a slow process. The best solution was probably that of the Soviets'; they found educated, politically loyal people and gave them 6 weeks of legal training. These lay judges got criminal and civil court systems working quickly.[44]

One of the most vexing problems for occupation authorities was how to dismantle the Nazi Party and its security apparatus while retaining the skills of some of its members who performed important functions. The solution was to have adult Germans fill out detailed questionnaires about their associations.

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Heavy penalties were imposed on anyone who lied or failed to answer questions. A board of anti-Nazi Germans and Allied representatives reviewed the fragebogen (questionnaire) to determine who had held leadership positions and should have their political and economic activities curtailed for the occupation. By the time such people regained their rights, democratic Germans were so solidly established that a Nazi revival was impossible.[45] This approach also allowed occupation authorities to clear key administrators and technicians, along with some security forces, so they could remain at their posts to help with reconstruction. Most commentators agree that the most critical mistake made during the initial occupation of Iraq was the total disbanding of the Iraqi Army and the extensive purging of Ba'athists without attempting discriminatory screening.[46]

Japan. In 1945, the occupation force for Japan, a country slightly smaller than Iraq, included almost 23 divisions amounting to more than 500,000 soldiers. Because of uncertainty about how occupation forces would be received, General Douglas MacArthur decided overwhelming force was the best insurance against unrest. Most ground forces were American, although allies, such as British and Australian units in Hiroshima, were used in some sensitive areas.[47]

While interdepartmental deliberations in Washington, D.C., about occupying Japan had been going on since the aftermath of Pearl Harbor, the actual planning in the Pacific for Operation Blacklist did not begin until May 1945.[48] Within 2 years, most Japanese soldiers were disarmed and repatriated (except those from Soviet-controlled areas); a purge list of persons restricted from political activity was completed; basic services were restored; police reform programs were implemented; the economy was restarted; land reform had begun; and the nation had adopted a new democratic constitution renouncing war as an instrument of national policy.[49]

In October 2002, reports emerged that President George W. Bush's administration was looking at the Japanese occupation as a model for achieving democratization and demilitarization in Iraq, but the administration quickly withdrew from that position. Many experts have highlighted the important differences between the scenarios. The Japanese surrendered unconditionally after total defeat, and the whole world acknowledged the legality and necessity of Allied occupation. Millions were dead, cities were in ashes, and the populace was destitute and cowed. Their more homogeneous culture did not feature the ethnic, tribal, and religious divisions so evident in Iraq, and the Japanese were conditioned to obey the emperor's command to accept defeat and submit to their conquerors. They also had some experience with limited democracy, although it can be argued that Iraq had some similar experiences earlier this past century. Another major difference is that Iraq is much richer in natural resources than Japan, which provides another set of opportunities for occupying powers.[50]

However, Operation Blacklist provides useful insight about purging undesirable political elements and on how to design the insertion of military forces into a situation where the possibility of armed resistance remains ambiguous. Similarities also exist between the way Americans viewed the Japanese in 1945 and the way many perceive Iraqis today—as a totally foreign and non-Western culture.

John Dower, the renowned historian of the occupation of Japan, strongly agrees that Japan does not provide a useful model for Iraq. His important caveat is that current policymakers should heed the clear warning that "even under circumstances that turned out to be favorable, demilitarization and democratization were awesome challenges."[51]

Additional Observations

Other insights should also be emphasized. For example, detailed long-term interagency planning for occupation is important and can considerably smooth transition. MacArthur's staff managed to develop Operation Blacklist in just over 3 months, but analysis for such a course had been going on for years. He devoted considerable staff assets to creating the plan, and the operation required little interagency coordination. Also, the Far East Command staff made many adjustments on the fly during the early years of occupation.

The ideal approach to occupation is exemplified by interagency planning for operations in Haiti that produced a detailed list of postcrisis tasks and responsibilities well in advance of any possible combat. That operation eventually failed, however, because civilian agencies proved incapable of completing the mission once military forces left because of inadequate resources or inflated expectations.

The primary problem at the core of U.S. deficiencies in postconflict capabilities, resources, and commitment is a national aversion to nationbuilding, reinforced by the U.S. failure in Vietnam. U.S. leaders must accept the nationbuilding mission as an essential part of national security, and they must better tailor

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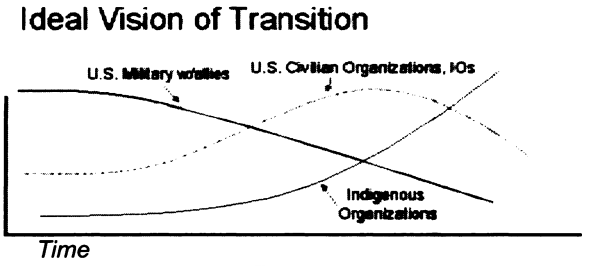


Figure 1

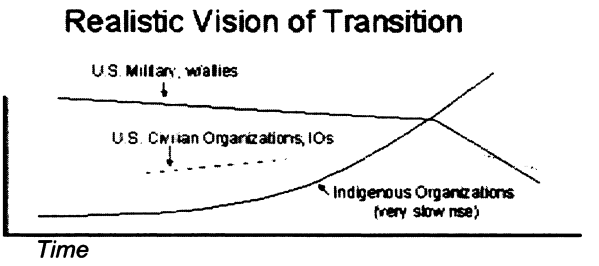


Figure 2

and fund military services and civilian governmental organizations to accomplish the mission.

In the past, no part of Phase IV has been more problematic for U.S. military forces than handover to civilian agencies. Ideally, the allocation of effort and shift of responsibilities should proceed as depicted in figure 1, but in reality, it normally looks more like figure 2, where the handover is directly to the local government.[52]

A number of possible structural solutions are available to the Army to improve its performance in Phase IV operations. These range from internal reorganizations to relying more on civilian agencies.

Forming specialized peacekeeping units. Some commentators have recommended that the Army establish constabulary units focused exclusively on peacekeeping duties. While this has certain training and organizational efficiencies, it is a bad idea for a number of reasons. At the beginning of Phase IV, strong warfighting skills are essential, and no progress is possible without peace and security. The conventional deterrent value of today's relatively small Army will be significantly reduced if some units are perceived as having a more limited capability for offensive or defensive operations, unless these constabulary units are an addition to the existing force structure. They will also be of only marginal use in meeting the requirements of the current national military strategy with acceptable risk.

Whether created as new organizations or as modifications of existing ones, specialized units would probably be inadequate to meet the number of future demands for their skills. Center for Army Analysis projections, based on data from the 1990s, predict the United States will face 25 to 30 ongoing SSCs every month, and that does not include the increased operational tempo resulting from the Global War on Terrorism (GWOT).[53] One alternative to this approach would be to structure USAR and Army National Guard (ARNG) units to perform transition phase functions. After Active Component (AC) combat units have had time to provide a secure environment, deploying specialized USAR and ARNG forces might be appropriate. Such units' performance in the Balkans has drawn rave reviews from many civilian administrators who like the different attitudes those units bring to Phase IV operations. To prevent excessive deployments, however, there need to be many of these units. The same attitudes that please civilian observers will draw the Army even more into nationbuilding tasks.

Creating multipurpose units. Creating more multipurpose units makes good sense, given the realities the Army faces. Army Transformation initiatives are relevant for this solution. The new medium brigades will retain some armored punch with more infantry. They will gain augmented intelligence capabilities and be more mobile and versatile. The Army should also invest in multipurpose technologies, such as platforms equally suitable for mounting lethal weaponry for combat or carrying relief supplies for humanitarian missions. This solution will require more than just new organizations or technology, however. There will have to be a recognition and acceptance throughout the Army of the likelihood and importance of Phase IV operations and the realization that these missions require a different mindset and training than decisive combat operations. Army schools at all levels will have to prepare soldiers to better meet this challenge, and units would have to adjust mission essential task lists accordingly.

Increase the AC's CS and CSS force structure. A common theme found in AARs, and from observations of civilian administrators and from exercise analyses is that the Army has serious shortfalls in providing the required CS and CSS for Phase IV. Some of these shortfalls are the result of having USAR theater-level elements as a late follow-on in normal force flows in war plans, as is the case with some engineer organizations. Some deficiencies are the result of elements almost exclusively in the USAR having become overextended by unaccustomed, recurring deployments. In other cases, the force does not exist anywhere, sometimes because of a lack of reliable historical experience or plan-

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ning data to determine requirements, as in MP asset shortfalls for internment and resettlement of EPWs and refugees. The complicated multinational and multiagency environment of Phase IV has also created a host of new requirements not foreseen by planners used to combat operations.

Training and equipping CS and CSS units to be more versatile would overcome some deficiencies, but most fixes to this problem are not that easy. To effectively increase its CS and CSS personnel and assets available, the Army would have to invest in force structure and provide more AC assets for theater or EAC tasks. The DOD *Fiscal Years 2000-2005 Defense Planning Guidance Reserve Component Employment Study 2005* determined that to be able to conduct contingencies for 60 days without RC augmentation the Army needed 230 new CS and CSS units.[54] The list, which covers many of the shortages recent AARs have revealed, would be a good place to start to determine expanded requirements. Ongoing GWOT operations reveal even more CS and CSS needs.

Strengthen civilian agencies. Although strengthening civilian agencies is not something the Army can do directly, it is often a solution presented by those who believe the services should not be involved in nationbuilding and by departmental secretaries and officials advocating the roles of their organizations. The United States should adopt this solution in some form anyway, and the military should support it, although this might threaten to lead to reductions in the DOD budget. But nothing in Phase IV can be accomplished without establishing a secure environment on the ground that only military forces, primarily the Army, can maintain.

In any Phase IV, the lack of a quick-response capability by civilian agencies, as well as problems coordinating them, will ensure that the military will bear the brunt of all essential tasks in rebuilding and reorganizing a failed or wartorn state for a long time. For instance, a representative from the Department of Justice specializing in setting up police forces has said that even with proper funding and commitment, it takes at least 9 months to have a viable force; recent experiences show this to be an optimistic estimate.[55] The implication for the Army is that no foreseeable future reduction is likely in the nationbuilding or nation-assistance roles Phase IV operations demand from it. Contracting services to civilian companies might relieve some of this burden, but these activities have come under fire from the General Accounting Office for their costliness and inefficiency and suffer from the same limitations as other civilian agency operations.[56]

Recently, Undersecretary of Defense for Personnel and Readiness David Chu said that to prevent future wars, the U.S. military is in the nationbuilding business to stay, and its leaders need to accept the fact that soldiers, sailors, airmen, and Marines so engaged believe it is an important mission.[57] Anecdotes from the field support his assertion. Soldiers interviewed in Kosovo emphatically expressed their support for nationbuilding. One said, "With every plate of glass we replace in a window; with every door we install, we're helping these people get back on their feet."[58] He also described the importance of tending to a child's broken arm and giving a mother blankets to keep her children warm, concluding that "[w]ith every town that we help, we're helping the nation get stronger." The Bush Administration initially expressed resistance to employing the U.S. Army in nationbuilding, but recent history demonstrates it will occur anyway. Being prepared to conduct such operations will avoid a sense of mission creep when they inevitably have to be performed.

Former UN Secretary-General Dag Hammer-skold once said, "Peacekeeping is not a job for soldiers, but only a soldier can do it."[59] The same might be true for nationbuilding, especially during the earliest stages of Phase IV before a safe, secure environment has been established and civilian agencies have been able to build up their resources. Accepting nationbuilding or increased nation assistance as a mission has major implications for military involvement in Phase IV operations, but it would also bring service attitudes, doctrine, force structure, and training into line with the reality of what is happening in the field. Undoubtedly, congressional action will be needed to carefully alter legal and fiscal constraints about such military activities.

The Army is developing a set of leaders with experience in Haiti, the Balkans, Afghanistan, and Iraq. They understand the importance of Phase IV operations in accomplishing national policy objectives. Ground forces will almost always be responsible for most military missions in these situations. The U.S. Army has been organized and trained primarily to fight and win the Nation's major wars, but it must also prepare for victory in peace. ***MR***

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Linking Doctrine to Action: A NEW COIN CENTER-OF-GRAVITY ANALYSIS



Colonel Peter R. Mansoor, U.S. Army, and Major Mark S. Ulrich, U.S. Army

Special thanks to Major Edward Hayward of the British Army, currently attending the U.S. Army's School of Advanced Military Studies at Fort Leavenworth, KS, for his valuable insights and assistance in the writing and editing of this article.

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PHOTO: U.S. Marine Corps LTC Mark House, right, the commanding officer for 4th Reconnaissance Battalion, speaks through an interpreter to Iraqi men in Al um Waz, Iraq, 6 April 2007. (DOD, Cpl. John M. Odette, U.S. Marine Corps)

JUST AS THERE IS no one weapon that guarantees superiority in conventional warfare, there is no silver bullet when it comes to counterinsurgency (COIN) operations. Field Manual 3-24, *Counterinsurgency*, provides a firm doctrinal foundation, as corroborated in Battle Command Knowledge System chat rooms, training at the U.S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Center and the Taji Counterinsurgency Center for Excellence, and field experience in Iraq and Afghanistan. Even so, there is still a gap between doctrine and tactical results in COIN warfare. This article seeks to fill that gap by introducing what we believe is a useful planning tool: the COIN center of gravity (COG) analysis, integrated as the culminating step of COIN intelligence preparation of the battlefield (IPB). COIN COG analysis translates theory into practice from the bottom up, exposing insurgent lines of operation (LOOs) and suggesting possible counters to them. Rather than thrusting objectives from the top down that may or may not apply to a given situation, it balances counterinsurgent efforts and provides metrics. Links between COIN IPB and the root causes of a conflict, and between COIN COG analysis and tactical actions, are analyzed to figure out how to preempt insurgent activity instead of merely reacting to it. The process approaches COIN from the dual perspective of the nature of the population and the nature of the insurgent, not from the perspective of the counterinsurgent.

A New COIN IPB and COG Analysis

Our aim is to understand the enemy's specific strategy, get inside his decision cycle, and predict his likely actions. To accomplish this, we use the four steps of COIN IPB:

- Understand the environment.
- Determine how the enemy is using the root causes of conflict to generate or heighten popular discontent and thereby manipulate the population.
- Discern the insurgent's strategy and his likely actions.
- Culminate steps 1-3 with an analysis of the COIN COG.

This approach focuses operations on eliminating the root causes of an insurgency, accounts for host-nation cooperation across all LOOs, and reconciles short- and long-term effects. Products from the process can help staffs prepare commander's critical information requirements (CCIR), devise means to nullify insurgent information operations, and forecast specific

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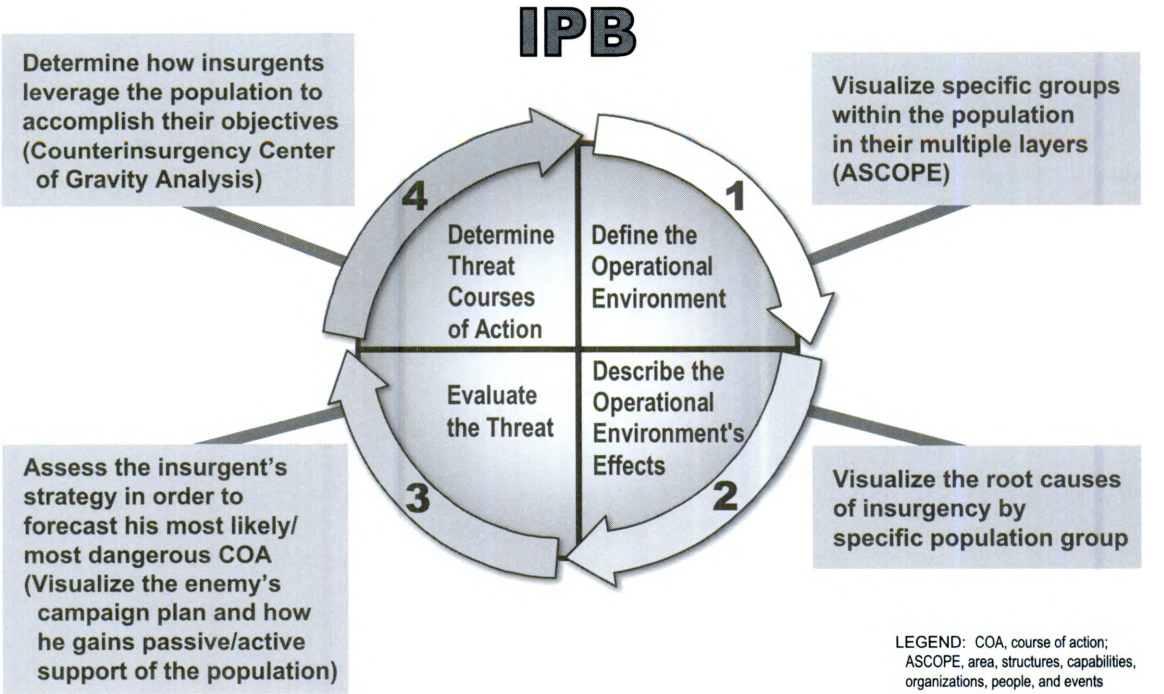


Figure 1. The four steps of COIN IPB.

enemy actions. Critically, the process produces metrics that can help validate an adopted course of action (COA). Altogether, COIN IPB/COIN COG analysis is an integrated, comprehensive process that flows from the perspectives of the population and the insurgent.

The People Are the Environment

Because the population is the key to success in a counterinsurgency, COIN IPB must start with the people and their issues. Both insurgents and counterinsurgents employ strategies to separate each other from the population while drawing the population's active or passive support to themselves. The people need to make choices in support of one side or the other; controlling their will is more important than controlling terrain. According to Clausewitz, a center of gravity is "the point against which all the energies should be directed."[1] For the counterinsurgent, all energies should be directed at gaining and maintaining control over the population and winning its support. Power emanates from the people; without their support, neither the insurgent nor the counterinsurgent can win.

In step 1 of COIN IPB, we assess the area, structures, capabilities, organizations, people, and events (ASCOPE) in an area of operation to identify the links between the physical environment and the people. In other words, we move from the *what* to the *who*. The human element is the important part here. The ASCOPE assessment helps the counterinsurgent understand the people and the cultural, social, and physical environment in which they live.

Addressing the Root Causes of Conflict

In COIN, the counterinsurgent's main thrust must be directed at eliminating the root causes of conflict. These root causes preexist the insurgent's arrival, and determining what they are is the essence of step 2 in COIN IPB. To use a medical metaphor, the root cause is a wound, the insurgency an infection stemming from the wound. The counterinsurgent must treat the infection to heal the wound, and then find and remove whatever caused the wound.

COIN doctrine prescribes general treatment for the ills that cause insurgency, but the medicine prescribed for a particular illness must be more specific: the counterinsurgent must address the root causes indigenous to each area, ideally before an insurgency materializes. A counterinsurgent needs to do more than defeat an insurgent group to be successful; if he eliminates root causes that could

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spawn an insurgency, he attains his objective. It is helpful to identify the insurgent's special tactics, but it is key to understand the intent behind them—the insurgent's purpose or operational goals. The question to answer, then, is not what kind of an insurgency exists, but what is causing it. These causes will be sociopolitical—they will be the grievances of real people. The insurgent wants to use them for tactical gain. By *addressing the root causes*—the *way*—the counterinsurgent can achieve his desired *end state* of denying the insurgent the support of the population.

An accurate, detailed analysis and understanding of a specific operational environment is paramount for winning over a population. Such an understanding is achievable by tactical units down to platoon level; in fact, platoon level is the best place to start. Still, although insurgencies are unique, they do have some common characteristics. At the core, three prerequisites are necessary for insurgency: *a vulnerable population* (one with social, political, economic, or security-related grievances), *leadership for direction* (a person, group, or idea), and *lack of government control* (a non-responsive and/or overly repressive government).[2] COIN COG analysis sets these prerequisites in the context of insurgent strategy and host-nation shortcomings.

Counterguerrilla Operations

Counterinsurgents earn the loyalty of the people and deny insurgents their life support by supporting or undertaking legitimate initiatives that address root causes effectively. Tactical actions such as finding improvised explosive devices (IEDs), defeating IED networks, seizing IED materials, clearing areas, and destroying IED cells and their infrastructure are aspects of *counterguerrilla warfare;* as such, they are merely part of one pillar of COIN operations, not the ultimate remedy to the root causes of conflict. Without a long-term solution to popular discontent, counterguerrilla efforts will continue to strike an enemy that is capable of infinite regeneration. To be sure, the counterinsurgent must confront guerrillas and their tactics, but he must not lose sight of the need for a long-term antidote to a sociopolitical problem. Effective COIN operations aimed at root causes will create an environment that inhibits the enemy's ability to fabricate, transport, emplace, and initiate IEDs in the first place.

Insurgent Strategy versus Type of Insurgency

The type or nature of an insurgency (*what* they want) should not be confused with the insurgent strategy itself (*how* they intend to achieve what they want). To succeed, COIN operations must focus primarily on the enemy's strategy and how he sequences his actions in time and space—not on his ideology or desired end state. Misunderstanding the distinction between type and strategy at this level of analysis will skew our approach to counterinsurgency.

In considering the issue of nature or type versus strategy, it is worth noting that Kurdish separatist groups, Colombia's FARC, certain extremist Shi'a movements, Sunni Ba'athist cells, and Al-Qaeda all have distinct natures but employ essentially the same strategy: urban terrorism as developed by such revolutionary leaders as Frantz Fanon in Algeria and Raúl Sendic, head of Uruguay's Tupamaros in the 1960s and 70s. These groups all attack the government to provoke retaliation and generate collateral damage among the local population. In this way, they seek to separate the government from the people.[3]

By assessing the insurgent's strategy and what his capabilities will allow him to do, we can develop a good idea of what his operational goals might be. Examination of these goals and the insurgent's attempts to achieve them through guerrilla actions will then allow us to get in front of his decision cycle.

The insurgent's operational goals may be overt and publicly championed, or covert. They may have immediate consequences, or delayed effects in consonance with long-term objectives. (Car bombings of a local population, for instance, may seem counterproductive because they incite immediate anger against the bombings and their perpetrators, but a sustained campaign of massive

...assessing the insurgent's strategy and what his capabilities will allow him to do... will...allow us to get in front of his decision cycle.

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violence can have two longer term results: it can weaken popular support for the government, and it can make the population believe that the insurgents can protect them better than the government can.) Whatever the insurgent's intent is, if we approach the problem from the perspectives of the population and the insurgent campaign plan, we can interdict him on a number of levels. COIN COG analysis encourages the counterinsurgent to undertake tactical actions that address the root causes of conflict. It enables the counterinsurgent to achieve lasting effects that will survive successive unit rotations.

Insurgent Ends, Ways, and Means

The insurgent works in a premeditated fashion, in accordance with his strategy, to achieve his operational goals, his *ends*. COIN COG analysis translates these ends into insurgent LOOs (not to be confused with friendly logical LOOs) that can be grouped into four broad functions, or *ways*: political, military, social, and economic. The insurgent will seek to achieve freedom of maneuver by exploiting the root causes of conflict at the tactical level. Within his abilities, he will attempt to provide the needs of the population: governance, sustenance, a cause to belong to, and security. Because what works for the insurgent in one area may be futile in another, his specific course of action—his *means*—will be determined by the unique conditions of each demographic cluster (or groupings of people with enough similarities to have the same needs). The same holds true for the counterinsurgent.

The Seven Pillars of Insurgency

Doctrine has identified seven key aspects or dynamics of an insurgency: leadership, ideology, objectives, environment and geography, external support, phasing and timing, and organization and operational patterns.[4] The counterinsurgent can use these dynamics to assess insurgent strategy and predict insurgent courses of action. An assessment must be done for every distinct region, since an insurgency might use a different strategy and different phasing in different areas. This step (step 3 in COIN IPB, "Analyze the Threat") considers, in detail, how the insurgency and the population relate to the environment.

Enemy COIN COG Analysis

In COIN, the center of gravity is generally an aspect of the population (shared ethnicity, religion, or grievance discovered in COIN IPB steps 1 and 2) that the enemy exploits (step 3) to garner active or passive popular support. Enemy COIN COG analysis, otherwise known as Insurgency Course-of-Action (COA) Analysis (step 4), simply brings together the first three steps of IPB; it puts existing data into a context planners can use to visualize the complexities of the environment, and it integrates how the enemy uses the root causes of conflict to gain the support of, or control over, the people. The analysis is predicated on understanding the links between the insurgent and the population. The root causes of conflict offer the opening for insurgent interaction with the population. The people, in turn, facilitate insurgent actions and sustain the insurgency's existence because they believe that the insurgents can best meet their needs, or inversely, that the government cannot—whether the needs are material, physical, cultural, spiritual, or ideological.

Enemy COIN COG analysis enables a unit to think and act unconventionally, to discern the enemy's strategy and operational goals, and to deduce how the enemy plans to achieve his objectives through tactical actions. The enemy COIN COG analysis construct differs from the one used in conventional COG analysis. Instead of *critical capability, critical requirement*, and *critical vulnerability*, it considers *COG, COG enabler, principal facilitator, counter facilitator,* and *friendly force COA*. (See figure 2 for an example of how an enemy COIN COG analysis might proceed.) This construct is applied to each insurgent LOO.

As aforementioned, the enemy COIN COG is that aspect of the population that the enemy exploits to achieve his operational goals. Insurgents exploit that specific group's root causes to gain passive or active support. A *COG enabler* is an official or unofficial leader or specific information operations message or narrative that facilitates the insurgent's ability to exploit the COIN COG. *Principal facilitator* refers to an insurgent action designed to manipulate the COG enabler(s). Designed to play upon the root cause, the principal facilitator takes advantage of a vulnerability of the COG enabler. It is also the specific delivery method of the enemy's IO messages. *Counter facilitator* describes a counterinsurgent action designed to counter the principal

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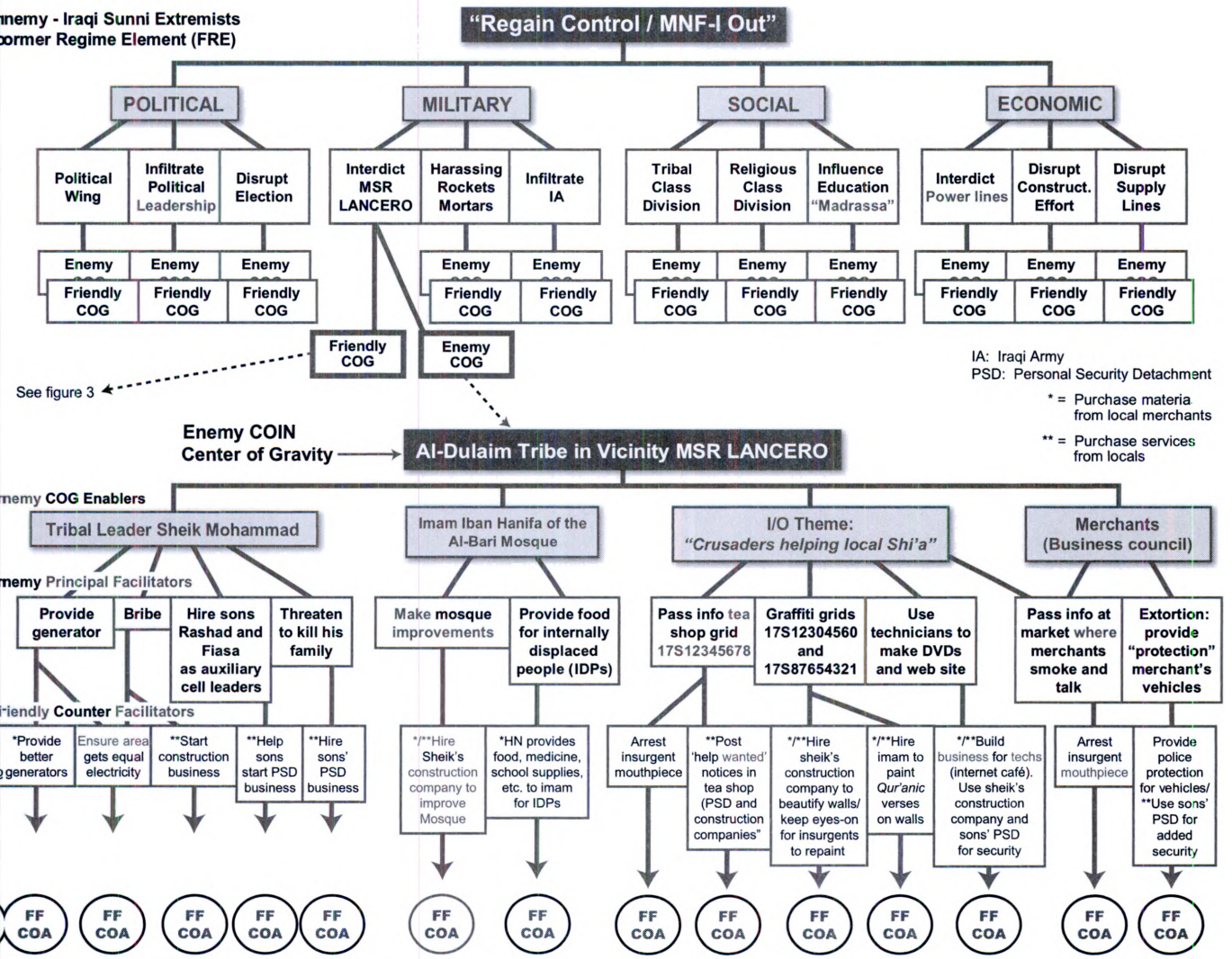


Figure 2. Enemy COIN COG Analysis: Culmination of steps 1 through 3 of COIN IPB.

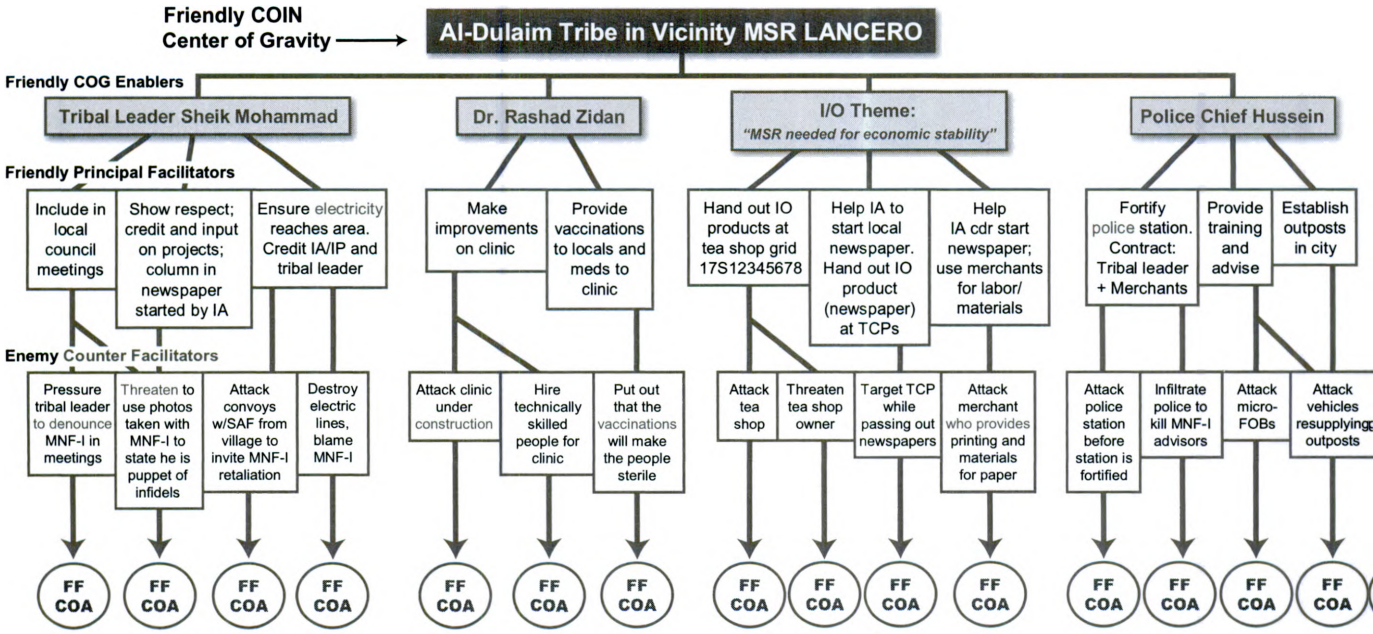
facilitator. Defining effective counter facilitators is a part of the ongoing analysis and not a COA; it addresses *what to do* about the insurgent's attempt to coerce a COG enabler, not *how to preempt* the insurgent. And finally, the counterinsurgent arrives at his *friendly force COA*. Each counter facilitator should elicit several possible COAs. Ideally, the different COAs will help build cooperation and interoperability between the counterinsurgents and the demographic cluster.

Enemy COIN COG analysis examines how to separate the insurgents physically and psychologically from the population. It proceeds like a wargaming sequence, with consideration and assessment of actions, reactions, and counter-actions. The process helps planners grasp the complexities of the environment, effects, and threat, and it prompts consideration of specific counter actions to take for each threat action or reaction. It enables the counterinsurgent to develop more than just COAs that counter current insurgent operations; its emphasis on the root causes of conflict allows the counterinsurgent to get ahead of the insurgent by conducting operations that build relationships with the local community across the logical lines of operation. Instead of focusing only on the IED or the network that emplaced it, enemy COIN COG analysis also considers the environment that enabled the network to arise and flourish in the first place.

Friendly Forces COIN COG Analysis

In COIN warfare, COG analysis doesn't stop with the enemy; it also has a friendly forces component.

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TCP: Traffic Control Point, SAF: Small Arms Fire, MNF-I: Multi-National Forces-Iraq

Figure 3. Friendly COIN COG analysis.

Whereas the former aims at denying the insurgent popular support, the latter helps identify the best COAs to draw the support of the population to the counterinsurgent, and thus the host-nation government. Using enemy operational goals and root causes to forecast how the enemy will react, it helps planners develop friendly initiatives. In friendly forces COIN COG analysis, planners must conduct COIN-specific war games based on the population and insurgency—conventional war gaming cannot predict insurgent actions. Figure 3 describes how a friendly forces COIN COG analysis might proceed.

Linking Bottom to Top

The understanding of the environment gained through COIN IPB benefits counterinsurgent operations on a number of levels. COIN COG analysis, once again as step 4 of COIN IPB, links bottom-up intelligence to enemy strategy to help commanders design operational concepts to counter enemy actions, mitigate the population's vulnerabilities, and make the people choose to support the host-nation government. Decentralized execution of COIN operations still requires that higher level commanders and staff coordinate efforts, cover seams and fill in gaps, and pass forecasts and assessments among operating areas. The analysis can help to accomplish these tasks as well.

Conclusion

As step 4 of IPB in a COIN environment, COG analysis is used to integrate our approach to operations. Undertaken from the perspective of the population and focused on the nature of the insurgency, it methodically builds detail at the lower levels and helps planners formulate CCIR that are truly crucial to achieving strategic goals. COIN COG analysis guides our identification of enemy initiatives and operations specific to an area. It—

- Highlights topics for discussion with community leaders, which in turn can produce information concerning the uniqueness and diversity of the population.
- Helps identify unofficial community leaders and their capabilities rather than simply identifying structures and features.
- Uncovers who the enemy's recruiters/mouthpieces are, where they operate, and how they interact with the population.
- Helps planners form tactical courses of action that can draw the enemy out and make him more visible.
- Identifies economic, social, and political reform projects for each community and provides insight about which local leaders to talk to and what we should talk to them about in order to further government initiatives.

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- Underlines the links between insurgents, criminal organizations, and local support.
- Promotes interoperability between U.S./coalition military/political efforts and host-nation government elements, as this cooperation is necessary for the method to work.

COIN COG analysis stands in contrast to the "carrot and stick" approach, which focuses on short-term solutions to long-term issues and actually provides incentives for future violence.[5] COIN COG analysis maximizes resources, synergizes the staff, and improves interoperability. It provides specific messages tailored to the people's unique concerns through ways they normally communicate. Examining the COIN problem through the population and enemy perspectives, it enables the counterinsurgent to tailor resources to each specific area, and in a balanced and measured fashion.

Critically, by conducting COIN COG analysis within COIN IPB, we use the enemy's LOOs to shape our campaign to control the population and gain its support. To get in front of the enemy's decision cycle, we must understand how he plans on pursuing his operational goals. If we only think tactically (e.g., counterguerrilla operations), we will be forced into a reactive way of doing business (e.g., passing tactics, techniques, and procedures back and forth; doing pattern analysis; pursuing insurgents in their base areas). Looking across the spectrum of the enemy's operational goals and understanding his relationship to the people and his attempts to exploit them enables commanders to build proactive short-, medium-, and long-term counterinsurgency plans. This of course includes counterguerrilla operations, but only as part of the process and in the proper context.

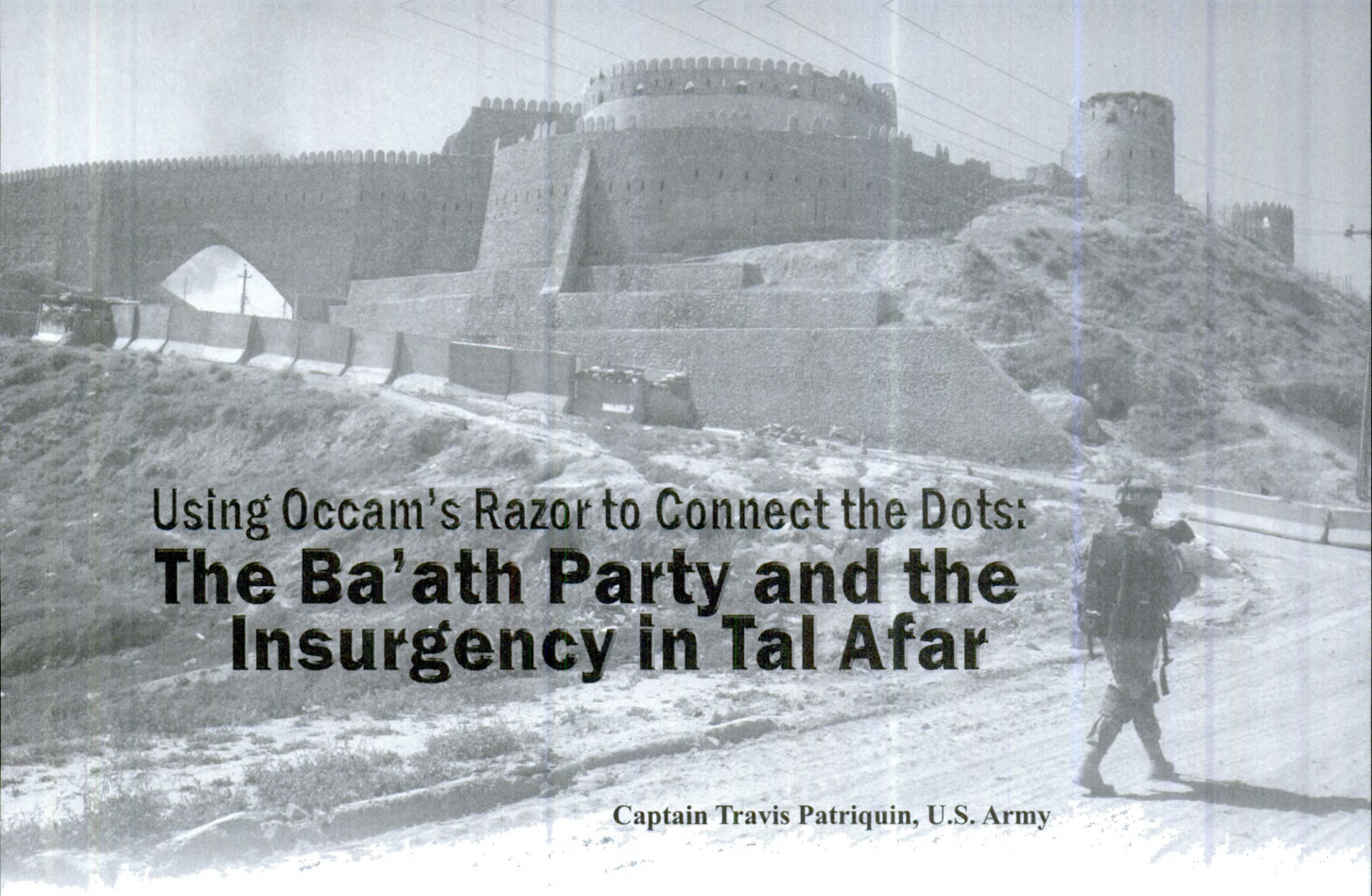
COIN COG analysis is the comprehensive approach military forces and other government agencies need to take to operate effectively in an extremely challenging environment that typically takes years to understand. It "squares the circle" and facilitates the transition from descriptive COIN doctrine to prescriptive guidance. Currently, COIN COG analysis is taught to brigade combat teams on the road to deployment, is part of the curriculum at the COIN Center for Excellence in Iraq, and is among regular lecture topics at the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College. It has also been shared with training centers, allied militaries, and curriculum developers for various professional military education programs. COIN COG analysis may not be a silver bullet, but it is a useful tool, one developed in the field to help overcome the challenges of the unconventional environment we find ourselves operating in today. ***MR***

NOTES

1. Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, trans. and eds. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 595-96.
2. Field Manual (FM) 90-8, *Counterguerrilla Operations* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office [GPO] August 1986), Section II, 1-4.
3. The COIN campaigner should also take care not to pigeon-hole the insurgent group according to some historical precedent it seems to be following. Insurgents might begin with or borrow from one or more specific doctrinal models or theories (e.g., those of Mao Tse-Tung, Che Guevara, Abd el-Krim, Carlos Marighella, Frantz Fanon), but in time they will evolve into whole new manifestations of insurgency.
4. FM 3-07, *Stability and Support Operations* (Washington, DC: GPO, February 2003), A-2.
5. The carrot and stick approach, whereby a commander offers an insurgent or community leader an incentive (say, a well for his village) in exchange for neutrality or support (e.g., not allowing insurgents to fire mortars from his village into a coalition operating base) can actually invite violence: the leader might figure that once he gets his well, another outbreak of insurgent mortar fire might yield an irrigation project, more kilowatts, or a new school. Coalition unit rotations that neglect good battle handover are particular targets for such stratagems.

For additional information about COIN IPB and COG analysis, or to request software, class plans, and graphics for use in COIN IPB (including COIN COG analysis), visit the USA/USMC COIN Center website at https://coin.army.mil (This is a secure site.) Those using the process and wanting feedback on their analysis can contact Major Mark Ulrich (mark.ulrich@conus.army.mil) for a SIPR address. Those without secure access who desire further information, other tools, perspectives, briefings, workshops, and training programs can contact the USA/USMC COIN Center at 913-758-3157 or via email (mark.ulrich@conus.army.mil).

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Using Occam's Razor to Connect the Dots: The Ba'ath Party and the Insurgency in Tal Afar

Captain Travis Patriquin, U.S. Army

Occam's Razor is a rule in science and philosophy stating that entities should not be multiplied needlessly. It is interpreted to mean that the simplest of two or more competing theories is preferable, and that an explanation for unknown phenomena should first be attempted in terms of what is already known. In other words—the simplest explanation is most likely the best.

IN AN ERA that appreciates the power of statistical probabilities, Occam's Razor is especially useful when access to all the facts necessary to arrive at absolute certainty is difficult, if not impossible, to obtain. The problem at hand to which we might apply the principle involves discerning the most significant factors from among the many complex elements fueling the insurgency in Tal Afar, Iraq, and elsewhere in the country. The rational conclusions derived may seem glaringly obvious to some, but a sudden epiphany or even a total surprise to others.

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PHOTO: A Soldier from TF 2-37 AR approaches the 14th-century Ottoman Castle in old Tal Afar. (DOD)

The Turkoman of Tal Afar

A good way to begin to apply Occam's Razor to the situation in Tal Afar is to examine the city's history and demographic distribution from the perspective of city planning. Such an examination exposes compelling clues about the underlying nature of the insurgency there and points to the most likely leaders of the opposition to the coalition and the Iraqi government.

Ethnic background. We start by observing that the population of Tal Afar has historically been virtually 100 percent ethnic Turkoman—not Arab.[1] The Turkoman people first arrived in Iraq through successive waves of migration accompanying invading Turkic armies. They established themselves in permanent communities that became insular, xenophobic enclaves. A

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general suspicion of outsiders continues today: a city of at least 250,000 people, Tal Afar has never had a hotel and has no current plans to build one. Turkoman distrust of "uninvited guests" is indicative of a closely knit culture that neither desires nor welcomes outside interference.

In contrast to the more restive and predominantly Arab groups elsewhere in Iraq, Tal Afar's Turkoman population had, until relatively recently, a long history of comparatively peaceful relations despite sectarian divisions. This was mainly because they saw themselves as kinsmen within an ethnic group defined primarily by origin and language, not by affiliation with any religious sect. As a result, for over 1,300 years, millions of Turkoman Sunnis, Shi'ites, and Assyrian-Christians lived side by side in relative peace, frequently marrying across sectarian lines and, as a group, remaining relatively united politically against those perceived as outsiders. Occam's Razor therefore allows us to eliminate ethnic or religious friction as the principal cause of the ongoing conflict in Tal Afar. It leads us to conclude that the insurgency must have somehow been triggered by other—outside—motives or actions.

The Turkoman and outside influence. The mistake that most would-be occupiers have made in dealing with the Turkoman was to marginalize them on one hand while on the other leaving them enough autonomy to avoid assimilation. As a result, a resilient sense of Turkoman ethnic identity not only emerged, but intensified over time.

Starting with the British Mandate of 1921, colonial administrators went about carving up Middle Eastern lands to accord with schemes involving great-power spheres of influence. They created a host of arbitrarily drawn nation-states, mainly to keep emerging Middle Eastern entities docile and dependent on their former colonial masters. Turkoman enclaves, however, were clearly viewed as incidental to great-power politics, and so the British showed little regret when expediency dictated ceding control of Turkomani regions to the Ottoman Empire. In a similar vein after World War I, the British, having gained nominal rule over territory in which Turkoman enclaves survived, did little to help the Turkoman satisfy their independent ethnic aspirations.

One consequence of this policy was that Iraq's Turkoman population frequently and ferociously fought the British to expel them from what they regarded as a hereditary Turkoman homeland. They fought as a generally unified ethnic front, heedless of sectarian religious differences.

Ba'athist Co-optation

Following the departure of the British, the Turkoman enjoyed a brief period of relative regional autonomy that lasted until the rise of the Ba'athist Party under Saddam Hussein. In contrast to the former colonial powers, Saddam's regime took severe measures to extinguish minority identity in Iraq. In their attempts to stamp out non-Arab differences in the name of a unified Iraq, the Ba'athists sought to absorb the Turkoman into Iraqi society.

As coalition partners now know well, Saddam's Ba'ath Party, for better or worse, became the unifying sociopolitical force that held Iraq together. Ba'athism was an unswervingly secular movement. Ruling with an iron grip for several decades until Saddam's overthrow in 2003, the Ba'athists brutally oppressed sectarian religious parties to prevent them from blocking the creation of a single Iraqi national identity. The Ba'athists maintained overall control of the population through a combination of policies that promoted fierce loyalty among party members while instilling terror in all who opposed them. Ba'athists manifested their loyalty to the party by performing without question ruthless and horrific acts aimed at keeping the party in power.

The fanatic loyalty of Ba'athist members was coupled with an incredibly diverse and efficient internal intelligence network that spied on every sector of Iraqi society. Together they created a society in which state-sanctioned acts of murder and intimidation aimed at eliminating internal political opposition became commonplace. The end result was a Ba'ath Party habituated to using domestic terror as a "legitimate" tool of governance, and a traumatized Iraqi public with deep and lasting psychological scars that remain as barriers to trust and faith in any central government today.

So deeply seated was the general public's fear of the party and its reprisals that there is no serious challenge to the proposition that, had the coalition not intervened in Iraqi affairs, the Ba'athists would still be firmly in charge today. In fact, many Iraqis believe the party would rapidly and mercilessly emerge to resume power if the coalition were to leave Iraq tomorrow.

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Although the Ba'athists were widely loathed and feared, they were also envied in many quarters, mostly because of the power and privileges they enjoyed. Thus, one effective way to reduce the influence of ethnic minority identity was to recruit members of ethnic minority groups into the party via service in the Iraqi Army, and then co-opt those with the most promise by offering them economic opportunities, special status and privileges, and the ability to participate in administering coercive power. Under this policy, many soldiers recruited from the Turkoman population became ardent Ba'athists and supporters of Saddam's government.

The policy helped develop a loyal cadre of grassroots party members of diverse ethnic origin. These adherents were used to neutralize political and ethnic enclaves like the Turkoman. To hedge his bet, Saddam did not go so far as to promote minority Iraqi soldiers to high responsibility on the basis of merit—promotion to high rank in the military was reserved for those who were most politically reliable and had specific reasons for showing extreme loyalty to Saddam personally, such as being a close family or clan member. Nevertheless, despite these discriminatory practices, the Turkoman proved that they were very good soldiers and loyal to the regime. They often ended up in highly sensitive units, frequently serving as technical specialists for handling special weapons or for collecting internal intelligence.

To help motivate soldiers like the Turkoman and to ensure their loyalty, Saddam put in place an extended system of perks and privileges for those who had served the government faithfully. One of these perks was the right to live in specially built, Ba'athist-only communities equipped with amenities and privileges (e.g., priority for power and water service) not accessible to common Iraqis. That such privileges might arouse the ire of other Iraqis was unimportant to Saddam; in fact, the internal animosity and jealousy created may have been viewed as a positive benefit, since any chance to sow division among potentially rebellious ethnic groups would have been viewed as desirable.

In what amounted to resettlement schemes, many loyal Turkoman Ba'athist soldiers were rewarded upon retirement with land grants or given the right to purchase land cheaply, so that they might establish such communities. These settlements were strategically located among populations of suspect loyalty. Tal Afar was the site of one such Turkoman resettlement.

Ethnic Strife via City Planning

In applying Occam's Razor to the situation in Tal Afar, it is important to understand that Ba'athist policies divided the city, effectively pitting the north against the south. Tal Afar had been a significant urban center since the early Ottoman Empire. The pattern of construction and physical layout of the southern and eastern areas of town continues to reflect the priorities of a medieval city's political and community concerns. The city center is a communal gathering place with wells (harkening back to a time before running water was piped to individual houses), a marketplace, and houses of worship. The streets through this area are narrow and difficult to negotiate with modern vehicles. They are easily congested. Freedom of movement is also limited because the streets were originally laid out not to aid movement, but to channel potential enemies into vulnerable locations. Today, not only the physical layout in south and east Tal Afar, but also the demographic tendencies engendered by current city planning, reflect medieval patterns of family associations, tribal law, and social traditions.

By contrast, the northern part of the city is characterized by more or less modern city planning and a cosmopolitan sense of secularism reflected widely in the attitudes and habits of its relatively new settlers—the loyalist NCO retirees of Saddam's army. The vast majority of these men were Turkoman, and after the end of the ill-fated invasion of Kuwait, they represented more than half of the military-age males in north Tal Afar—approximately 20,000 men.

The location of the new Ba'ath Turkoman community in the north was not selected arbitrarily; it was purposely situated to increase Ba'athist presence, influence, and control in key areas where loyalty to the central government was suspect. It was no accident that a community of Ba'athists of proven loyalty, consisting mainly of highly skilled military technicians who could be readily mobilized, was built on key terrain overlooking the vital Mosul-Sinjar Highway.

The Ba'athist neighborhoods of Hai al Sa'ad, Qadisiyah, and Hai al Bouri have central plumbing, square blocks, and wide streets built to accommodate motor vehicles. Unlike neighborhoods in south

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DOD

Wide streets, good wiring, and plumbing mark Tal Afar's northern "retirement communities." U.S. Army Soldiers from the 1st Brigade, 1st Armored Division, on a combat patrol in Tal Afar, Iraq, on 9 April 2006.



DOD

The southern, predominantly Shi'a section of town remains crowded and unimproved. 1st Armored Division Soldier SPC Anthony Bouley conducts a combat patrol in Tal Afar, Iraq, on 13 February 2005.

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Tal Afar, they are ethnically diverse, with a mix of religious persuasions and secularist viewpoints. Thus, for reasons both ancient and modern, the more contemporary and secularist population of north Tal Afar is at odds on many different levels with the population of south Tal Afar, which remains dominated by traditional tribal and religious relationships rooted in older traditions. Clearly, Saddam's policies effectively split Tal Afar both physically and spiritually, giving him the ability, if he needed it, to convert the north's residents into networks of Ba'athist agents for the purpose of armed insurgency and terrorism.

Instigating Sectarian Strife

In apparent accord with other state policies aimed at broadening and deepening ethnic and religious divisions, Sunni imams began arriving in Tal Afar in 1988, not long after the Ba'athist Party had established its retirement community in the north.[2] These imams began to have considerable success in spreading extreme Wahhabi and Takfiri versions of Islamic beliefs, both of which are intolerant of the values and beliefs not only of Westerners, but of Shi'a Islam as well.

Owing to the tight control that Saddam exercised over every aspect of Iraqi life, such potentially divisive activity had to have been sanctioned in some way by the government itself. The social and political fractures engendered by Wahhabi zealots dovetailed so well with Saddam's overall divide-and-conquer tactics that coincidence seems out of the question. The imams' actions would have been especially attractive to Saddam since they served to stoke suspicion primarily against the Shi'a, a group the dictator personally loathed and had long considered to be a potential fourth column for Iran.

In the face of such a dramatic reversal of the former conditions of religious balance and tolerance among the Turkoman in Tal Afar, most Shi'a continued to attend their own mosques. Meanwhile, the majority of the Sunni population in the city's northern neighborhoods responded to the fiery message of the Wahhabi zealots and began to act with animosity toward the Shi'a. Not surprisingly, serious sectarian tensions and divisions emerged where none had existed before. Today, the legacy of tensions between Tal Afar's Shi'a and Sunni communities continues to exacerbate the political and social discord that prevails in the city.

The Insurgents Unmasked

Looking back at the conscious creation of north Tal Afar and other areas in Iraq as bastions of Ba'athist/Sunni loyalty, it is somewhat surprising that in the aftermath of Saddam's overthrow in 2003, various coalition leaders expressed astonishment, confusion, and even denial over how quickly a fairly well organized insurgency emerged. Some coalition figures still refuse to acknowledge the obvious, and assert instead that the insurgency is in the main a terrorist conspiracy fueled by foreigners working for Osama bin Laden. The major problem with this assertion is that very few of the insurgents captured or killed have been foreigners. Outsiders are certainly playing a role, especially as suicide bombers, but hardly in the numbers one would expect if they were to be regarded as the driving force of the insurgency.

Other coalition leaders claim that the insurgency is mainly the result of support from Iran through a network of Shi'a contacts. This theory, too, is flawed. Although Iraqi Shi'a militias are only too glad to accept help from anyone offering it, for the most part the Iraqi Shi'a have little love either for Iran or the Iranians' fundamentalist brand of Shi'ism. Even more problematic is that the Shi'a appear to be the insurgents' main target. The vast

> Three days after he arrived in Iraq, Bremer dispatched an aide to Jay Garner's office with a copy of the de-Baathification policy....
>
> Garner read it. *Holy Christ*, he thought to himself. *We can't do this.*
>
> He contacted the CIA station chief and asked him to meet him in front of Bremer's office right away. As Garner walked down the hall to the viceroy's suite, he ran into one of the State Department ambassadors and explained what was happening.
>
> "We've got to put a stop to this one," Garner said. "It's too hard, too harsh."
>
> Garner and the station chief barged into Bremer's office.
>
> "Jerry, this is too harsh," Garner said. "Let's get Rumsfeld on the phone and see if we can't soften it."
>
> "Absolutely not," Bremer said. "I'm going to issue this today."
>
> Garner asked the station chief what would happen if the order were issued.
>
> "You're going to drive fifty thousand Baathists underground before nightfall," he said. "Don't do this."[3]
>
> —Rajiv Chandrassekaran, *Imperial Life in the Emerald City*

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majority of civilian casualties since 2003 have been Shi'a. This would seem to eliminate them from being the principal force behind the insurgency.

Why the identity and motivation of the insurgents should be regarded as such a mystery by some, given what we know about the history of Tal Afar under Saddam, is itself a kind of mystery. Nevertheless, many in the coalition still wonder aloud who the insurgents are, how they are able to coordinate their campaign, and how many of them there are, especially since the insurgency has proven to be virtually impenetrable to coalition infiltration efforts. Although it may be convenient to blame the rise in violence following the collapse of Saddam's regime solely on foreign fighters or on meddling by Iran, to do so is to overlook the simplest, most logical explanation, at least as far as Tal Afar is concerned—that the insurgency is being conducted through a deeply entrenched network of Ba'athists who are still connected via positions of authority and privilege held long before the coalition invaded. This network would logically include a large number of Ba'athists who show an outwardly benign, even cooperative face to the occupying forces, enabling them to move about openly in public. Thus, questions about the insurgents' identity and manpower can be answered simply by counting the number of Ba'athists who used to have power in each region prior to Saddam's overthrow, then subtracting the number of former Ba'athists who have proven themselves to be pro-government. This should give anyone a good estimate of the size of the insurgent force, including its supporters.

Unfortunately, this easiest explanation leads to a politically ominous conclusion: the insurgency numbers not in the thousands or tens of thousands, but in the hundreds of thousands, even though only a relatively small number might actually be engaged in fighting at any one time. Applying this logic in Tal Afar, we are probably looking at over 20,000 former Ba'athists involved in supporting the insurgency in some way, shape, or form.

Writer Scott Taylor provides support for this conclusion in a first-hand account of his captivity during Operation Black Typhoon. Taylor describes the resistance in Tal Afar as "purely Turkoman" and notes that his first encounter with a foreign fighter was when Ansar al Islam handed him over to an Arab terrorist in Mosul.[4] Colonel H.R. McMaster, commander of the 3d Armored Cavalry Regiment (ACR) in Tal Afar during Operation Restoring Rights, seems to second Taylor's observation. According to McMaster, the vast majority of fighters captured during Restoring Rights were Iraqis, not foreigners.[5] It is also hardly coincidental that such foreign fighters as there are enter Iraq mainly from the last Ba'athist country in the world, Syria, which had many unofficial and familial ties to Iraq's Ba'ath regime prior to Saddam's ouster, and to where many of Saddam's supporters have fled.[6] Furthermore, a host of influential Tal Afaris who had close ties to the deposed regime still travel relatively freely between the city and Syria to those very areas that continue to supply foreign fighters and suicide bombers.

Thus, although there is no doubt that foreign fighters have provided many of the foot soldiers (and a lot of the cannon fodder) for the insurgency, a reasonable person who looks at things broadly and from the perspective of prior history will arrive at a simple conclusion: a network of Ba'athists established long before the 2003 overthrow of the regime is clearly active, and it enjoys widespread popular support in key areas of Tal Afar.

Strong secondary evidence supports this contention. When foreign fighters turn up in the insurgency,



DOD

A U.S. Army M1 Abrams tank from the 1st Armored Division conducts a combat patrol in Tal Afar, Iraq, on 27 February 2005.

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they often appear as suicide bombers. Several U.S. commanders have likened these bombers to "human cruise missiles."[7] Actually, they are more like laser-guided bombs, directed to their targets by someone on the ground who has done reconnaissance, figured out where the bomber might have maximum effect, and then taken pains to smuggle the bomber into Iraq, arm him, and direct him to the attack site. Without that ground support, each individual suicide bomber would have a difficult time becoming a significant threat. Which, then, should we regard as the more important component of such a threat, the foreign suicide bomber, or the insurgent network that devises the campaign for employing him and facilitates his attack? Peeling problems back to their essentials, Occam's Razor suggests that it is the local Iraqi insurgent—the plan synchronizer, bomb maker, attack coordinator, and propagandist—who is the actual center of gravity in the suicide bomber scenario. In Tal Afar, the principal threat is the former Ba'athist Turkoman put in place by Saddam long before the current war began.

In summary, a long history of ethnic resistance and cross-border smuggling, combined with Ba'athist resettlement policies and measures of control prior to 2003, provided the social dynamics, cadre, and physical infrastructure conducive to organizing resistance to the occupation. In the chaos following the regime's fall, Saddam's agents could easily have exploited the status quo in Tal Afar to establish and fund covert networks of loyal intelligence operators who would then organize resistance fighter cells. Organizational efforts would no doubt have included gathering weapons caches, establishing networked contacts to aid insurgent movement and activity, giving instructions and assistance to foreign volunteers, funding public relations efforts to sow discontent, and training others in the art of insurgency.

The above hypothesis jibes with the chronology of the insurgency in Tal Afar as related to me personally by a 30-year-old Sunni male resident of the city. This man stated that in late 2003 and early 2004, the first foreign fighters started to arrive in Tal Afar from across the nearby border with Syria and from other areas in Iraq, which they had had to flee. Welcomed and housed primarily in the Sunni neighborhoods, these fighters described themselves as *mujahadeen* and bragged in the local mosques and streets that they had come to fight the "invaders." They could not have arrived en masse uninvited and unassisted.

My contact also stated that the town leaders were primarily responsible for giving the foreigners the go-ahead to commence operations. Among those operations were activities aimed at intimidating Shi'ite families into fleeing from specific areas in northern parts of the city. The foreign fighters would then occupy many of the former households to gain control of key routes and ground, which they would exploit in future actions. At the same time, the insurgency initiated targeted assassinations and other terror attacks. One of the first citizens of Tal Afar killed in a terrorist attack was a Sunni contractor working with the United States who was murdered because he was getting "too rich." Another early casualty was Sheik Dakhil, of the Marhat clan. Significantly, his position was quickly filled by one Mullah Marhat, an individual of murky and suspect background.

Marhat entered the scene under a cloud of suspicion. As a rule, coalition forces routinely investigate the background of individuals stepping forward to assume public office. They interview would-be leaders and do background checks, especially with regard to previous military service in Saddam's army. Experience shows that most Iraqis are glad, even proud, to describe what they did in the army. Marhat, however, was very reluctant to discuss his background or his military service. Moreover, despite a three-year search, coalition forces found no official record of his former activities. He was later arrested on accusations of being a Ba'athist operative. Interestingly, immediately following his arrest, Tal Afar experienced a sudden and precipitous decline in violent insurgent activity.

The Marhat case ended successfully for the coalition, but it demonstrates a technique on the rise among the predominantly Ba'athist insurgency: the murder of certain prominent Sunni leaders clears the way for former Ba'athists to assume key leadership positions in Tal Afar's government, business sector, and tribes.

Coalition Mistakes with Iraqi Leaders

The coalition's experience with Mullah Marhat highlights a potential vulnerability in its approach to situations like those found in Tal Afar. This key vulnerability stems from a typically American overeagerness

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Military officers meet with city officials in Tal Afar.

to make friends in the local community and to quickly establish a cooperative working relationship with locals. U.S. units initially engaged with anyone calling himself a sheik. Unfortunately, it now appears that they were frequently duped by persons who took advantage of U.S. ignorance of the Turkoman community generally, and of Tal Afar specifically, to successfully pass themselves off as sheiks.

Our naive and clumsy approach to community relations was particularly apparent in our initial dealings with the Marhat and Jolaq tribes, formerly relatively minor entities within the hierarchy of regional tribal-clan affiliations in and around Tal Afar. Ill-conceived coalition engagement with the sheiks of these groups, such as buying weapons from them or delivering food to them, proved to be a strategic error. Arbitrary as they were and undertaken without considering the impact such intercourse might have on the entire local situation, these acts were interpreted as favoritism aimed at undermining the prestige and authority of other, traditionally dominant, tribal groups. As a result, we angered and alienated groups that could have acted as key agents in working with the coalition to stop insurgent elements and establish stability in the community.

We also empowered many supposed sheiks who were more interested in personal gain than in aiding their fellow Iraqis. The paucity of real progress in tamping down the insurgency and rebuilding parts of Tal Afar revealed that these unscrupulous men had no influence to guarantee compliance with the law and no ability to provide accurate information on insurgents in our area of responsibility. For example, we engaged with one Sheik Mullah because we had heard through the indigenous grapevine about his great concern for his people's safety and the economy. When we examined his activities closely, however, we discovered that he was primarily involved in reconstruction contracts for personal gain and empowerment.

Such activity is especially pernicious since resources diverted from helping the Iraqi people build their economy frequently find their way not only into the pockets of greedy men, but into the hands of insurgents themselves. It is well known that insurgents attempt to obtain money from coalition forces for supposedly legitimate ends and then use the money to fund their activities.

To uncover and counter such practices, Occam's Razor should be ruthlessly employed by enforcing an audit trail of the money paid to current sheiks. Failure to account for significant sums of money, or to produce the quality or quantity of products called for in a contract, are strong indicators that funds are being skimmed or pocketed for later use by insurgents. Another simple analytical tool might be to correlate the visits a sheik makes to Syria with the incidents of terrorist attacks upon his return to Tal Afar.

Unfortunately, hasty engagement with the lesser or even spurious sheiks continued for some time and contributed to increasing dissension and insurgent activity in the Turkoman community. Eventually, Shi'ite leaders felt compelled to call upon the Ministry of the Interior to send forces from Baghdad. In an effort to maintain their power, the Sunnis in turn called for foreign fighters, and this precipitated a surge of violence.

The upshot was a conflict between Turkoman Shi'ites who rallied around the Jolaq sheiks and their American supporters, and Sunni (Ba'athist) insurgents who initiated a wave of attacks that successfully, albeit temporarily, gained control of the northern part of the city. Although the foreign fighters were chased out of Tal Afar during Operation Black Typhoon in 2004, they later returned unmolested when U.S. forces left the city proper.

The speed and ease of the insurgents' return speaks volumes about the quality and source of inside information they clearly were being provided by local

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supporters. Not surprisingly, the mayor and chief of police, both former Ba'athists, did nothing to stop the return of the insurgent fighters, who once again plunged the city into chaos. Thereafter, the stream of foreign combatants increased until the 3d ACR arrived in Tal Afar and began Operation Restoring Rights in August of 2005. However, even though the 3d ACR completely encircled the fighters, many of the latter simply disappeared from Tal Afar. This could not have happened without significant assistance from residents and the prior preparation of escape routes.[8] Clearly, the insurgents had a lot of indigenous support, much of it not apparent to outside observers.

In the final analysis, anyone applying Occam's Razor to the situation must conclude that the insurgents could not have moved in and out of the areas around Tal Afar without widespread assistance from persons well-versed in arms cache techniques, and without a functioning intelligence network manned by those with intimate knowledge of the area's geography. It is likely, too, that a large number of the insurgents were not foreigners at all, but members of the local population who could ditch their weapons and melt easily back into the general population.

The Razor and Cultural Awareness

During the 3d ACR's ensuing civil-military operations, many supposed sheiks and other figures came forward claiming to control key areas of the northern part of town. This was especially interesting—and suspect—because up until that time, most residents of northern Tal Afar had openly derided tribalism and its tradition of sheikdom, and no sheiks were known to have existed in the north.

However, investigation revealed that many residents of Tal Afar's northern neighborhoods had close ties to relatives living in the older, southern part of Tal Afar, where the city's traditional sheiks resided. These sheiks were usually modest men who willingly sheltered their relatives and friends fleeing the sectarian violence in the northern part of the city.

Originally, the identity of many of these sheiks was kept from coalition forces, but after evaluating the probable influence of the Ba'athist program of "Arabization" on Turkmenian cities, we concluded that tribes with Arabized names in north Tal Afar were, in fact, connected to tribes in the south with which the coalition had already developed a relationship. We discovered, for example, that "Hawday," a name prominent in the north, was an Arabized version of Jarjary, the name of a tribe in the south. The north Tal Afar Jarjarys had had to Arabize their name when they entered the army, to accord with Saddam's policy of forced assimilation. Thereafter, whenever we wanted information on members of the Hawday tribe, we went into south Tal Afar to the neighborhood of the Jarjarys. Understanding this imposed cultural anomaly assisted us in engaging sheiks and concerned citizens, who later helped us ferret out hostile Hawday tribal members.

Conclusions

Despite some officials' wishful thinking, a significant portion of Iraqis do not want democracy. For them, the conflict is driven mainly by Ba'athist loyalists who want some measure of power back without the limiting shackles of the democratic process. Any solution we formulate to the current insurgency must take this into account. We must acknowledge that the predominantly Sunni Ba'ath party is playing a major role in directing the insurgency, and then make our plans accordingly.

In Tal Afar, this is certainly true. Our enemy there consists mainly of Ba'ath party members who were trained as Saddam's soldiers and are prepared to wage war until they regain some measure of the status they lost. Ethnic and sectarian religious strife is certainly complicating the picture, but the insurgency is being fought primarily by former Ba'athists. After fading into the background, these men stimulated disaffection and division in Iraq for their own purposes. It is more out of expediency than religious conviction that they have adopted "Allah Hu Akbar" as their current battle cry instead of "Saddam, Saddam."

If the problem in Tal Afar is essentially the product of an increasingly well-organized network of residual Ba'athist members operating in cooperation with Iraqi Ba'athists currently living in Syria and elsewhere, the way ahead seems clear: formulate a solution that will satisfy their aspirations, perhaps by giving them a share of power, while also taking effective action to deconstruct their network.

Occam's Razor would suggest that engaging the insurgents and supporters in north Tal Afar through the real sheiks who control Sunni families in the south part of the city is the simplest and

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most feasible way to defeat the insurgency. Dealing realistically with these leaders will be more productive than our current practice of engaging a handful of sheiks whose names were passed on to us by previous units.

We must also embrace the concept of amnesty for those who are willing to come in out of the cold, even for those who have killed coalition members. Insurgents who have no prospect of a job or a place in the new Iraqi society will have no reason to stop fighting; in fact, they will have every reason to continue. We will also benefit by engaging radical imams in a similar manner, if for no other reason than to gather intelligence on them and their followers.

Finally, the single-minded objective of such engagement must be to secure the Shi'ite population's safety and the Sunni population's compliance with the law. Joint meetings with Sunni and Shi'ite sheiks might help the Turkoman reunite, and the sooner this happens, the sooner law and order will be restored. Tal Afar's unrest has been the result of insiders trying to build a power base, not random acts by terrorists. Bringing in a key leader from Baghdad to unite the town, agree on blood money, and settle tribal disputes (some of which we unwittingly took part in) should be our next step. Another key move should be to identify former Ba'athists and individuals with prior military experience.

A close look at former Ba'athists may uncover surprises as well. It is reasonable to assume that at least a few Kurds and Shi'a had a role in Saddam's secular army. Are Shi'a and Kurds operating against us in Tal Afar today? We won't know until we vet the population for former Ba'athists.

Tal Afar could become a shining example, a working Iraqi democracy in miniature. But we must first use Occam's Razor, tempered with cultural understanding of the Turkoman, to adjust our course. Only non-sectarian engagement in which the coalition does not take sides will lead to the intelligence and operational breakthroughs necessary to stabilize Tal Afar. A substantially larger, more loyal Iraqi security force now exists in Tal Afar, and the town has a powerful and popular mayor, but the future threat to the city should not be understated. We cannot, in good faith, turn Tal Afar over to the Iraqi Security Forces until the coalition has stabilized the security situation. ***MR***

NOTES

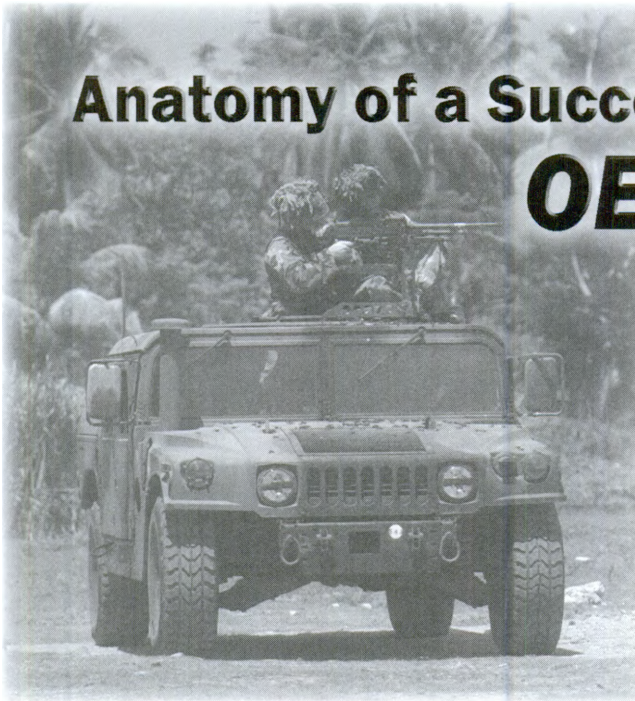
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2. Information obtained by personal interviews and debriefings conducted by the author in Tal Afar, 2006.
3. Rajiv Chandrassekaran, *Imperial Life in the Emerald City: Inside Iraq's Green Zone* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf and Random House, 2006), 70-71.
4. Scott Taylor, *Among the Others: Encounters with the Forgotten Turkmen of Iraq* (Ottawa, Canada: Esprit de Corps Books, 2004), 208-228.
5. *Frontline* interview with Colonel H.R. McMaster, online at <www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/insurgency/interviews/mcmaster.html>.
6. Thanassis Cambanis, "Iraq's Ba'athists Rebound on Two Fronts," *Boston Globe*, 15 May 2005, <www.boston.com/news/world/middleeast/articles/2005/05/15/in_iraq_outlawed_baathists_rebound/>.
7. Author's personal experience.
8. 3d ACR Operation Restoring Rights after action review, regimental archives, Fort Hood, Texas.



CPT Travis Patriquin

As is the custom of *Military Review*, articles accepted for publication undergo careful editing, and usually a number of rewrites, in close consultation with the author to satisfy mutual concerns and to ensure professional standards of grammar and usage are observed. Correspondence on such issues is usually done through e-mail together with phone coordination when possible. In the case of the above article, the staff of *Military Review* corresponded with the author, who was forward deployed in Iraq, over a period of several months. The process was more than usually challenging because the author was only able to work on the article periodically, in between professional responsibilities. The proposed final draft of the article was sent to him via e-mail several times during the second week of December, but without a final approving response. On 11 December, the staff of *Military Review* was saddened to learn through press accounts that the author, Army CPT Travis Patriquin, had been killed in action as a result of an Improvised Explosive Device attack in Tikrit. CPT Patriquin was reportedly a hard working, extremely pleasant individual who had a penchant for lifting the spirits of his colleagues by telling humorous stories and seeing the bright side of dark situations. He also seems to have had a rare gift for languages, having acquired not only Arabic, but Spanish, Portuguese, and two Central American Indian dialects. He is survived by a devoted wife and three young children. We presume he would have approved the final draft of his article, published here.

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Anatomy of a Successful COIN Operation: OEF-PHILIPPINES and The Indirect Approach

Colonel Gregory Wilson, U.S. Army

Freedom, by its nature, must be chosen and defended by its citizens.

—President George W. Bush

Colonel Gregory Wilson, U.S. Army, recently completed an Army War College Fellowship in irregular warfare and counterterrorism with the Defense Analysis Department at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California. He is currently serving as the operations director for Special Operations Command South in Homestead, Florida. COL Wilson holds a B.S. from the U.S. Military Academy and an M.S. from the Naval Postgraduate School, and is a graduate of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College. He has served in various command and staff positions in the continental United States, Europe, and the Southern Philippines.

PHOTO: Marines deployed to the Southern Philippines as part of JSOTF-P live fire during force protection training, 2004. (DOD)

THE TERRORIST ATTACKS of 9/11 have ushered in a new era of counterinsurgency to deal with Al-Qaeda-linked insurgent and terrorist organizations. The U.S. military's initial success in Afghanistan, as impressive as it was, forced the enemy to adapt. To survive, Al-Qaeda has transformed itself into a flatter, more cellular organization that seeks to outsource much of its work.[1] Thus, insurgency has become an Al-Qaeda priority in terms of rhetoric, recruitment, and spending.[2] The connection between terrorism and insurgency is now well established, and in fact there is tremendous overlap between the two.[3]

The U.S. military, though, is struggling to adapt to protracted, insurgent-type warfare. America's affinity for high-tech conventional conflict and quick, kinetic, unilateral solutions that avoid contact with the local populace has slowed its response to this complex form of conflict.[4] How, then, can the U.S. military tailor a more efficient, more effective approach to future military efforts against Al-Qaeda-linked groups around the globe? Specifically, how can the U.S. military implement a sustainable, low-visibility approach that is politically acceptable to our current and future partners, and that can help change the moderate Muslim community's perception of U.S. operations in the War on Terrorism (WOT)?

The history of insurgent conflict during the Philippines Insurrection (1899-1902), Malayan Emergency (1948-1960), and Hukbalahap Rebellion (1946-1954) shows that successful COIN operations are protracted efforts that rely heavily on indigenous security forces.[5] Therefore, the U.S. WOT strategy should emphasize working indirectly "through, by, and with" indigenous forces and building their capacity to conduct effective operations against common enemies.

The Unilateral Approach

As free societies gain ground around the world, the U.S. military is going to be increasingly restricted in terms of how it operates. An age of democracy means an

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Southern Philippines—Joint Operations Area

age of frustratingly narrow rules of engagement. That is because fledgling democratic governments, besieged by young and aggressive local media, will find it politically difficult—if not impossible—to allow American troops on their soil to engage in direct action.

—Robert Kaplan[6]

The current COIN campaigns in Afghanistan and Iraq have demonstrated that unilateral U.S. military operations can be ineffective and even counterproductive to the democratic institutions we are trying to establish. To reduce our footprint in Iraq, our top priority now is to stand up Iraqi security forces to take over the fight against insurgents. These forces must prevail if Iraq is to achieve and maintain long-term stability.

A large foreign military presence or occupation force in any country undermines the legitimacy of the host-nation government in the eyes of its citizens and the international community. As we now know, large U.S. occupation forces in Islamic regions can create problems for us. A senior British military officer who served in Iraq has remarked that the U.S. Army there has acted much like "fuel on a smoldering fire"; he suggests that this is "as much owing to their presence as their actions."[7] If he is right and our mere presence can be counterproductive, then a tailored, low-visibility approach that plays well in the moderate Muslim community and is politically acceptable to our potential WOT partners makes sound strategic sense.

Blowback

Osama bin Laden has made the presence of U.S. forces in the Middle East a rallying point for global jihad by a new generation of Muslim holy warriors.[8] Just as the war in Afghanistan against the Soviets created the leaders of today's global terrorist network, so Iraq has the potential to produce far more dangerous second- and third-order effects. Blowback from the current war in Iraq might be even more dangerous than the fallout from Afghanistan.

Fighters in Iraq are more battle-hardened than the Arabs who fought demoralized Soviet Army conscripts in Afghanistan. They are testing themselves against arguably the best army in history and acquiring skills far more useful for future terrorist operations than those their counterparts learned during the 1980s. Mastering how to make improvised explosive devices or conduct suicide operations is more relevant to urban terrorism than the conventional guerrilla tactics the *mujahideen* used against the Red Army. U.S. military commanders say that today's militants in Afghanistan have adopted techniques perfected in Iraq.[9]

The transfer of these deadly skills to Al-Qaeda-linked insurgencies presents a clear and present danger. The world has already seen bomb-making skills migrate with deadly results from the Indonesian-based Jemaah Islamiyya to the Abu Sayyaf Group in Manila and throughout the Southern Philippines.[10] Other countries with Al-Qaeda-linked insurgencies include Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Uzbekistan, Yemen, Morocco, Algeria, Egypt, and India.[11] Developing indigenous capacity to confront this emerging threat will become increasingly important to future WOT efforts.

The Southern Philippines

The Southern Philippines is typical of areas that are ripe for Al-Qaeda influence. It is located along ethnic, cultural, and religious fault-lines in a region that has been only loosely controlled or governed throughout its long history of occupation.[12] The area is home to a discontented Muslim population dominated by a predominately Catholic government based in Manila. Approximately 5 million Muslims live in 5 of the poorest provinces of the Philippines, in Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago. In these provinces, the majority of the population has an income well below the poverty line.

These regions are what Sean Anderson calls "grey areas"—"ungovernable areas in developing nations over which unstable, weak national governments have

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nominal control but which afford criminal syndicates or terrorists and insurgent groups excellent bases of operation from which they can conduct far reaching operations against other targeted nations."[13]

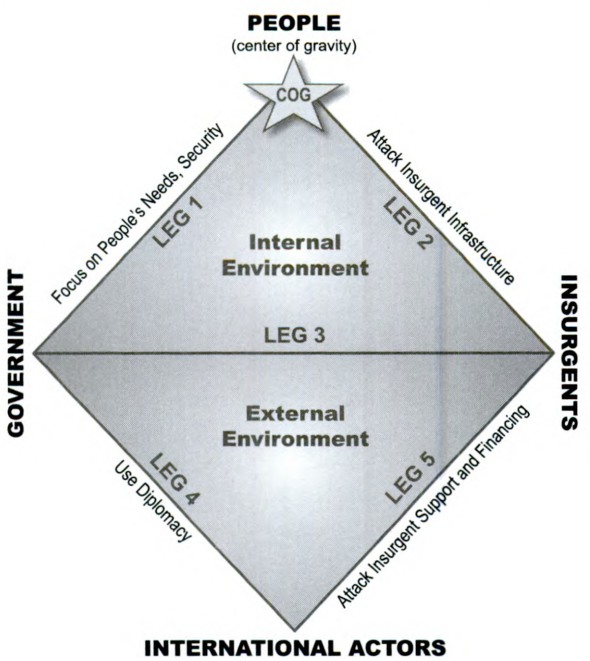
Philippine "grey areas" are notorious for civil unrest, lawlessness, terrorist activity, and Muslim separatist movements. They are home or safe haven for several Al-Qaeda-linked organizations, including the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), Abu Sayyaf, and the Indonesia-based Jemaah Islamiyya. The core leaders of many of these groups received their initial training in the camps of Afghanistan and their baptism of fire in the jihad against the Soviets in Afghanistan.[14] Al-Qaeda did not originate these movements, but it has used them as vehicles to expand its global reach and spread its extremist ideology.[15]

The United States became interested in the Southern Philippines shortly before 9/11, after Abu Sayyaf kidnapped several U.S. citizens and held them hostage on their island stronghold of Basilan.[16] After 9/11, the region became a front line in the WOT when Washington and Manila set their sights on the group's destruction. Operation Enduring Freedom-Philippines (OEF-P) officially began in early 2002 and is best known for Joint Task Force (JTF) 510's combined U.S.-Philippine operations on Basilan (Balikatan 02-1). Special Forces (SF) advisory efforts began in the Southern Philippines in 2002 and continue to this day.

The Diamond Model

The unconventional or indirect approach of working "by, with, and through" indigenous forces has remained consistent throughout OEF-P.[17] Led by Brigadier General Donald Wurster and Colonel David Fridovich, OEF-P planners created their guiding strategy using principles that can be found in Gordon McCormick's strategic COIN model, called the Diamond Model.[18] This model can help planners develop an effective holistic approach to cut off organizations like Abu Sayyaf and Jemaah Islamiyya from their bases of popular support and to isolate, capture, or kill their members and leaders. The Philippine Government and its armed forces now call the application of principles found in the Diamond Model the "Basilan Model," after its successful use against Abu Sayyaf on Basilan in 2002.

The Diamond Model establishes a comprehensive framework for interactions between the host-nation government, the insurgents, the local populace, and international actors or sponsors (figure 1). The host-nation government's goal is to destroy the insurgents or limit their growth and influence to a manageable level. Their opponent's goal is to grow large enough to destroy the state's



Principles of the Diamond Model

- Consider popular support the center of gravity
- Enhance government legitimacy and control
- Focus on people's needs and security
- Target insurgent safe havens, infrastructure, and support
- Share intelligence (esp. HUMINT)
- Develop indigenous security forces

Figure 1. McCormick's Diamond Model

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control mechanisms and then either replace the existing government or force political concessions from it that achieve the group's objectives. Jemaah Islamiyya's and Abu Sayyaf's objectives were to create Islamic caliphates or states in the Southern Philippines, Malaysia, and Indonesia.[19]

To develop an effective counter-strategy, the state must first understand its advantages and disadvantages relative to the insurgents. With its armed forces and police, the state has a force advantage over the insurgents. On the other hand, the insurgents have a marked information advantage. Being dispersed and embedded in the local population, they are difficult to detect and target; additionally, they have visibility of the state's security apparatus and infrastructure and can easily target them. As McCormick asserts, "The winner of this contest will be the side that can most quickly resolve its disadvantage."[20]

The state's goal, then, should be to rectify its information disadvantage so it can effectively locate the insurgents and capture or kill them. The insurgent group's goal is to grow in strength and effectiveness so it can threaten the state's security apparatus and infrastructure before the state can overcome its information disadvantage. Time is typically on the side of the insurgents because they can often achieve their goals simply by surviving and exhausting government efforts and the national political will.

The Diamond Model can help establish the optimal strategy the state should pursue to rectify its information disadvantage and win the COIN fight. Legs 1 through 5 of the model depict the actions the counterinsurgent should take. In the case of legs 1 through 3, these actions should be sequential.[21] The upper half of the model addresses the state's internal environment. Because it suffers from an information disadvantage, the state must first pursue leg 1 to strengthen its influence and control over the local populace. McCormick defines control as "the ability to see everything in one's area of operation that might pose a threat to security and the ability to influence what is seen."[22] This level of visibility requires an extensive human intelligence network; it cannot be achieved by technological means. What military strategist John Paul Vann pointed out about U.S. counterinsurgency efforts in Vietnam is true today: "We need intelligence from the local civilians and soldiers from the area who understand the language, customs, and the dynamics of the local situation, who can easily point out strangers in the area even though they speak the same language."[23]

Gaining popular support is a zero-sum game. One side's loss is the other's gain, and vice versa. Strengthening ties with the local populace by focusing on their needs and security also denies or degrades insurgent influence over the people and leads to information that exposes the insurgent infrastructure. This allows the state to attack leg 2 with operations that disrupt the insurgent's control mechanisms over the people. These moves often lead to actionable intelligence, which the state can use to target the insurgency's infrastructure. Actionable intelligence gained by patiently pursuing efforts along legs 1 and 2 enables the state to identify and strike the insurgents along leg 3.

Military forces conducting COIN operations typically ignore legs 1 and 2 of the model and attempt to directly target their opponents. As the Vietnam war showed, this usually entails large-scale search-and-destroy operations that the insurgents easily avoid and that often produce collateral damage that alienates the people.[24] The state can defeat most insurgencies by operating effectively along legs 1 through 3, in that order.[25] The overall strategy (internal to the state) identifies the local populace as the center of gravity in the COIN fight and winning popular support as the key to the state's ability to remedy its information disadvantage and win the conflict. The indirect approach of working through the local populace and indigenous security forces to target the insurgents thus becomes the most direct path to victory.

The lower half of the Diamond Model depicts the external environment. If an external sponsor is involved, the state attacks leg 5 by directly targeting the supplies and financing flowing from the outside to the insurgents. At the same time, the state implements diplomatic operations along leg 4 to gain support and resources for its COIN efforts from partner nations and other international actors. It simultaneously employs diplomatic pressure and punitive measures to influence the behavior of insurgent sponsors.

OEF-P Lines of Operation

One of the more critical elements of COIN planning is synchronizing the overall effort with the

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country team or embassy staff. The Diamond Model prompts planners to consider all elements of national power when planning WOT COIN operations.[26] In countries with well-established governments, WOT military operations play a supporting role to efforts managed by the U.S. State Department. Planning that integrates the military and country-team staff members produces optimal results. Because of the protracted nature of these operations, military and country-team staff must maintain close relationships and conduct interagency coordination on a regular basis. In the Philippines, OEF-P planners coordinate closely with the country team to facilitate interagency planning and synchronization.[27]

Applying the principles found in the Diamond Model within the political constraints of the Philippines led to the pursuit of three interconnected lines of operation:[28]

- *Building Philippine Armed Forces (AFP) capacity*. U.S. ground, maritime, and air components trained, advised, and assisted Philippine security forces to help create a secure and stable environment.
- *Focused civil-military operations*. Philippine-led, U.S.-facilitated humanitarian and civic-action projects demonstrated the government's concern for regional citizens and improved their quality of life.
- *Information operations (IO)*. Aiming to enhance government legitimacy in the region, the joint U.S.-Philippine effort used IO to emphasize the success of the first two lines of operation.

The lines of operation complemented country-team efforts to help government security forces operate more effectively along legs 1 through 3 of the model, thereby enhancing the host nation's legitimacy and control of the region; this in turn reduced the insurgents' local support, denied them sanctuaries, and disrupted their operations. Diplomatic efforts executed along leg 4 were also critical.

Balikatan 02-1

Principles found in the Diamond Model were successfully applied against Abu Sayyaf during OEF-P on Basilan Island in exercise Balikatan 02-1.[29] Located 1,000 kilometers south of Manila at the northern tip of the Sulu Archipelago in the war-torn Southern Philippines, Basilan is 1,372 square kilometers in size and home to a population of just over 300,000 people. As the northernmost island in the Sulu Archipelago, Basilan is strategically located. It has traditionally served as the jumping-off point or fallback position for terrorists operating in Central Mindanao, and its Christian population has long been prey to Muslim kidnapping gangs.[30] In the 1990s, Abu Sayyaf established a base of operations there and began a reign of terror that left government forces struggling to maintain security as they pursued an elusive enemy.

To succeed in COIN, the counterinsurgent must first understand the root causes of the insurgency: What are the underlying conditions that make the environment ripe for insurgent activity? To answer this question, U.S. Pacific Command deployed an SF assessment team in October 2001 to the Southern Philippines.[31] The team conducted detailed area assessments down to the village level and updated them throughout the operation. They gathered vital information about the enemy situation, army training requirements, local demographics, infrastructure, and socioeconomic conditions.[32] Measurements ranging from infant mortality rates and per capita income to the number of squatters, government services, and local education levels enabled planners to "build a map of disenfranchisement to ascertain where active and passive support would likely blossom."[33] These assessments provided critical information concerning the root causes of civil unrest at the village level. They also laid the foundation for the operational plan, for as military analyst Kalev Sepp notes, "The security of the people must be assured as a basic need, along with food, water, shelter, health care and a means of living. The failure of COIN and the root cause of insurgencies themselves can often be traced to government disregard of these basic rights."[34]

In February 2002, the United States dispatched JTF-510, comprised of 1,300 U.S. troops, to the Southern Philippines. Its mission was to conduct unconventional warfare operations "by, with, and through" the AFP to help the government separate the population from, and then destroy, Abu Sayyaf.[35] The bulk of the force consisted of an air component in Mactan, Cebu, and staff and support personnel located at the JTF headquarters in Zamboanga. The tip of the U.S. spear consisted of 160 SF personnel and, later, 300 members of a Naval Construction Task Group. All U.S. forces operated under restrictive

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rules of engagement.[36] Once on Basilan, SF advisers deployed down to the battalion level and moved in with their Philippine counterparts in remote areas near insurgent strongholds. The SF teams found the Philippine units in disarray and lacking in basic infantry skills and initiative. One SF adviser said, "The situation had degraded to the point that the AFP no longer aggressively pursued the insurgents. The combination of neglect and lack of military initiative had created circumstances that contributed not only to the continuing presence and even growth of insurgent groups, but to the genesis of new terrorist and criminal organizations."[37]

Using their language and cultural skills, the SF teams quickly formed a bond with their military counterparts and local villagers. Their first goal was to establish a secure environment and protect the local populace. SF advisory teams went to work immediately, honing AFP military skills through focused training activities that increased unit proficiency and instilled confidence.[38] According to one SF adviser, "SF detachments converted AFP base camps on Basilan into tactically defensible areas, and they trained Philippine soldiers and marines in the combat lifesaving skills needed for providing emergency medical treatment with confidence. Those lifesaving skills were a significant morale booster for the AFP."[39]

Increased patrolling accompanied training, which allowed the AFP and local security forces to reestablish security at the village level and seize the initiative from the insurgents. SF advisers credited an aggressive increase in AFP patrolling with denying Abu Sayyaf its habitual sanctuary and curtailing the group's movement.[40] The SF teams played a key role in building AFP capacity by accompanying units (as advisers only) on combat operations.[41] Reestablishing security and protecting the Basilan people were the foundation for all other activities along leg 1 of the Diamond Model.

Once security was established, both civil affairs and SF Soldiers worked with their counterparts to execute high-impact projects that produced immediate and positive benefits for the local population.[42] Humanitarian assistance and civic-action projects were initially targeted to meet the basic needs of the local populace, then refined and tailored for particular regions and provinces based on assessment results.[43] As the security situation improved, the U.S. Naval Construction Task Group deployed to the island to execute larger scale projects such as well digging, general construction, and improvements to roads, bridges, and piers. In addition to enhancing military capabilities, these infrastructure projects benefited local residents. When possible, locally procured materials and workers were used in order to put money directly into the local economy. Humanitarian and civic-action projects on Basilan improved the image of the AFP and the Manila government and helped return law and order to the island.[44] A key component in leg 1 of the model, the projects earned local respect, improved force protection, and reduced Muslim village support for the insurgents. Consequently, the AFP was



Navy medic Aaron Vandall provides Combat Life Saver training to members of the Philippine Armed Forces as part of Operation Enduring Freedom-Philippines in March 2003.

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Five Philippine Army soldiers try on U.S. protective vests turned over to the Philippine military as part of the RP-U.S. Military Logistics Support Agreement (MLSA), 24 January 2003.

able to cultivate closer relations with the people in insurgent-influenced areas. [45] As Colonel Darwin Guerra, battalion commander of the 32d Infantry, AFP, reported, "Where once the people supported rebels and extremists because they felt neglected or oppressed by the government, the delivery of their basic needs like health and nutrition services, construction of infrastructure and impact projects, and strengthening security in the community that the Balikatan program brought [sic] changed their attitudes and loyalty. As residents began to experience better living conditions, they withdrew support from the militants."[46]

The AFP consistently took the lead on all activities and projects throughout Balikatan 02-1, with the U.S. military playing a supporting role. Putting the AFP in the lead enhanced AFP and government legitimacy at the grassroots level and helped end passive support for the insurgents. Targeted humanitarian assistance and civic-action projects also drove a wedge between Abu Sayyaf and the local populace. At the same time, these activities provided opportunities to interact with the locals and tap into the "bamboo telegraph," the indigenous information network.[47] As villagers became more comfortable, they openly shared information on the local situation with AFP and U.S. forces.

Intelligence collection and sharing was also critical to the operation. SF advisers conducted extensive information collection activities to gain situational awareness and contribute to a safe and secure environment. They shared intelligence with the AFP and helped them fuse all sources of information to develop a clearer picture of the insurgents' organizational structure. Improved relations with local residents generated increased reporting on Abu Sayyaf activity. SF advisers also leveraged U.S. military intelligence surveillance and reconnaissance platforms, integrating these assets into intelligence collection plans to support AFP combat operations. Actionable intelligence stimulated progress on leg 3, direct AFP combat operations against Abu Sayyaf.

By August 2002, just six months later, the synergistic effects of security, improved AFP military capability, and focused civil-military operations had isolated the insurgents from their local support networks. As the security situation on Basilan continued to improve, doctors, teachers, and other professional workers who had fled the island began to return, and the Philippine Government, the U.S. Agency for International Development's Growth with Equity in Mindanao Program, the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao, and various nongovernmental organizations brought in additional resources to further address the root causes of the civil unrest.[48]

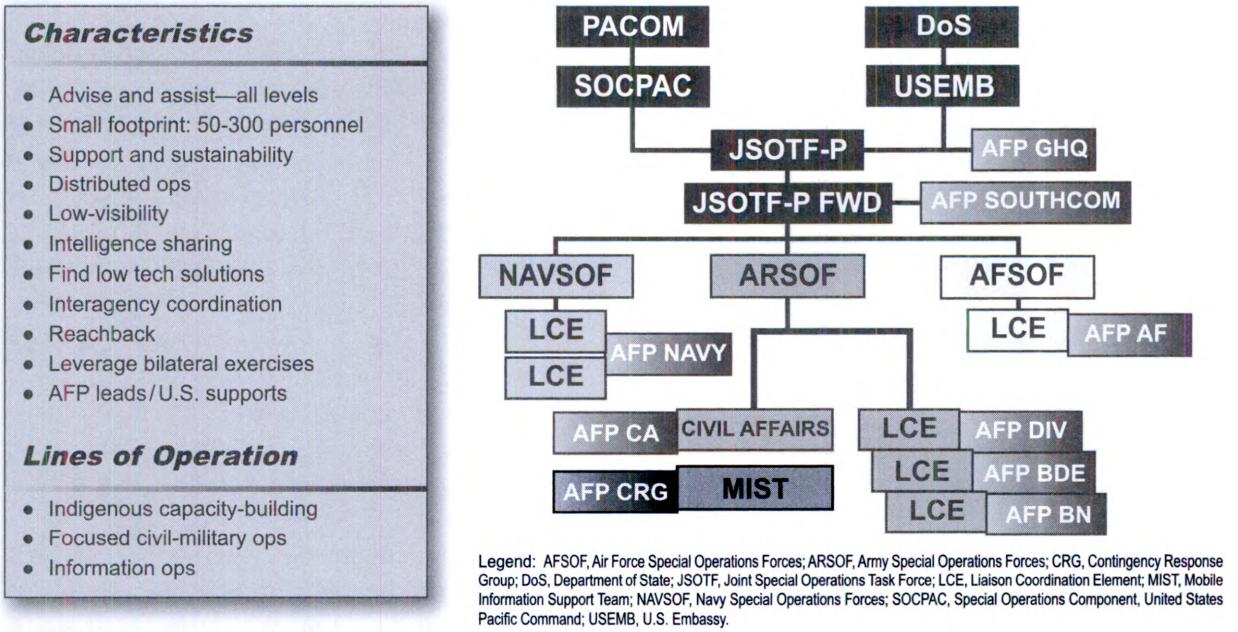
Results of Balikatan 02-1

My visit to Basilan Island in 2005 revealed a vastly different environment from the terrorist safe haven once dominated by Abu Sayyaf. The island's physical landscape remained largely unchanged. The rugged mountains, jungle terrain, and remote villages that rebel groups and extremists had once found so inviting and conducive to their deadly activities were all still there. What had changed were the attitude and loyalties of the Basilan people, making the environment far less favorable for insurgent activity.

The U.S. military and the Philippine Government know that Balikatan 02-1 was a success, and the operation is now commonly referred to as the "Basilan Model." While it didn't destroy Abu Sayyaf altogether, the model proved effective in—

- Denying the insurgents and terrorists sanctuary in targeted geographic areas (Basilan Island).[49]

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Legend: AFSOF, Air Force Special Operations Forces; ARSOF, Army Special Operations Forces; CRG, Contingency Response Group; DoS, Department of State; JSOTF, Joint Special Operations Task Force; LCE, Liaison Coordination Element; MIST, Mobile Information Support Team; NAVSOF, Navy Special Operations Forces; SOCPAC, Special Operations Component, United States Pacific Command; USEMB, U.S. Embassy.

Figure 2. Joint Special Operations Task Force, Philippines Advisory Model

- Improving the capacity of indigenous forces (AFP).[50]
- Enhancing the legitimacy of the host-nation government in the region.[51]
- Establishing the conditions for peace and development (Basilan Island).
- Providing a favorable impression of U.S. military efforts in the region.[52]

The holistic approach used on Basilan enabled the AFP to gain control of the situation, to become self-sufficient, and eventually to transition to peace and development activities. Both U.S. and AFP military forces could then focus their efforts and resources on other insurgent safe havens. This approach is characteristic of the expanding inkblot, or "white zone" strategy, used during successful British COIN efforts in Malaya.

Continuing the Fight

Despite the success of U.S. and Philippine WOT efforts on Basilan, the fight against extremism in the Southern Philippines is far from over. Although Abu Sayyaf was neutralized on Basilan and significantly reduced in size, its leaders managed to flee to Central Mindanao and the island of Sulu.[53] Using the peace process between the Moro Islamic Liberation Front and the Philippine Government for cover, and with assistance from Jemaah Islamiyya, Abu Sayyaf has increased its urban bombing capabilities and extended its reach as a terrorist organization.[54] To gain better visibility on this emerging threat and to continue to assist the AFP, SF advisory efforts have adapted as well.

Soon after Balikatan 02-1, JTF-510 reorganized into a much leaner organization called the Joint Special Operations Task Force, Philippines (JSOTF-P), which continued advisory efforts with selected AFP units at the strategic, operational, and tactical levels (figure 2).[55] Follow-on JSOTF-P advisers have pursued the same strategy, but with greatly reduced resources along some lines of operation.[56] The reorganization reflects a shift in focus to indigenous capacity-building efforts, with the deployment of advisory teams to particular AFP units near terrorist safe havens or transit points in the Southern Philippines.

Deployed at the tactical level, SF advisory teams called Liaison Coordination Elements (LCE) are small, tailored, autonomous teams of Special Operations personnel from all services.[57] They advise and assist select AFP units in planning and fusing all sources of intelligence in support of operations directed at insurgent-terrorist organizations.[58] LCEs conduct decentralized planning and execution using a robust reachback capability to the JSOTF to leverage additional assets in support of AFP operations. These assets range from intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance assets such

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as tactical unmanned aerial vehicles to humanitarian assistance to tailored information products.

The JSOTF has increasingly emphasized information operations that heighten public awareness of the negative effects of terrorism and provide ways to report terrorists to local security forces. Also featured are positive actions the government and military take to foster peace and development. The introduction of a Military Information Support Team in 2005 significantly enhanced the production of print and media products in support of U.S. and Philippine Government WOT information objectives.[59] Products include newspaper ads, handbills, posters, leaflets, radio broadcasts, and novelty items (example at figure 3). These IO efforts have helped to raise public awareness of the U.S. Government's rewards program.[60] Osama bin Laden's chief lieutenant, Ayman al-Zawahiri, has said, "More than half of this battle is taking place in the battlefield of the media. We are in a media battle in a race for the hearts and minds of Muslims."[61] If this is true, then shaping an environment less conducive to terrorist activity by raising public awareness is a true combat multiplier.

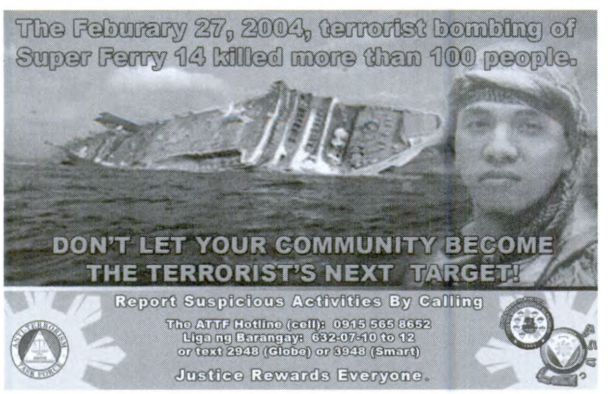


Figure 3. AFP/U.S. public information product

Indirect Approach Advantages

With U.S. forces stretched to the breaking point globally, SF advisory efforts will become more attractive to U.S. policymakers in the future. These efforts have some marked advantages over unilateral military operations.[62] Economy-of-force operations by nature, they are characterized by a small footprint, low resource requirements, and limited visibility. This makes them ideal to use in politically sensitive areas where a large foreign military presence would undermine the host-nation government's legitimacy and serve to rally opposition extremist elements. Additionally, with their low profiles, SF advisory operations can usually be sustained for a long time, a distinct benefit during protracted struggles.[63] Operations in the Southern Philippines have been ongoing since 2002, and so far they have received very little attention from the U.S. media and public.

The SF advisory approach also creates a more favorable impression of U.S. military efforts. Advisers are much more politically acceptable than Soldiers who take a direct role in combat. Humanitarian and civic-action activities performed with indigenous forces demonstrate the U.S. and host-nation government's commitment to promoting long-term peace and development. In 2002, U.S. advisers operating on Basilan went from seeing throat-slash hand gestures to receiving smiles and handshakes from local Muslims after the latter discovered the true nature of the SF's activities.[64] In 2005, U.S. military forces received a hero's welcome when they returned to Basilan for training exercises. The people repeatedly thanked them for their assistance during Balikatan 02-1.[65]

This good word has spread to the neighboring island of Sulu, a notorious Abu Sayyaf and extremist stronghold. In 2005, the Sulu provincial government asked U.S. military and AFP officials to conduct the "Basilan Model" on their island during Balikatan 06.[66] Prior to the exercise, local Islamic religious leaders asked the Muslim populace of Sulu to welcome U.S. forces.[67] Patricio Abinales, Associate Professor at the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, credits the American military presence in the Southern Philippines for contributing to the emergence of reformist leaders (especially former Moro rebels) and politicians identified with "moderate Islam" who represent a change in conduct from the "guns, goons, gold" custom associated with traditional politicians.[68]

A Regional Approach

A regionally networked approach will optimize U.S. efforts to build indigenous capacity. The enemy is part of a transnational global network and flows across borders in many regions of the world like Southeast Asia. Terrorists and insurgents use ungoverned areas to their advantage so that efforts

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by individual states alone will not be effective. The best way to confront a network is to create a counter-network, a non-hierarchical organization capable of responding quickly to actionable intelligence. The goal should be a networked regional capability that can seamlessly pass intelligence among SF advisory teams collocated with indigenous forces in strategic locations. In denied or unfriendly areas, surrogate forces developed and operating under the direction of SF and interagency partners should perform this task. As Steven Sloan notes, "The development of counter terrorist organizations that are small, flexible, and innovative cannot be done in the context of a unilateral approach to combating terrorism. There must be unity of action on the regional and international level that breaches the jurisdictional battles among countries that often seem to take precedence over an integrated war against terrorism."[69] The U.S. Government, military, and people must understand that these long-duration efforts require patience and determination. Gaining access, fostering trust, building relationships, and developing an indigenous or surrogate military capacity can take years, and success can often be difficult to measure. SF advisory teams must deploy forward to access indigenous capability and develop the situation in critical areas near suspected terrorist safe havens and transit locations. Once they complete their assessments, more refined plans ranging from small-scale LCE operations to larger Basilan-type efforts can be developed. This strategy has the added benefit of being preventive instead of just reactive. Positioning SF advisory teams as "global scouts" forward will provide early warning and allow our policymakers to assist our partners in shaping a more favorable environment.

Basilan in Iraq?

The "Basilan Model" and follow-on U.S. efforts offer a template for a sustainable, low-visibility approach to supporting America's allies in the WOT. In Iraq, where unilateral conventional operations have often been ineffective and even counterproductive, we should consider employing SF advisory teams on a large scale. Because they know the geography, language, and culture of the region and are skilled in working "by, with, and through" indigenous forces, SF is uniquely suited to adeptly navigate Iraq's politically and culturally sensitive terrain to enable effective host-nation operations against our common enemies.

By itself, however, just building the host-nation's capacity to capture or kill insurgents will not guarantee victory. The United States must employ a holistic approach that enhances the legitimacy of the host-nation government and its security forces in the eyes of the local populace. Using the Diamond Model, it must focus on the people at the grassroots level as the enemy's center of gravity. Ultimately, we will win the "long war," as the *Quadrennial Defense Review* now calls it, by gaining broader acceptance of U.S. policy within the moderate Muslim community. The best way to do this is by working in the shadows, "by, with, and through" indigenous or surrogate forces to marginalize the insurgents and win over the people. In an irony befitting the often paradoxical nature of counter-insurgency warfare, "the indirect approach" offers us the most direct path to victory. ***MR***



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A U. S. Army Special Forces Soldier conducts security assistance training for members of the Phillipine Armed Forces on the Zamboanga Peninsula, 20 March 2003.

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NOTES

1. John Arquilla and David F. Ronfeldt, "Netwar Revisited: The Fight for the Future Continues," in *Networks, Terrorism and Global Insurgency,* ed. Robert J. Bunker (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 9.

2. Daniel Byman, "Going to War with the Allies You Have: Allies, Counterinsurgency, and the War on Terrorism," *Strategic Studies Institute* (November 2005): 2.

3. Ibid., 5.

4. For insights on common problems with U.S. military COIN operations as observed by a senior officer in one of our closest allies in the WOT, see Brigadier Nigel Aylwin-Foster, British Army, "Changing the Army for Counterinsurgency Operations," *Military Review* (November-December 2005).

5. Kalev I. Sepp, "Best Practices in Counterinsurgency," *Military Review* (May-June 2005), and Byman, 2.

6. Robert D. Kaplan, "Imperial Grunts," *Atlantic Monthly Online*, October 2005, 2, <www.theatlantic.com/doc/200510/kaplan-us-special-forces/2>.

7. Aylwin-Foster, 4.

8. According to an Al-Qaeda fatwa delivered in 1996, "The ruling to kill the Americans and their allies—civilian and military—is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it, in order to liberate al-Aqsa Mosque and the holy mosque [Mecca] from their grips, and in order for their armies to move out of all lands of Islam, defeated and unable to threaten any Muslim." Full text available online at <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/terrorism/international/fatwa_1996.html>.

9. Peter Bergen and Alec Reynolds, "Blowback Revisited," *Foreign Affairs* (November-December 2005): 4.

10. Zachary Abuza, "Balik Terrorism: The Return of the ASG [Abu Sayyaf Group]," *Strategic Studies Institute* (September 2005): 31.

11. John P. Sullivan, "Terrorism, Crime and Private Armies," in *Networks, Terrorism and Global Insurgency*, 72.

12. The Philippines were occupied by the Spanish from 1542 to 1898; the United States from 1898 to 1941; the Japanese from 1941 to 1944; and the United States again from 1944 to 1945. The United States granted the Philippines full independence in 1946.

13. Sean K. Anderson, "U.S. Counterinsurgency vs. Iranian-Sponsored Terrorism" in *Networks, Terrorism and Global Insurgency,* 85.

14. Abuza, 2.

15. Ibid., 5. Jamal Khalifa, Osama bin Laden's brother-in-law, was dispatched to the Philippines in 1991 and established a network of Islamic charities that have been linked to terrorist financing in the region.

16. The Abu Sayyaf Group conducted numerous kidnappings prior to 9/11, but it is best known for kidnapping three American citizens, including a missionary couple, and several wealthy Filipino citizens from Dos Palmas Resort on the island of Palawan, 27 May 2001. ASG subsequently moved the hostages to Basilan Island.

17. The "indirect approach" was first advocated by British military theorist, journalist, and historian Basil Henry Liddell Hart to prevent a repeat of earlier trench warfare deadlock. His theory included a form of blitzkrieg using both tanks and infantry.

18. In 1994, Dr. Gordon McCormick created the triangle insurgent/COIN model. He later created the Diamond Model to capture the interaction with external international actors. See Gordon H. McCormick, "A 'Pocket Guide' to Internal War," Department of Defense Analysis, Naval Postgraduate School, forthcoming.

19. Maria Ressa, *Seeds of Terror* (New York: Free Press, 2003), 124.

20. Class notes from Dr. Gordon McCormick's "Seminar on Guerilla Warfare," Department of Defense Analysis, Naval Postgraduate School, October 2005.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Rick Webster, "Counterinsurgency: The John Paul Vann Model," *Sitrep* (Winter/Spring 2004), <www.lists.opn.org/pipermail/org.opn.lists.vwar/2004-May/001227.html>.

24. Andrew F. Krepinevich, *The Army in Vietnam* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1988), 190.

25. McCormick, class notes.

26. For a more detailed discussion of applying strategic counterinsurgency models to the planning process, see LTC Eric Wendt, "Strategic Counterinsurgency Modeling," *Special Warfare Magazine* (September 2005).

27. Close coordination with the ambassador, the Joint United States Military Assistance Group, the regional affairs team, local representatives of the United States Agency for International Development, the political-military adviser, and other key members of the country team will ensure unity of effort.

28. Joint Special Operations Task Force—Philippines (JSOTF-P) lines of operation were developed by the JSOTF-P and Special Operations Command, Pacific staff.

29. Balikitan means "shoulder to shoulder" in Tagalog. While the U.S. Government views OEF-P efforts in the Southern Philippines as military operations in a declared hostile-fire area, the Philippine Government describes them as training exercises to avoid perceived constitutional restrictions against foreign troops participating in internal combat operations.

30. COL Darwin Z. Guerra, "Peace-Building in Basilan: The Army's 103rd Brigade Soldier's Final Battle," unpublished, 1.

31. COL Dave Maxwell, "Operation Enduring Freedom—Philippines: What Would Sun Tzu Say?", <www.army.mil/professionalwriting/ volumes/volume2/june_2004/6_04_3.html>.

32. Wendt, 10-11.

33. Ibid.

34. Sepp, 9.

35. Maxwell, 1.

36. Cherilyn A. Walley, "Impact of the Semi-permissive Environment on Force-protection in the Philippines Engagement," *Special Warfare*, 2004, 1, <www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0HZY/is_1_17/ai_n954388>.

37. Ibid., 4. Interview of an SF adviser by Dr. C. H. Briscoe.

38. MAJ Joe McGraw, SF Detachment Commander on Basilan during Balikatan 02-1, interview by the author, Monterey, CA, 19 January 2006. Training initially focused on basic individual infantry skills and progressed to more advanced collective skills. Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) units have very little training ammunition and rarely fire their weapons other than in combat situations.

39. C. H. Briscoe, "Reflections and Observations on ARSF [Army Special Forces] Operations during Balikatan 02-1," *Special Warfare*, 2004, 1, <www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0HZY/is_1_17/ai_n9543891>.

40. Ibid., 1.

41. McGraw interview. SF advisers initially were not allowed to accompany AFP units below the battalion level during operations, but after a lengthy mission review process (CONOPS), advisors were allowed to work at company level toward the end of the operation.

42. "A 'PACOM-imposed force cap' on Army SF personnel and heavy weapons in the exercise area of operations constrained the use of CA [civil affairs] teams. That compelled the commander of Forward Operating Base 11 to task SF detachments with the CA mission." C. H. Briscoe, 1.

43. Cherilyn A. Walley, "Civil Affairs: A Weapon of Peace on Basilan Island," *Special Warfare*, 2004, 3. <www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0HZY/is_1_17/ai_n9543 878>.

44. C. H. Briscoe, 1.

45. Ibid., 1.

46. Guerra, 2.

47. McGraw interview.

48. After security was reestablished during Balikatan 02-1, the Philippine Government, the Growth with Equity in Mindanao Program, the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao, and various nongovernmental organizations provided economic and developmental assistance to Basilan Island. The U.S. Government provided an average of $80 million of economic and developmental assistance a year to the Philippines from 2002 to 2006, of which 60 percent was designated for the Mindanao region. See U.S. Department of State, Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 2006 (P. L. 109-102).

49. The ASG no longer poses a threat on Basilan. Its armed strength has fallen from an estimated 1,000 in 2002 to somewhere between 200 and 400 in 2005. Thomas Lum and Larry A. Niksch, "The Republic of the Philippines: Background and U.S. Relations," Congressional Research Service Report to Congress, 10 January 2006, 8.

50. AFP forces deployed on Basilan improved their capacity while working directly with Army Special Forces during Balikatan 02-1. Follow-on security assistance train-and-equip modules and SF advisory efforts have continued to build AFP capabilities.

51. Balikatan 02-1 enabled the Philippine Government and AFP to reduce security forces on Basilan Island by 70 percent and transition to peace-building activities.

52. Sepp, 10.

53. Khaddafy Janjalani assumed leadership of the ASG after Abu Sabaya's death during an AFP-led, U.S.-assisted operation in June 2002.

54. Lum and Niksch, 7.

55. JSOTF-P has fluctuated between 50 and 300 personnel. Advisory teams interface at the strategic level with the U.S. Embassy in Manila and the AFP General Headquarters in Manila; at the operational level, with AFP Southern Command in Zamboanga; and at the tactical level, with select AFP combat units. Advisory teams also work with AFP civil affairs and psychological operations forces.

56. Humanitarian assistance and civic-action project funding was greatly reduced after Balikatan 02-1. Some funding was diverted to tsunami relief in 2005.

57. Liaison Coordination Elements generally consist of 4 to 12 SF advisers who are embedded with select AFP ground, naval, and air forces down to the battalion level.

58. JTF-510 advisory efforts were directed strictly at the ASG while JSOTF-P advisory efforts have expanded to include Jemaah Islamiyya.

59. This Military Information Support Team consists of psychological operations personnel who develop combined products with the AFP Civilian Relations Group. Products are approved through both AFP and U.S. chains of command.

60. U.S. Government rewards programs in the Philippines have led to the apprehension of 23 terrorists. Products are designed by AFP and U.S. personnel working together to ensure they are portrayed in the correct cultural context. Muslim soldiers within the AFP have played a key role in this effort, translating products into native languages like Talsug.

61. Cited in a speech by Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld to the Council on Foreign Relations, Harold Pratt House, New York, NY, 17 February 2006, <www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2006/sp20060217-12574.html>.

62. Stretched by frequent troop rotations to Iraq and Afghanistan, the Army has become a "thin green line" that could snap unless relief comes soon, according to Andrew F. Krepinevich, *The Thin Green Line*, Report to the Pentagon, <msnbc.msn.com/id/11009829/>.

63. Sepp, 9. SF advisory efforts in El Salvador were conducted for over 12 years.

64. Robert Kaplan, *Imperial Grunts* (New York: Random House, 2005), 245.

65. Author's experience on Basilan, March 2005.

66. Author's experience on Sulu, February 2005.

67. Roel Pareno, "Sulu sultan leads Jolo rally backing Balikatan," *Philippine Star*, 12 Feb 2005.

68. Patricio Abinales, "American Military Presence in the Southern Philippines: A Comparative Historical Overview," *East-West Center Working Papers, Politics and Security Series* 7, (October 2004): 14.

69. Stephen Sloan, "Forward: Responding to the Threat," in *Networks, Terrorism and Global Insurgency*, xxi.

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A MODEL COUNTERINSURGENCY:
Uribe's Colombia (2002–2006) vs FARC

Thomas A. Marks, Ph.D.

LITTLE IS HEARD OF U.S. involvement in counterinsurgency (COIN) in Colombia. That which does appear is often inaccurate and ideologically skewed. Yet progress in America's "number three war" has been significant and appears all the more impressive given the increasing difficulties experienced in Iraq and Afghanistan.

What is noteworthy is that the approach being used is "classic counterinsurgency." In this, there is considerable irony, because many of the significant aspects of the campaign were developed and implemented by American-educated leaders, assisted, both directly and indirectly, by Americans. That the Colombians have improved upon the original foundation makes examination of the case all the more compelling and urgent.

Background to Conflict

Upon taking office in August 2002, President Álvaro Uribe Vélez of Colombia was faced with a difficult strategic situation that required a fresh approach. This was forthcoming in a new document, the *Democratic Security and Defense Policy*, which radically reoriented the state's posture from negotiating with to confronting its principal security challenge, an insurgency inextricably linked to the narcotics trade and other criminal activity.

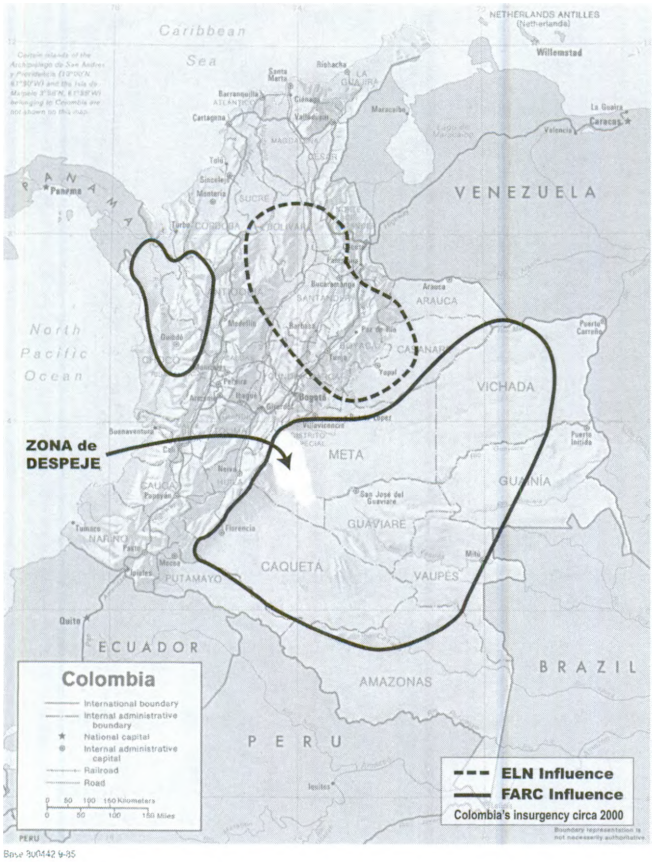
Although multifaceted in its dimensions, the new policy effectively assigned the cutting-edge role to the Colombian armed forces, most prominently the dominant service, the army. It required the forces to pursue COIN aggressively against a well-funded, entrenched adversary within a complex international environment decidedly unsympathetic to internal war campaigns. Regardless, the armed forces performed in impressive fashion.

These same armed forces had already set the stage for the shift in policy by pursuing a reform movement that had enabled them to conduct more aggressive operations even as Uribe's predecessor, President Andres Pastrana (1998-2002), had unsuccessfully sought a negotiated settlement with the main insurgent group, *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia*, or FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia), and to a lesser extent with the distant second group, *Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional*, or ELN (National Liberation Army). Continued combat was necessary because neither FARC nor ELN altered its military posture during negotiations. To the contrary, FARC used Bogota's provision of what was supposed to be demilitarized space, the *Zona de Despeje* (or *Area de Distension*), to facilitate an intensification of the conflict via main force warfare while it continued to conduct terror and guerrilla actions.

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PHOTO: Colombian President Álvaro Uribe Vélez extends holiday greetings to soldiers and police. (AFP)

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Thus, Colombia's COIN approach during the Pastrana years was not the result of deliberation and consultation within the government, but of an uneasy, unstated compromise, as Pastrana and his intimates negotiated with a duplicitous insurgent leadership on one hand, while on the other, they confronted the security force's growing unwillingness to accept the administration's increasingly discredited strategic calculus. When, in the face of all evidence to the contrary, Pastrana attempted to push through a second *Zona*, this one for the ELN, he faced a virtual popular revolt in the designated area. Cutting his losses prior to the first round of that year's presidential elections, Pastrana ordered the military in February 2002 to reoccupy the original *Zona*.

Situation Prior to Uribe's Election

Lack of government leadership during the Pastrana years had left security matters to the army (*Ejerctio Nacional*, or COLAR); navy, of which the marines were a part; and air force. The state, in other words, did not engage in counterinsurgency. This meant that although annual military plans included a basic civic action component, they were necessarily incomplete. That this did not prove disastrous stemmed from the nature of the major security threat, FARC (ELN was essentially a law and order concern).

Committed ideologically to Marxism-Leninism, FARC had increasingly drifted to a vaguely defined "Bolivarian" populism that had little appeal in Colombia. Polls consistently found the movement with minimal popular support or even sympathy. Its efforts at armed propaganda had fallen off to nothing after a mid-1980s high, and it was increasingly corrupted by reliance for funding upon criminal activity—drugs, kidnapping, and extortion (in that order, perhaps $250 million total). Consequently, its approach to insurgency, modeled after "people's war" doctrine of the Vietnamese variant filtered through, in particular, the FMLN (Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front) of El Salvador, had become a perversion of the original and had more in common with the *focismo* of Che Guevara than Maoist armed political action built upon mass mobilization.

FARC's reliance upon the normal apparatus necessary to support armed campaigning—base areas and mobility corridors—resulted in a dual center of gravity vulnerable to Colombian military attack: the insurgent units themselves and their sources of sustenance. Allowing for the low numbers organized in a nationwide support base (frequently inspired by terror), the armed units basically comprised the movement.

FARC's vulnerabilities had been recognized by the new military leadership that emerged following Pastrana's inauguration. They had crafted their



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In this captured photo, a FARC sapper applies natural camouflage. FARC sappers have in the past been trained by Vietnamese, Cuban, and FMLN operators. They specialize in infiltration attacks.

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approach to neutralize FARC's strategy even as they instituted a far-reaching and comprehensive military reform process that affected everything from recruiting (a largely draftee COLAR became one-third volunteer, with key units essentially 100 percent "professionals"), to military schooling, to assignment policies, to structure, to operational art. The result was a reclaiming of the strategic initiative by the time of Uribe's advent.

Military reform was central to all that occurred during the Pastrana years. A combination of internal dislocation caused by the growing drug trade, U.S. efforts to "punish" Colombia during the Samper administration (1994-98) for inadequate "cooperation" in counter-narcotics (CN) efforts, and mediocre senior military leadership had all combined to cripple a sound military. Reform, primarily a COLAR project, touched upon virtually every aspect of the institution, but focused mainly on revitalizing the military education system, turning lessons learned into operational and organizational modifications, and developing sound NCO leadership to enhance small unit performance. Simultaneously, greater attention was paid to human rights instruction, information warfare, and joint and special operations.

The profound institutional and strategic shifts outlined above occurred as the United States, in the aftermath of 9-11, altered the approach of the Clinton years (1992-2000) and dropped the artificial barrier that had separated counter-narcotics (CN) from COIN. This was critical because, during the Clinton administrations, the war had been artificially divided in accordance with the demands of American domestic politics. Washington was compelled to focus upon CN to the virtual exclusion of COIN. Only where COIN objectives could be subsumed within CN action was U.S. aid allowed to assist in the security campaign.

Consequently, the U.S. contribution to *Plan Colombia*, a multifaceted effort to identify Colombia's critical areas for action to facilitate national revitalization, was structured wholly to support CN (for projects and allocations, see Table 1). Its centerpiece was an American-funded, -equipped, and -trained CN brigade manned by COLAR personnel but dedicated entirely, for legal reasons contained in the implementing legislation, to support of eradication. The brigade was severely limited in its operational and geographic scope, even though it



Support for Efforts in Southern Colombia	$416.9 M
Support for Interdiction (includes FOLs*)	$378.1 M
Support for Colombia National Police	$115.6 M
Alternative/Economic Development	$106.0 M
Human Rights/Judicial Reform	$122.0 M
Regional Support	$180.0 M

*FOL: Forward Operating Location

Table 1. U.S. Allocations for *Plan Colombia*.
($ figures derived from Colombian military briefing)

had several times the number of helicopters in the entire COLAR aviation inventory.

Of greater consequence than the lack of fully relevant support was the battlefield fragmentation and distortion—the disruption to unity of effort—that the U.S. strategy entailed. Committed to assistance in the only fashion politically viable, and in an America forced to focus upon the supply side of its own drug problem, U.S. officials, forces, and individuals tended to embrace the flawed logic that Colombia's problem was narcotics, with the security battle merely a by-product. Insurgent reality was stood on its head.

American urgings that Colombian armed action focus upon a narcotics center of gravity were rejected by the military's leaders (often in conflict with the Pastrana administration). As far as they were concerned, U.S. input during this period was appreciated, but tangential to the real issue, COIN.

Committed to area domination by regular (largely draftee) brigades and divisions, with strike forces organic to each of these units, COLAR would deploy but limited additional forces to augment the CN brigade. The focus of the internal war, in its estimation, had to be the population, 95 to 96 percent of which lived *outside* the drug-producing zones of the *llanos*, or eastern savannah.

Ironically, even the eventual drop in the bar between CN and what came to be labeled CT (for counterterrorism) assistance, did not change this situation. Although U.S. funding was impressive in raw figures (see Table 2), it was still overwhelmingly committed to a CN campaign driven by its own internal measures (most prominently, hectares of narcotics fields eliminated).[1] Controversial due to its reliance upon aerial spraying, the eradication effort

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	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
INC/ACI*	57	200.1	686.4	48	243.5	412	313	313
INC/ACI†	0.5	5.75	208	0	134	168	150	150
FMF	0	0.44	0.02	4.49	0	93	98.45	99.2
IMET	0.863	0.92	0.9	1.04	1.165	1.676	1.7	1.7
ATA	0	0	0	0	25	3.28	0.2	3.92
506	41.1	58	0	0	0	0	0	0
1004	11.78	35.89	68.71	150	84.9	136	110.2	110.2
1033	2.17	13.45	7.23	22.3	4	13.2	13.2	13.2
TOTAL	**113.4**	**314.6**	**971.3**	**225.8**	**492.6**	**827.2**	**686.8**	**691.2**

Legend: ATA, Anti-Terrorism Assistance; FMF, Foreign Military Financing; IMET, International Military Education and Training; INC/ACI, Int'l Narcotic Control/Andean Counterdrug Initiative (*funding for counter-drug arms transfers, training, services; †funding for counter-drug economic and social aid); 506, Emergency Drawdowns; 1004, CN from Defense Budget; 1003, Riverine CN from Defense Budget; *Not included*– ETA, Excess Defense Articles ($10.1 million total); ESF, Economic Support Funds ($7.0 million total). *(figures in millions of dollars)*

Table 2. U.S. Assistance, 1997–2005. (as briefed by the U.S. State Department)

incorporated a variety of other components, from air and riverine interdiction to alternative development, but its actual impact upon insurgent operational capabilities proved difficult to measure.

Also clouding the picture were periodicals of record in the United States that tended to lump overall U.S. aid figures into "support for the Colombian military," thus reviving a Vietnam-era stereotype of a hapless ARVN (Army of the Republic of Vietnam) held together by American money and "advisors." Nothing could have been further from reality in Colombia. The bulk of U.S. funding to date has gone mainly to the CN effort (e.g., 85 percent of the 2005 figure above), with only incidental impact (from this source) upon the Colombian forces. The funding that has gone directly to the Colombian military has been important, especially as dispersed through the actions and programs of the highly regarded military assistance mission, but during the Pastrana years, Colombia's armed forces were quite on their own in both their operations and their reforms.

Colombia's basic military framework for waging counterinsurgency was created by the geographical assignment of the 5 COLAR divisions (18 brigades) and a joint task force, with a division-strength national reaction force.[2] Of its 145,000 troops, COLAR had some 20,000 in volunteer counterguerrilla units organic to its brigades and divisions. Altogether, the volunteer units amounted to 47 counterguerrilla battalions (*batallones contraguerrillas*, or BCG) and 3 mobile brigades (*brigades moviles*, or BRIM) each comprised of 4 BCG, for a total of approximately 59 BCG (each with approximately 40 percent of the manning of a line battalion, but with additional machine guns and mortars).

The regular formations that comprised the rest of COLAR were overwhelmingly draftee. Domination of local areas was the linchpin of the counterinsurgent effort, and a variety of imaginative solutions were tried to maintain state presence in affected areas. Essentially, the draftee regular units were used in area domination and local operations, the BCG and BRIM to strike at targets of opportunity. Specific missions that required specific skills, such as guarding critical infrastructure or operating in urban areas, were carried out by dedicated assets, as were special operations.

But in the absence of local forces, which had fallen afoul of constitutional court restrictions and thus were disbanded, it was difficult to consolidate gains. As areas were retaken, they could not be



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A local-forces platoon, part of the Home Guard that has been key to Colombia's successful COIN approach, prepares for an inspection prior to a mission.

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General Fernando Tapias Stahelin, General Jorge Enrique Mora Rangel, and General Carlos Alberto Ospina Ovalle, the three architects of COLAR's dramatic reform.

garrisoned with home guards. Instead, regular units rotated in and out in a perpetual shell game designed to keep FARC off balance (to a lesser extent ELN; only FARC operated with main forces).

Further complicating the situation, a legal framework that did not respond to the needs of internal war meant that all action was carried out under the provisions of peacetime civilian law. The Pastrana administration passed no emergency or anti/counter-terrorist legislation of any sort. This sometimes placed soldiers in absurd situations, particularly since the police were not available to accompany operations, being preoccupied with their own efforts to survive. Half a dozen times, for instance, towns and their police garrisons found themselves attacked by FARC forces using homemade but nonetheless potent armor.

Faced with such an array of challenges, it was a credit to the power of the military reform movement and the improvements made by its leadership that the strategic initiative had been regained by mid-2002. This occurred because the reform movement in the dominant service, COLAR, was driven by personalities who evinced an understanding of counterinsurgency and Colombia's unique circumstances. Thus they were able, despite the state's lack of strategic involvement, to arrest the negative trends that had emerged with growing force as early as the Samper administration.

Most importantly, the reform leadership defeated FARC's attempt to transition to main-force warfare (i.e., mobile or maneuver warfare, stage two in the people's war framework). Using the *Zona* as the staging ground for attacks by "strategic columns" comprised of multiple battalion-strength units, FARC found itself bested by the CG (Commanding General) IV Division, MG (Major General) Carlos Alberto Ospina Ovalle, who worked intimately with his superior, CG COLAR (*Comandante del Ejercito*), General Jorge Enrique Mora Rangel, and CG Joint Command (*Comando General de las Fuerzes Militares*), General Fernando Tapias Stahelin.[3]

This trio dominated operational planning throughout the Pastrana years, with Mora eventually taking Tapias' place (upon the latter's retirement). Ospina, after serving as CG IV Division, became COLAR Director of Operations, under Mora; then IG (Inspector General) Joint Command, under Tapias, who used the IG principally as a combat inspectorate; and, finally, CG COLAR (with full general rank) when Mora moved up upon Uribe's inauguration. When Mora himself retired in November 2003, Ospina became CG Joint Command.

What these officers shared was a correct understanding of Colombia's war and a well-developed approach to institutional transformation and strategy realized in operational art. Mora and Ospina were noted for their close working relationship and the general esteem they were held in throughout the armed forces. Both had proven themselves tactically time and again as they advanced through the junior ranks, then operationally and strategically as more senior commanders.

Ospina was apparently the most combat-decorated officer in COLAR at the time he became its CG, in addition to being universally regarded as COLAR's "brain trust" with a deep knowledge of insurgency and counterinsurgency. Working together under Tapias, Mora and Ospina fashioned highly effective COLAR annual campaign plans that forced FARC onto the defensive. Their correct appreciation of the situation, though, could not be translated into a true national counterinsurgency until Uribe's election.

Uribe's *Democratic Security and Defense Policy*

A third-party candidate who won an unprecedented first-round victory in May 2002, Uribe introduced a dynamic style to security affairs that prominently included producing, early in his

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administration and with U.S. encouragement, the aforementioned *Democratic Security and Defense Policy* (officially released in June 2003). Unlike the *Plan Colombia* of the Pastrana-Clinton years (written with U.S. input), which had been a virtual catalog of national ills with proposed solutions beyond Bogota's ability to operationalize or fund, the new policy was intended to be a course of action. As such, it was built upon a fairly basic syllogism:

A. Lack of personal security is at the root of Colombia's social, economic, and political ills.

B. This lack of personal security stems from the state's absence from large swaths of the national territory.

C. Therefore, all elements of national power need to be directed toward ending this lack of national integration.

Addressing this assessment was the policy itself, its thrust stated directly: "Security is not regarded primarily as the security of the State, nor as the security of the citizen without the assistance of the State. Rather, it is the protection of the citizen and democracy by the State with the solidarity and co-operation of the whole of society. . . . This is, in short, a policy for the protection of the population." According to the policy, citizens and the stability of the country were threatened by an explosive combination of "terrorism; the illegal drugs trade; illicit finance; traffic of arms, ammunition, and explosives; kidnapping and extortion; and homicide."[4] The hitherto intractable nature of Colombia's security conundrum stemmed from the interlocking nature of these threats.

It was this dynamic at which Uribe's plan was aimed. If one course of action stands out as central to the whole, it is "consolidating control of national territory," the indispensable element of any counterinsurgency. The plan details a "cycle of recovery" that evokes images of the approach used in successful counterinsurgencies in Thailand, the Philippines, and Peru, and it outlines precisely the strategic approach to be used:

- "The Government will gradually restore state presence and the authority of state institutions, starting in strategically important areas.
- "Once the Armed Forces and the National Police have reestablished control over an area, units comprising professional soldiers, *campesino* soldiers [i.e., local forces] and National Police *Carabineros* [police field force] will maintain security and protect the civilian population. This will enable state organizations and criminal investigation authorities to work in the area.
- "Once a basic level of security has been established, the State will embark upon a policy of territorial consolidation, re-establishing the normal operation of the justice system, strengthening local democracy, meeting the most urgent needs of the population, broadening state services and initiating medium to long term projects aimed at creating sustainable development."[5]

Necessarily, since Colombia's plan calls for nothing less than waging internal war against a hydra-headed threat, the security forces undertake the most prominent and difficult tasks. Although responsibilities are outlined for all state bodies, it is the security forces that are to provide the shield behind which restoration of legitimate government writ takes place.

Under the Ministry of Defense (*Ministerio de Defensa Nacional,* or MDN) the security forces prepared their own plans to implement the *Democratic Security and Defense Policy*.[6] Both the military's Joint Command and the national police (*Policia Nacional*, or CNP) were subordinate to MDN and used as their guide the strategic document drawn up by Defense Minister Marta Lucia Ramirez de Rincon and her staff after consideration of the Uribe policy. Their product was issued as a four-year vision applicable to the entire Uribe presidency. COLAR's objectives were, for all practical purposes, those of the Joint Command.

The central elements remained "protection of the population" and "elimination of the illegal drugs trade in Colombia," to be accomplished through the application of national will, resources, and power. As the premier element of national power in the internal war at hand, the military clarified its role further in a "general military strategy" issued by CG Joint Command, General Mora. This is still the key document regarding the application of military action to support the president's "democratic security" counterinsurgency approach.

Implementing Uribe's Plan

With the framework established, implementation followed. In this, the military was far ahead of other state elements, since it had already gone through dramatic change during the Pastrana years. So far-reaching were the military reforms that, in many

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respects, the armed forces presented Uribe with a new tool upon his taking office. The key had been a continuity of exceptional leadership able to reorient, under difficult operational and material conditions, the military's warfighting posture.

Central to this reorientation was the inculcation in the officer corps of greater professional knowledge concerning not only the operational and tactical mechanics of internal war, but the strategic knowledge of insurgent approaches and aims. It was here that Mora's faith in Ospina's understanding of counterinsurgency paid off.

Ospina was adamant that seeing the insurgents as merely narcotics traffickers or criminals or terrorists obscured the deadly symbiosis that drove the conflict. Whatever it engaged in tactically, whether terror or the drug trade, FARC was a revolutionary movement that sought to implement people's war as its operational form, to include focusing upon the rural areas to surround the urban areas.

Hence, as concerned the security forces, the strategic and operational threat had remained relatively constant in nature, regardless of increasing insurgent (especially FARC) involvement in the drug trade and other criminal activity. The insurgents sought to dominate local areas, eliminating through terror those who persisted in their opposition. Guerrilla action targeted the police and smaller military units, with task-organized columns (*columnas*) appearing as main forces whenever a target invited. Other, nonviolent, elements of the FARC people's war approach—mass line, united front, political warfare, and international action—remained anemic to the point of irrelevance, leaving the "violence" line of operation the only real issue.

As noted previously, when Uribe took office, the military had already spent nearly four years developing an effective COIN approach specifically applicable to Colombia. The strategy recognized the need to dominate local areas by providing a security umbrella under which the normal functions of the state could be exercised. The operational vehicle for carrying out the effort was to place a "grid" over the target area, with specific forces carrying out specific missions, all coordinated in such manner as to stifle insurgent activity. The immediate problem was that there had not been enough units or enough funding.

Counterinsurgency is manpower and resource intensive. Uribe sought to provide both assets to a military leadership that was already out of the starting gate. Not only did he raise the military's general funding level, but, in a dramatic gesture of commitment, he also asked Congress to levy a one-time war tax for a substantial expansion of actual forces, primarily COLAR (which in mid-2004 reached a strength of some 202,000). The tax brought in approximately $670 million, which was allocated to *Plan de Choque 2002-2006* (*Plan Shock*), a phased scheme to substantially increase the specialized COLAR forces needed to make the grid viable.



courtesy of author

A soldier on patrol takes a moment to chat with a passerby. Although Colombia's forces face unremitting attacks from international rights organizations, the military is one of the country's most popular institutions.

Units of all types were integrated into the force structure according to plans predating Uribe, but hitherto unfunded: new BCG and BRIM were added, with every division getting its own organic BRIM (IV Division received two; COLAR-wide, there are now at least 17 BRIM, up from the previous three) and others going to the general reserve (if all formations are considered, there are now roughly 100 BCG, up from the Pastrana total of 59); urban special forces (joining "rural" special forces, the traditional mode of operation); special transportation network protection units (*Plan Meteoro*, or *Plan Meteor*); high-mountain battalions specifically situated and equipped to block insurgent mobility corridors through hitherto inaccessible heights; strengthened infrastructure protection units (PEEV, from *Plan Energético y Vial,* or *Energy and Road Plan*); and local forces (*Soldados de mi Pueblo,* "Home Guards") to provide security, particularly for rural urban centers.[7]

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At the same time and from the same funding source, individual soldier effectiveness was to be improved by converting draftee slots to volunteers at the rate of 10,000 per year—an expensive undertaking, since it costs approximately ten times more to field a volunteer.

All components were related to each other. The standing up of local-forces platoons, for instance, although initially intended to enhance the population's security, was soon found to produce a much greater information flow to the forces, which enabled more accurate and intense employment of regular and strike units. Greater activity in an area forced the insurgents to move, especially the leaders, presenting targets for the upgraded special operations capability. Loss of leaders led to surrenders, which psychological warfare units exploited with a variety of innovative programs, from rallies to radio broadcasts. Fewer insurgents meant greater freedom of movement, and special units secured the transportation arteries, just as they did the critical infrastructure. Business picked up; the economy improved; kidnappings and murders dropped substantially.

If there was one element in the grid that provided the missing link, it was the deployment of local forces. These were indispensable to establishing state presence in affected areas and neatly sidestepped legal objections (and fierce opposition from international human rights organizations) by utilizing a forgotten law, discovered still on the books, that allowed a portion of the national draft levy to opt for service in hometown defense units.

These 40-man units were constituted as regular platoons assigned to complement regular battalions stationed nearby. They were trained, armed, and equipped as regular soldiers; officered by regulars; and fielded systematically according to *Plan de Choque* funding. Soon, they were present in more than 600 locations selected according to the Joint Command campaign plan. Most were COLAR assets, although a number were run by the marines, mainly in a special "mini-divisional zone" assigned to the marines, south of navy headquarters in Cartagena on the Caribbean coast.

Local forces had all the more impact because the police, responding to the same need for government presence if security was to be guaranteed, systematically established a presence in every *municipio* (county) in the country. Those areas from which they had been driven, or that historically had been considered too dangerous for police presence, were manned by police field forces, the Carabineros, under regular CNP jurisdiction. The Carabineros functioned in units of the same size and type as the COLAR local forces, but they were more mobile and often better armed. Where necessary, they constructed fort-like police stations to project state presence. Backing them up was a highly trained reaction force.

Incorporation of police involvement into the grid highlighted a further development: the increasingly joint and interagency nature of Colombian operations. Although the military services had always answered to CG Joint Command, they had previously functioned together more as a matter of courtesy than command. This had not posed any insuperable problems, particularly given COLAR's dominance, but it was not the ideal way to conduct counterinsurgency, where unity of command is crucial. It was especially the case that the CNP, under Pastrana, was not integrated at the national level in any of the counterinsurgency planning. This ended under Uribe.

Within the military itself, a clear trend toward greater "jointness"–which had emerged under Tapias as CG Joint Command and matured under Mora (and Uribe)—blossomed under Ospina. Plans to implement "joint operational commands" in place of the exclusively COLAR divisional areas met with fierce resistance in parochial circles, but were being pushed through by late 2004.

This transformation alone would be enough to produce a measure of turmoil within the military. Even the existence of the integrated *Fuerza de Tarea Conjunta* (Joint Task Force), controlled by CG Joint Command and operating in FARC's traditional base complexes in the east, generated disquiet in some circles—particularly as it became clear that it was a model of what is to come. If present plans are pushed through, the individual services will become more like "service providers" in the U.S. sense, while CG Joint Command will exercise operational control of joint forces that resemble U.S. combatant commands (e.g., Southern Command, which supports Colombia's effort). Such a development will be entirely logical for waging counterinsurgency, but will represent a sea-change in the way Colombian services have historically functioned.

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Integration extended beyond the military. Other government agencies were directed to participate. The state's involvement brought a new closeness to integrated efforts that hitherto had normally depended upon interpersonal relations in areas of operation. In particular, law enforcement and judicial authorities became an important part of operations. This provided government forces with enhanced flexibility, because the police and officials could engage in actions not legally devolved to the armed forces (e.g., the right to search).

Operationally, the guiding document was the Joint Command's multi-year *Plan Patriota* (Plan Patriot), which prioritized areas of insurgent activity according to FARC's dispositions and activities—and outlined sub-plans for the group's neutralization. FARC's demise was to be achieved via the tested technique of "holding" in "strategic maintenance areas," where the situation was already considered in hand, while concentrating forces in "strategic operational areas" where insurgents still operated freely. The first such operational area was Cundinamarca, the state surrounding Bogota, which throughout 2003 was systematically cleared of major insurgent presence. So complete was the effort that FARC assessments outlined a disaster of the first magnitude, even as the security forces "moved on" to the insurgent base complexes in the east, especially in the area of the former *Zona*.

"Moved on," of course, has meant only a concentration of forces for the purpose of conducting the continuous operations, unlimited in time but directed at a particular space, that the Joint Command has termed *masa dispersa* (dispersed mass).[8] These are conducted under tight operational security. Once Cundinamarca was cleared, Fuerza de Tarea Conjunta assumed priority of effort and systematically combed the "strategic rearguard," as FARC termed its decades-old base complexes, restoring government presence and popular freedom of movement and livelihood. A particular chore was to deal with the numerous and widespread unmarked minefields FARC had emplaced.

Challenge of Assessing COIN Progress

Uribe was able to deliver the state commitment, strategic framework, and enhanced resources that propelled take-off. While he provided the dynamic leadership, the Defense Ministry's job was to offer further guidance but, in particular, to engage in matters of policy that allowed the military forces to exist and operate. A confusion of roles—a desire to lead the military rather than manage it—led to the replacement of Defense Minister Ramirez in November 2003. Ramirez had clashed repeatedly with the military leadership. CG Joint Command Jorge Mora also stepped down.



courtesy of author

COLAR soldiers imitate a FARC *cortina*, a kind of human wave assault, during training. Realistic training courtesy of lessons learned has been one result of the army's transformation.

The Minister and CG were replaced, respectively, by Jorge Alberto Uribe Echevarria and Carlos Ospina. Moving into the CG COLAR position was the COLAR Director of Operations, MG Martin Orlando Carreño Sandoval. Mora had planned to step down in December, in any case, so the transition was smooth. Minister Uribe adopted a more careful style than his predecessor, and there were no significant changes in the 2004 planning and policy guidance: the military was left to lead the implementation of the counterinsurgency. In this, however, Carreño did not inspire the support necessary to keep his position more than a year. He was replaced in November 2004 by the Fuerza de Tarea Conjunta commander, MG Reinaldo Castellanos Trujillo. Subsequently, Minister Uribe himself, weary of criticism in congress, stepped down and was replaced by Camilo Ospina Bernal. Castellanos, however, was himself replaced only a year later by MG Mario Montoya.[9] Ultimately, in the second Uribe administration, both Carlos Ospina and Minister Ospina stepped down, and Ospina's deputy, LTG Freddy Padilla, became CG

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Joint Forces. Juan Manuel Santos became Minister of Defense.

Such personnel upheaval notwithstanding, military support for the *Democratic Security and Defense Policy* proceeded in near textbook fashion. Politically, the danger was that Colombia would become distracted, as it was by the debate that surfaced about Uribe's then still low-key effort to be allowed to run for a second term, which required constitutional amendment. To oppose a second term for Uribe all but demanded that his first-term record be attacked. The attacks, however, did not involve direct assault on the security forces; rather, they argued that too much effort was being placed upon security, that "social matters" were just as important. The precise point of Uribe's approach, however, was that the second was not possible without the first.

Nevertheless, what emerged was a FARC response that sought to strike at the counterinsurgents' *will* to persevere. If Colombia's operational implementation of its plan had been successful just where the United States had stumbled in Iraq and Afghanistan—the Colombians successively dominating areas and restoring government writ—this did not prevent critics at home and abroad from attacking Bogota's approach. Their criticism allowed FARC to appear much stronger than it was. Insurgent tactical assaults were given strategic consequence with spin. This spin came not from FARC, but from the president's political enemies and from the media's often dubious reporting. The result was that FARC's minor tactics, inconsequential in and of themselves, stood a chance of generating strategic reversal for the state.

It could be argued that this is the very stuff of insurgency, where every action is intended to have a political consequence. True as far as it goes, the observation misses the point that, in today's international environment, what insurgents and terrorists do is in one sense irrelevant: few citizens accept their proffered agendas. But their actions provide ammunition for political attacks occasioned by the normal infighting inherent to democratic politics. Rather than targeting their intended mass base, the insurgents try to cut corners by attacking the will of their enemies. This is what happened in Colombia.

As it was, Uribe was able to adroitly fend off the attacks even while successfully overseeing and completing an arduous process of constitutional amendment and reelection that culminated in an unprecedented second term in office (beginning August 2006) after another first-round victory in the presidential vote. Uribe's win ensured that operational implementation of his strategic framework would continue. This was significant because the approach, as discussed above, was both correct and sustainable, thereby satisfying two of the three requirements of successful counterinsurgency.

What the political controversy highlighted was a little understood element in successful counterinsurgency. With a correct and sustainable approach in place, the counterinsurgent "plays for the breaks," those shifts in the internal or external situation that work against the insurgent and favor the state. Such play normally requires an extended period of time and leads to a "protracted war." This long time-frame makes it difficult for democracies to sustain counterinsurgency campaigns, particularly in the present world environment where there is little agreement upon strategic ends and means, much less operational and tactical concerns. Yet it does not in any way obviate the reality that there is no other option.

How then was the state to think about the tremendous progress it had made in Uribe's first term? What future steps would allow Colombia not only to assess sustainability but to continue its success?

What drives any assessment is the nature of the situation on the ground *as it can be measured.* Efforts to judge COIN progress in Colombia have produced a variety of statistics. These have been used to support both proponents of *Democratic Security*'s efficacy and opponents who question, if not the approach as a whole, certain of its emphases and components.

Statistics, in other words, are a double-edged sword:

- First, there is the *political* reality: efforts to arrive at metrics for assessing the progress of an approach, although absolutely necessary, take on meaning only as they are interpreted by an audience. All parties to the present Colombian political debate, for example, agree that by any metric utilized (e.g., a decline in kidnapping and murder), there has been demonstrable (even stunning) progress towards normalcy. Yet there is little agreement as to what normalcy, as an end-state, should actually look like.

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• Second, there is the *empirical* reality that the causes behind insurgency cannot be statistically explained. Hence, to measure COIN progress by gauging how much the country has moved toward a notional state of normalcy is like looking at annual percentage increases in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) without actually being able to measure the GDP itself. "Progress," then, ends up being a state of popular mind, a belief by the populace (and its leaders) that the situation is improving.

In the matter of statistics, a combination of quantitative and qualitative indicators has given rise in Colombia to the judgment that progress is being made. This does not mean, however, that merely advocating "more of the same" is the prescription for further action so much as "staying the course."

Democratic Security has been built upon acceptance by the political authorities of the Uribe administration position that the Gordian knot in Colombia's security impasse is FARC. Only FARC continues to seek state power while simultaneously demonstrating the capacity to negate state armed capacity. ELN, the "other" insurgent group, is a nuisance, while the vigilante AUC (*Autodefensas Unida Colombia*, or United Self-Defense Groups of Colombia), the so-called paramilitaries, have historically been a consequence of lack of state presence. As the state has expanded its control, the AUC has been willing to strike demobilization deals. ELN has likewise indicated a desire to open a peace process. In contrast, negotiations with FARC have not proved successful, so only armed action by the state remains. The desired goal is reincorporation of FARC into the political process, but it is recognized that incentive must be created by armed action.

Compelling FARC to undertake a course of action necessarily involves neutralizing its ability to remain viable. Thus, the intent of the government's counterinsurgency grid is to attack FARC's ability to recruit, sustain itself, move, and initiate actions. Domination of populated areas such as Cundinamarca prepared the way for the present operations against FARC's "strategic rearguard" in the former *Zona* and other southern areas. These operations continue to this day due to the sheer size of the counter-state FARC constructed over four decades. The forces committed to these and other priority efforts have *not* been robbed from established counterinsurgency areas (effectively, the army's divisional zones), but deployed from new assets. Their actions are sustainable virtually indefinitely.

That the government's operations have made life more difficult for FARC is unquestionable. But just how difficult is the query that cannot be answered definitively. The least reliable way to judge results is to match FARC casualties with the organization's order of battle. The top figure of some 17,000 combatants (reached during the Pastrana administration) is now put at below 13,000, with most counts claiming that AUC combatants at the time of their demobilization actually outnumbered their FARC rivals (ELN was perhaps a fifth the size of FARC). It is not that these numbers are necessarily wrong; rather, it is unlikely that they mean much given the realities of an insurgent movement operating with a minimal but adequate support base and funding generated outside any popular base.

During the Mora and Ospina tenures, the need to count insurgent casualties was not driven by the Colombian military, which made a concerted effort to stay away from the "Vietnam body-count trap." Instead, the political authorities (many of whom have business backgrounds) and the press felt it necessary to give the public the numerical equivalent of sound bites that elevated quantitative measures to heights the military itself did not



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Greatly debilitated, FARC (and ELN) now rely on terror. Soldiers guard the site of a bombing in La Union, Antioquia Department. Insurgents had bombed the houses of 11 families who had rallied against them.

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subscribe to. The military's approach was clear if one inspected its internal documents. These gave pride of place not to body count, but to measures of FARC's initiative and armed capacity (such as the ability to initiate major attacks).

Not only do the military's metrics contrast sharply with the indicators favored by the political authorities and the press, but they also serve to highlight the abuse of statistics that became a routine part of the present political debate surrounding President Uribe's desire to earn a second term. Critics of Uribe and the *Democratic Security* approach regularly claimed to possess data showing an explosion of FARC incidents and initiative, but their position was not backed by realities on the ground. What must ultimately drive any assessment is the *nature* of the incidents being counted. The military knows this and has incorporated such an approach into its own analysis. *Nature* can involve anything from size to context.

An insurgent group such as FARC, forced from mobile warfare back to guerrilla and terror actions, of necessity needs to up the ante. This FARC attempted to do by cultivating an association with the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA), which sent some two dozen training teams into FARC areas before the pipeline was effectively shut down in 2001. FARC efforts to utilize a variety of PIRA terror techniques rarely or never seen in Colombia, ranging from the precise placement of bombs to inflict maximum structural damage, to the use of secondary explosions to wreak havoc upon crews responding to incidents, were all designed to inflict maximum casualties—and generate maximum terror. That they failed to do so left FARC with the one option it has now pursued: pinprick attacks that can produce tactical heat but lack strategic fire.

In only one way can FARC's tactical actions have strategic or even operational significance: if they can be parlayed into political consequence. Strategic, operational, and even tactical techniques for using violent action to effect political gain are a central element of the people's war approach used by FARC. They are recognized as such in FARC doctrine, and they were critical to the FMLN effort in El Salvador that was so important to FARC's doctrinal evolution. A key issue is whether FARC is attempting to use its tactical efforts to exploit rifts in the Colombian political spectrum. Captured documents and information gleaned from prisoner interrogations demonstrate that FARC is well aware that by inflicting casualties and appearing to be "alive" despite all that the security forces have done, it can provoke political problems of sufficient magnitude to damage or even end *Democratic Security*.

It is ironic that the strategic progress of *Democratic Security* is unlikely to negate completely FARC's tactical ability to initiate guerrilla and terror actions. But the group's "successes" in these low-level actions really count for little. For instance, there have been many mine casualties among the security forces, but that has little to do with anything save FARC's extensive use of the internationally banned weapons. Mines do not hold towns and villages, and they do not create sympathy for the insurgents; they are indiscriminate defensive weapons. Most COLAR casualties from mines, in fact, have been suffered as the army pushes ever deeper into insurgent base areas and dismantles the FARC counter-state.

Eliminating the "strategic rear guard" is crucial. There is a common misconception that "guerrillas" are self-sustaining, obtaining all they need either by



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***Democratic Security* covers all bases: comic books, cartoon shows, a website, school appearances, and other psyop products have been deployed to win over Colombia's newest generation.**

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generating it or capturing it from the government. In reality, insurgents can rarely if ever obtain crucial components of their war effort, notably arms and ammunition, from within the battlespace and thus must pursue outside acquisition. FARC indeed gets most of its weapons and ammunition from abroad. Even food, as demonstrated by massive caches uncovered in the strategic rearguard throughout 2004 and 2005, is stockpiled and pushed forward to combatants. Eliminating the base areas and their stockpiles therefore eliminates FARC's ability to mass and forces it to engage in terror and guerrilla warfare, which can be much more easily managed by the enhanced capabilities and presence of the state.

Faced with this profound threat to its viability as an insurgent movement, FARC must respond. As a consequence, there should be no doubt that "violence" in Colombia will continue indefinitely. Yet the state should continue to do precisely what it is already doing: meeting the insurgency in a "correct" and "sustainable" manner. The Uribe approach is certainly correct in the way it conceptualizes the problem and seeks to respond to it. The approach is also sustainable, in its present form, because it demands no unacceptable investments of human or material resources–or of will. It will face adjustments if the U.S. contribution ends, but it is unlikely this will happen for some time.

What has not registered fully on the Colombian political class is that a correct and sustainable approach is always put in place in order to play for the breaks. There is no formula for how long the process will take. In the Philippines, OPLAN *Lambat Betag* (Net Trap) took approximately six years to produce dramatic results; in Thailand, Prime Minister (PM) Order No. 66/23, "The Policy for the Fight to Defeat the Communists," required roughly half that after its implementation.

Still, if the spectacularly successful Peruvian approach against *Sendero Luminoso* took just somewhere in between the length of these two campaigns, normalcy in Ulster was achieved only through a grueling 25-year effort. And Ulster was but the size of the small American state of Connecticut, with just half its population. Colombia is the size of California, Nevada, Utah, and Idaho, with a population of 42 million. Hence, patience must be as much a part of the equation as a desire to create precisely the correct mix of techniques that will produce demonstrable results.

Lessons Learned

Formal announcements in the first quarter of the new Uribe administration seemed to portend a necessary shift in emphasis in *Democratic Security* implementation, from strike to consolidation. Yet the announcements occurred even as a string of distressing events shook public confidence in the administration. Particularly disturbing were several highly publicized episodes of institutional corruption apparently driven by the need to produce quantifiable results in response to political demands, as well as evidence of political links between prominent backers of Uribe and the outlawed AUC. Nevertheless, the unease and its attendant debate served the useful purpose of highlighting two issues that emerge time and again in the assessment of any counterinsurgency:

- *Leadership matters*. Uribe has proven to be the right man at the right time, as have figures in other places and times—one thinks of Magsaysay in the Philippines or Templer in Malaya. Four and a half years, which is all that Uribe has had so far, is not enough time to see through a counterinsurgency. Uribe is keenly aware that his success in winning a second term has brought with it the responsibility not merely to do more of the same, but to recalibrate success in such manner as to deliver "victory." Defining victory in a counterinsurgency, as indicated above, is tricky, but clearly the metrics any political actor uses to measure his standing will be the benchmarks. Overall, Uribe has offered a model of skillful, dynamic leadership.

It is the armed forces that have been the key element, because they provide the security upon which all else that has happened depends. Can they continue to function in the manner of the past eight years? Have the myriad reforms been institutionalized? The answer would seem to be affirmative on both counts. It might especially be noted that institutionalization is as much a function of individuals as structure and procedures. Colombia's military reformers have been followed by others who, in their career particulars, look much like Mora and Ospina.

Despite the optimistic assessment above, we should not underestimate the extent of the challenge facing the military, mainly COLAR, as a result of its expansion and increased operational tempo. COLAR was previously a draftee force of "in and out" enlisted ranks led by a professional

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officer corps. It now is one-third volunteer. These individuals expect to make the military a career. A host of issues, from family welfare to promotion requirements to NCO rank, must be codified and then allowed to mature.

Adding to the challenge is the continuous nature of the small-unit operations conducted to keep FARC on the run. Everything from block-leave procedures to family counseling (e.g., to cope with a rising level of turmoil within families in a force that historically has had relatively few disciplinary problems) has had to be instituted. Topping all this is the ever-present threat of corruption in an environment saturated with the easy money of the narcotics trade.

In the field, the strategic initiative has seen some tactical setbacks. This was predictable. The insurgents, after all, also have a learning curve. As FARC has been forced to break up into small units, the security forces have done likewise. This has created opportunities for FARC to surprise isolated or tactically sloppy government units with rapid, medium-sized concentrations that then disperse. The technique is not new, but recent actions have seen FARC grappling for a middle ground between "large" and "small" concentrations, so that it can attack platoon- or squad-size positions without exposing itself too much. Such measures, though seeking tactical initiative, are strategically and operationally defensive—and an indication of just how successful the government has been. Before the military reforms kicked in, in the Samper/early Pastrana years, FARC fielded large columns that would attack even reinforced companies.

Beginning in February 2005, FARC units, responding to instructions from the organization's secretariat, began an effort to inflict maximum casualties. Their intent, obviously, was to exploit the pressure for "no bad news" placed upon the military by the political structure. They sought to spook at least a proportion of the Colombian "chattering classes" into viewing the normal give-and-take of tactical action as a sign of larger strategic defect. Although they could have a strategic impact by manipulating perception and spurring on the debate about "sustainability," in reality, FARC's small, hard-to-prevent tactical successes have meant nothing to the strategic situation.

The current favorable strategic situation, some have argued, could be undone in a flash by follow-on personalities. Is this likely? No, for all of the reasons discussed above. In particular, both the reforms and the demands of internal war have accelerated change in military (particularly COLAR) leadership. Warfighters who would be as comfortable in the U.S. system as their own have begun to dominate promotion boards, with "service in the field" as the salient factor in selection. This is a critical element, since the military is the shield for all else that occurs in the counterinsurgency.

As combat-tested officers have begun to dominate the services, the question emerges as to what sort of men they are (there are no female general officers in Colombia). In terms of the institution they have made, the results disprove the constant drumbeat about lax standards and abuses that outsiders, especially international human rights organizations, often make. To the contrary, the military, under its reform-minded leadership, has consistently emerged in Colombian polls as one of the most respected institutions in the country, with favorable numbers reaching near the 80th percentile.

In sum, the reforms have endeavored to demand more from officers professionally, particularly as regards the mechanics and theory of warfighting. This has resulted in greater knowledge at the strategic and operational levels of war as well as increased tactical expertise.

Put together, military popularity and effectiveness have undoubtedly contributed to President Uribe's own consistently high rating with the public. It remains to be seen how recent scandals will affect his position, but the damage is unlikely to be long-lived or deep.

For his part, Uribe has dealt with the military in an increasingly sophisticated and collegial manner. He especially grew to respect the professional judgment of Carlos Ospina, when Ospina was CG Joint Command. This allowed Ospina to exercise a degree of influence and to be heeded when he counseled caution at appropriate times. It remains to be seen, in the post-Ospina command environment, if Uribe will be so dominant as to upset the civil-military balance necessary for the armed political campaign that is counterinsurgency.

- *The strategic approach is critical.* The strategic approach, with its operational (lines of action and campaigns) implementation, must be the foremost concern of leadership in a counterinsurgency. To

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NCOs conduct hand-to-hand training at a professional school. Improved NCO professionalism is another sign of army reform.

this end, Uribe was fortunate to have officers of the caliber of Mora and Ospina. If Mora saw COLAR through its early transformation, Ospina not only finished the job, but implemented the central operations of Plan Patriota. He had to do this even as resources remained constrained and demands rose for greater emphasis upon other national priorities.

It is not enough, say critics, to regain control of the population; areas seized and held must be consolidated. The military is keenly aware of the point at issue—and has U.S.-supported programs designed to address this dimension of the conflict. The real questions revolve around resource allocation and timing. Here, Uribe has stood his ground, remaining true to the spirit of his strategy: security is the necessary basis for all that follows. Now, in his second term, he has indicated that he intends to exploit counterinsurgency gains and put additional emphasis upon consolidation.

It is precisely the substantial progress made in restoring a semblance of "normal life" that has allowed internal debate over other issues to surface, to include discussion of trends in civil-military relations. The latter is often overlooked in judging the effectiveness of military leaders, but here, too, Colombia has been well served. Ospina, in particular, sought to implement a very "American" vision of the military's subordinate relationship to civil authority.

However, as with the emphasis upon combat as the key determinant for promotion, so the reinforcement of civilian authority as the final word in matters of moment has not sat well with some military elements. It is President Uribe's understanding that healthy civil-military relations depend upon an invisible line not being crossed—by either side—that has tempered any military discontent and made operations function as smoothly as they have under various defense ministers. The military has maintained firmly its right to determine operational and tactical particulars, and President Uribe seems to have acquiesced.

That COLAR continues to transition from its "German" heritage (transmitted historically through Chilean vectors) to an "American" model has been stated directly in command briefings to officers. (The air force has long looked to America for inspiration, the navy to the British.) Yet this has not led to an uncritical adoption of either U.S. forms or procedures. American difficulties in Iraq, stemming at least in part from the intervention of civilian leadership in military operational efforts, have been a poignant reminder that a balance must be struck between obedience to civilian authority and institutional independence. In Colombia, what this balance should be has been left deliberately indeterminate.

Challenges to Come

In the larger sense, Uribe's national policy has always stood upon three legs, not merely security but also fiscal health and social development. Fiscal health is necessary for all else to proceed and has given no grounds for complaint. Social development remains at the heart of all illegal actors' ability to recruit manpower. It, too, has been addressed by progress in the other two sides of the triangle. That one would wish for greater emphasis or speed is a judgment call that imprudently ignores demonstrable progress.

Although the *Democratic Security* approach might not require major adjustments, there are strategic areas that bear close monitoring, especially by Washington in this, a critical theater of the battle against global insurgency:

- *The battle is not over.* U.S. support, both materiel and personnel, will play an important role for the foreseeable future. It must be maintained. Unfortunately, a tendency has emerged in U.S. circles that seeks to interpret realities on the ground

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in terms that speak to the artificial deadlines created by funding legislation. This is extraordinarily dangerous, particularly the notion that the war is won and it is time to talk of winding down U.S. aid and converting Colombian forces to other uses (such as United Nations peacekeeping).

- *The U.S. Government needs to grasp the true nature of Colombia's struggle.* In some U.S. political and media circles, the conflict is still labeled counter-narcotics, *or* counter-terrorism, *or* counterinsurgency, *or* something else. It is all of these things and must be approached in a unified manner. This is precisely what the Colombians have been fighting to achieve, and they have made dramatic strides, although these have come at considerable political and personal cost for key players such as President Uribe, former Minister Uribe, and former CG Joint Command Ospina.

- *The drive toward unity of effort must extend to the U.S. side.* Greater effort is necessary to raise the level of awareness in Washington that what happens in Colombia underpins our Latin American position. This is not a new domino theory so much as a recognition that, in the present strategic environment, Latin America is the forgotten theater, Southern Command the forgotten command, and Colombia our forgotten but closest, most reliable ally. At a time when the forces of the radical left are again on the march throughout the hemisphere, to include advocating a severely restricted fight against drugs, Colombia's interests coincide with those of the United States. More than that, Colombia remains a stable democratic state committed to reform and the market economy. Its contrast with an increasingly unstable and strategically dangerous Venezuela could not be greater.

- *Operationally, recognition of the points above should lead to an enhanced relationship between U.S. and Colombian forces and the two countries' strategic cultures.* Military cooperation could be enhanced in myriad ways, in particular by augmenting training programs so that they more accurately reflect the close relations between Washington and Bogota. Simultaneously, both governments should encourage closer relations between U.S. and Colombian centers of strategic thought, risk assessment, and regional analysis. Colombia has a level of expertise and analytical capability surpassing any in Latin America, but its talents have been underutilized. They could make a greater contribution to *Democratic Security,* as well as the larger war against terrorism.

There are other areas one could highlight, such as the desire for even greater force strengths and mobility assets. Yet these must be carefully balanced against available resources and the system's ability to absorb any more inputs. Burnishing what the Uribe administration has already done should pay greater gains than seeking to load any more requirements onto the system.

What bears repeating is the point to which this analysis has returned often: the present effort is both correct and sustainable; it is the right strategic posture required for progress and popular security. Hence, continued care must be exercised to ensure that *Democratic Security* remains a multifaceted approach—a strengthening of the state's governance, finances, and democratic capacity enabled by the ever more powerful and capable shield provided by the security forces. By themselves, these facets are not the *solution*—that lies in the use of *legitimacy* to *mobilize* response against those using political violence for illegitimate ends—but they will certainly *enable* it. ***MR***

NOTES

1. At one point Colombia was third in U.S. foreign aid, behind only Israel and Egypt.

2. A sixth division was organized during the Uribe administration from what previously had been the Joint Task Force (which had been positioned in the extreme south). The COLAR order of battle thus became I Division (2, 4, 11, 17 Brigades); II Div (5, 14, 16, 18 Brigades); III Division (3, 8 Brigades); IV Division (7, 9 Brigades); V Division (1, 6, 13 Brigades); and VI Division (12, 26, 27 Brigades). Later, in July 2005, a seventh division was created when the very large I Division area was split. The new VII Division (based in Medellin) had assigned to it 17, 11 (both from I Div) and 14 Brigade (from II Div). The former Caribbean-bounded I Div heartland became a joint command. Additionally, the national reaction force, or FUDRA (*Fuerza de Despliegue Rapido*), which matured during the Pastrana administration, is a light division equivalent, with 3 mobile brigades and 1 Special Forces brigade (of 4 SF battalions). An independent task force (Omega) of virtual division strength operates in the south.

3. Literally, "Commanding General of the Military Forces," which accurately defines the authority and responsibility inherent to the position. I have rendered it as "CG Joint Command" to facilitate my analysis.

4. See *Democratic Security and Defense Policy*, 23-30.

5. Ibid, 42.

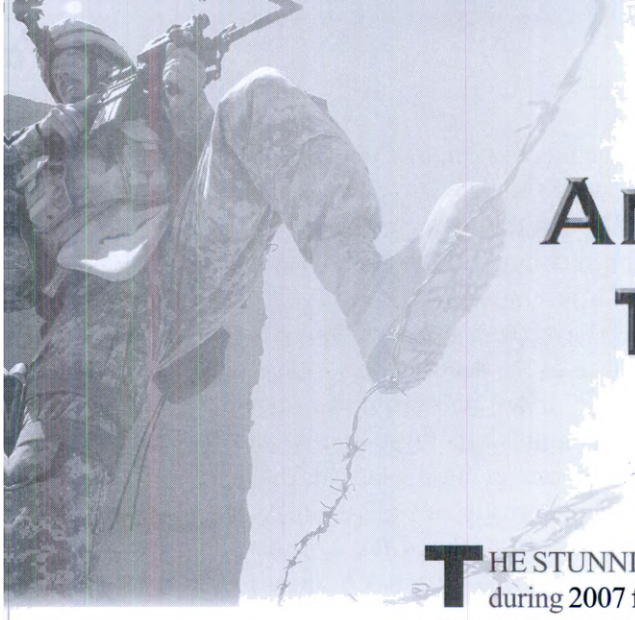
6. Recent official documents have dropped "nacional" from their translations of Ministerio de Defensa Nacional.

7. Initially, the local-forces were called *Soldados Campesinos* (Peasant Soldiers), a name the troops themselves disliked—Colombia, despite its substantial agricultural sector, is classified as approximately three-quarters urban, and the units were universally located in rural towns. Hence, *Soldados de mi Pueblo* ("Home Guards" would be the most useful rendering) came to be used simultaneously.

8. *Masa dispersa*, or "dispersed mass," is a slang rendering of the technique. It is not a formal term.

9. MG Mario Montoya was promoted to lieutenant general (the highest rank in the Colombian military system) in early December 2006.

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ANBAR AWAKENS: The Tipping Point

Major Niel Smith, U.S. Army, and
Colonel Sean MacFarland, U.S. Army

THE STUNNING SECURITY IMPROVEMENTS in Al Anbar province during 2007 fundamentally changed the military and political landscape of Iraq. Many, both in and outside the military (and as late as November 2006), had assessed the situation in Anbar as a lost cause. The "Anbar Awakening" of Sunni tribal leaders and their supporters that began in September 2006 near Ramadi seemed to come out of nowhere. But the change that led to the defeat of Al-Qaeda in Ramadi–what some have called the "Gettysburg of Iraq"—was not a random event.[1] It was the result of a concerted plan executed by U.S. forces in Ramadi. Tactical victory became a strategic turning point when farsighted senior leaders, both Iraqi and American, replicated the Ramadi model throughout Anbar province, in Baghdad, and other parts of the country, dramatically changing the Iraq security situation in the process.

Hard is not hopeless.

—General David Petraeus, testimony to Congress, September 2007

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Colonel Sean MacFarland commanded the Ready First Brigade Combat Team, 1st Armored Division, in Al Anbar province, returning with the unit in February 2007. He holds a B.S. from the United States Military Academy and an M.S. from Georgia Tech, and he is a graduate of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces. COL MacFarland's deployments include Operations Desert Shield/Desert Storm and two tours as part of Operations Iraqi Freedom. He currently serves as chief of the Iraq Division, Strategic Plans and Policy Office (J5), Joint Chiefs of Staff.

PHOTO: A U.S. Army Soldier from Task Force 1-35 searches for insurgents across the street from Outpost 293 in Ar Ramadi, Al Anbar Province, Iraq, after the outpost was attacked by mortar and small arms fire, 24 July 2006, during Operation Iraqi Freedom. (U.S. Air Force, TSGT Jeremy T. Lock)

The "Ready First Combat Team"

The 1st Brigade of the 1st Armored Division, the "Ready First Combat Team," was at the center of the Anbar Awakening. When we arrived in Ramadi in June 2006, few of us thought our campaign would change the entire complexion of the war and push Al-Qaeda to the brink of defeat in Iraq. The Soldiers, Marines, Sailors, and Airmen who served in or with our brigade combat team (BCT) enabled the Anbar Awakening through a deliberate, often difficult campaign that combined traditional counterinsurgency (COIN) principles with precise, lethal operations. The skilled application of the same principles and exploitation of success by other great units in Anbar and other parts of Iraq spread the success in Ramadi far beyond our area of operations (AO) at a pace no one could have predicted.

The Ready First enabled the Anbar Awakening by—

- Employing carefully focused lethal operations.
- Securing the populace through forward presence.
- Co-opting local leaders.
- Developing competent host-nation security forces.
- Creating a public belief in rising success.
- Developing human and physical infrastructure.

The execution of this approach enabled the brigade to set conditions, recognize opportunity, and exploit success when it came, to create a remarkable turnaround.

Ramadi on the Brink

In the summer of 2006, Ramadi by any measure was among the most dangerous cities in Iraq.[2] The area of operations averaged over three times more

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After the Fallujah offensive, the Americans tried to quell the insurgency in Ramadi with a combination of political maneuvers and the cooperation of tribal leaders to root out foreign Islamist fighters ... But that plan has spectacularly fallen apart: The men who dared to ally themselves with the Americans ... quickly learned that the U.S. military couldn't protect them. Insurgents killed 70 of Ramadi's police recruits in January, and at least half a dozen high-profile tribal leaders have been assassinated since then ... Ramadi has become a town where anti-American guerrillas operate openly and city bureaucrats are afraid to acknowledge their job titles for fear of being killed ... The government center in downtown Ramadi ... comes under gunfire or mortar attacks daily.

—Megan K. Stack and Louise Roug, "Fear of Big Battle Panics Iraqi City," *Los Angeles Times*, 11 June 2006.

attacks per capita than any other area in the country. With the exception of the embattled government center and nearby buildings held by a company of Marines, Al-Qaeda-related insurgents had almost complete freedom of movement throughout the city. They dominated nearly all of the city's key structures, including the city hospital, the largest in Anbar province. Their freedom of movement allowed them to emplace complex subsurface IED belts, which rendered much of the city no-go terrain for U.S. and Iraqi Army (IA) forces.

The situation in Ramadi at this point was markedly different from that in Tal Afar, where the Ready First began its tour of duty. Although Ramadi was free of the sectarian divisions that bedeviled Tal Afar, it was the provincial capital, it was at least four times more populous, and it occupied a choke point along the key transit routes west of Baghdad. Perhaps recognizing these same factors, Al-Qaeda had declared Ramadi the future capital of its "caliphate" in Iraq. Local Iraqi security was essentially nonexistent. Less than a hundred Iraqi police reported for duty in June, and they remained in their stations, too intimidated to patrol. Additionally, the fledgling IA brigade nearest Ramadi had little operational experience.

In late 2005, the Sunni tribes around Ramadi attempted to expel Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQIZ) after growing weary of the terrorist group's heavy-handed, indiscriminate murder and intimidation campaign.[3] A group calling itself the Al Anbar People's Council formed from a coalition of local Sunni sheiks and Sunni nationalist groups. The council intended to conduct an organized resistance against both coalition forces and Al-Qaeda elements, but, undermanned and hamstrung by tribal vendettas, it lacked strength and cohesion. A series of tribal leader assassinations ultimately brought down the group, which ceased to exist by February 2006. This



U.S. Army, SFC David D. Isakson

A smoke plume caused by a terrorist attack at the government center in downtown Ramadi, Iraq, 13 March 2006.

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collapse set the conditions that the brigade found when it arrived in late May. The assassinations had created a leadership vacuum in Ramadi and, by cutting tribal ties to outside tribal centers, had isolated the city. For their part, the tribes had adopted a passive posture, not wishing to antagonize a powerful Al-Qaeda presence in and around Ramadi. In short, as the Ready First prepared to move from Tal Afar, their new AO was essentially in enemy hands.

Actions in Summer and Autumn, 2006

The situation in Ramadi clearly required a change in coalition tactics. We had to introduce Iraqi security forces (ISF) into the city and the rural areas controlled by the enemy. But, even with a total of five Marine and Army maneuver battalion task forces, the Ready First did not have enough combat power to secure such a large city by itself. The Iraqi Army and at some point, the Iraqi Police (IP), had to be brought into play. They would help, but we understood that without the support of the local leaders and populace, any security gains achieved solely through lethal operations would be temporary at best. In particular, we had to overcome the fallout from the unsuccessful tribal uprising of 2005. We had to convince tribal leaders to rejoin the fight against Al-Qaeda.

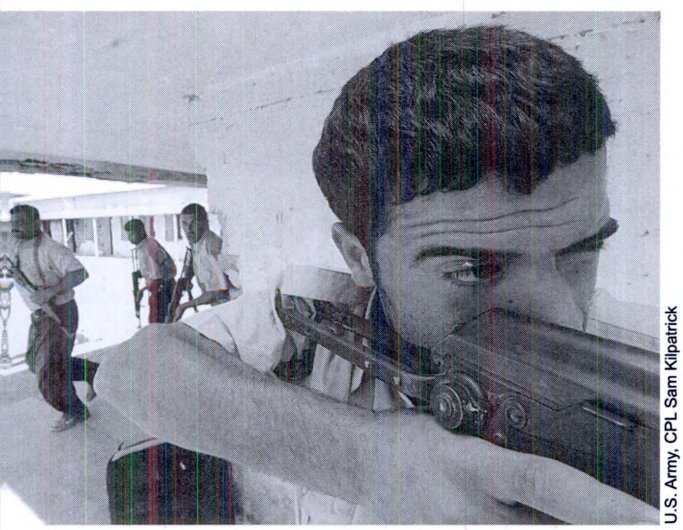
Developing the plan. We reckoned the brigade had to isolate the insurgents, deny them sanctuary, and build Iraqi security forces, especially police forces, to succeed. The staff developed a plan that centered on attacking Al-Qaeda's safe havens and establishing a lasting presence there to directly challenge the insurgents' dominance of the city, disrupting their operations, attriting their numbers, and gaining the confidence of the people. We intended to take the city and its environs back one neighborhood at a time by establishing combat outposts and developing a police force in the secured neighborhoods. The plan called for simultaneously engaging local leaders in an attempt to find those who had influence, or "wasta," and to get their support. We recognized this as a critical part of the plan, because without their help, we would not be able to recruit enough police to take back the entire city.

The chief of intelligence for the Marine Corps in Iraq recently filed an unusual secret report concluding that the prospects for securing that country's western Anbar province are dim and that there is almost nothing the U.S. military can do to improve the political and social situation there . . .

—"Situation Called Dire in West Iraq," Thomas Ricks, *Washington Post*, 11 September 2006.

We also realized that in the plan's initial stages, our efforts at fostering local cooperation were highly vulnerable. A concerted AQIZ attack on the supportive sheiks could quickly derail the process, as it had in 2005-2006. We therefore took some extraordinary measures to ensure the survival of tribal leaders who "flipped" to our side. We established neighborhood watches that involved deputizing screened members of internal tribal militias as "Provincial Auxiliary Iraqi Police," authorizing them to wear uniforms, carry weapons, and provide security within the defined tribal area. In the more important tribal areas, combat outposts manned by U.S. or IA forces would protect major routes and markets. In a few cases, we also planned to provide direct security to key leaders' residences, to include placing armored vehicles at checkpoints along the major access roads to their neighborhoods.

We designed our information operations (IO) efforts to alienate the people from the insurgents while increasing the prestige of supportive tribal leaders. We also made friendly sheiks the conduits



U.S. Army, CPL Sam Kilpatrick

Iraqi police recruits guard the perimeter during close-quarters combat training at the police training academy in Ramadi, Iraq, 25 September 2006.

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for humanitarian aid efforts, such as free fuel disbursements. Wherever we established improved security, we established civil military operations centers (CMOCs) and began the process of restoring services to the area. After securing Ramadi General Hospital, we began an extensive effort to improve its services and to advertise it throughout the city. Prior to our operation there in early July 2006, the hospital's primary function had been treating wounded insurgents, with most citizens afraid to enter the facility. We also took a different IO tack with the sheiks. Instead of telling them that we would leave soon and they must assume responsibility for their own security, we told them that we would stay as long as necessary to defeat the terrorists. That was the message they had been waiting to hear. As long as they perceived us as mere interlopers, they dared not throw in their lot with ours. When they began to think of us as reliable partners, their attitudes began to change. Still, we had to prove that we meant what we were saying.

Experience in Tal Afar taught us that competent local police forces were vital for long-term success. An AQIZ intimidation campaign had all but eliminated the previous police force, and a suicide bomber killed dozens of potential recruits during a recruiting drive in January 2006, an event that caused recruitment to shut down for six months. In June 2006, the Ramadi IP force claimed approximately 420 police officers out of 3386 authorized, and only about 140 of these officers ever showed up to work, with less than 100 present for duty on any given day. We realized that new recruiting was the key to building an effective police force.

Recruiting local security forces. Our desire to recruit local Iraqis into the IP was the catalyst for the Awakening movement's birth in September 2006. The way we went about it helped to prove that we were reliable partners, that we could deliver security to the sheiks in a way that broke the cycle of Al-Qaeda murder and intimidation. In the bargain, the Government of Iraq would assume the burden of paying their tribesmen to provide their security. The situation was a winner any way you looked at it. The tribes soon saw that instead of being the hunted, they could become the hunters, with well trained, paid, and equipped security forces backed up by locally positioned coalition forces.

We began the process by shifting our recruiting center to a more secure location, at one of our forward operating bases (FOBs) located closer to the tribes that had indicated a willingness to join the ISF. This shift helped to deter attacks and other forms of intimidation that had undermined previous recruiting drives. We maintained secrecy by communicating information about the recruiting drive only to sympathetic sheiks who wanted to protect tribesmen sent to join the IP. This technique resulted in a steadily growing influx of new recruits. Over the six-month period from June to December 2006, nearly 4,000 police joined without incident.

This influx taxed the brigade security forces cell, composed of the deputy commander and a small staff of highly capable officers and NCOs. The majority of the population in Al Anbar had either forged ID papers or none at all, so the recruiters had to determine the true identify and reliability of the potential recruits. Insurgent infiltration of the police force was (and still is) a problem in Iraq, and is inevitable; however, the Ready First made use of several methods and technologies to mitigate this risk.

Biometric automated tool sets (BATS) proved extremely useful in screening recruits and preventing previously caught insurgents from joining. Convincing supportive sheiks to vouch for their tribal members was a second filter in the screening process. From June to December, more than 90 percent of police recruits came from tribes supporting the Awakening, and the sheiks knew whom to trust.

When U.S. strategy in Iraq called for pulling American forces back to large, heavily protected bases last year, Army Colonel Sean MacFarland was moving in the opposite direction. He built small, more vulnerable combat outposts in Ramadi's most dangerous neighborhoods. 'We did it where Al-Qaeda was strongest,' MacFarland says. The outposts housed U.S. troops, Iraqi security forces, and civil affairs teams. It was a risky strategy that put U.S. soldiers in daily battles with insurgents.

—Jim Michaels, "An Army colonel's gamble pays off in Iraq," *USA Today*, 30 April 2007.

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Our ISF cell understood the importance of paying the new police to prove that they were respected and their service was valued. As a collateral benefit, the growing IP force also created a small engine for economic development by providing jobs in addition to security for the local community. Each recruit received a bonus if accepted for training. Officers also received a bonus if they served as active police members for 90 days. These boosts injected more vitality into the economy.

New Iraqi Army recruits also received incentives to join. One obstacle to recruitment was that locals were hesitant to join the IA because of the possibility of receiving an assignment far from home. To mitigate this, IA Division G-1s assigned the jundi (junior Soldiers) to an Iraqi battalion close to their homes. This "station of choice" option helped eliminate a major constraint of recruitment possibilities for the IA.

Both Iraqi Police and IA jundi assigned to Ramadi were required to attend a one-week urban combat training course run by the Ready First's field artillery unit to ensure that they could fight and survive once they joined their units. This focused training improved their confidence and discipline in urban combat, and significantly enhanced ISF effectiveness in small-unit actions. In time, the local IA brigade took responsibility for conducting the IA and IP courses with a cadre of drill sergeants, which helped forge closer bonds between the two services and instilled an increased sense of confidence in the Iraqi security forces.

The Ready First made every effort to help unqualified Iraqi recruits become police officers or soldiers. The most frequent disqualifier of recruits was the literacy requirement. The brigade commenced adult literacy classes, on a trial basis, for the illiterate recruits. These classes also had a positive, albeit unintended, collateral benefit. As security improved, hundreds of women enrolled in the classes—about five times more than we expected. The fact that women eventually felt safe enough to seek education reinforced the impression of improved security while directly attacking Al-Qaeda's ability to influence the population.

As the benefits of cooperation with our recruiting efforts became obvious to the various local sheiks, more and more of them expressed an interest in cooperating with us. This interest eventually resulted in an Al-Qaeda reprisal that, although tragic, was instrumental in bringing the sheiks together in the Awakening movement.

Securing the populace. Past coalition operations in Ramadi had originated from large FOBs on the outskirts of town, with most forces conducting "drive-by COIN" (or combat)—they exited the FOB, drove to an objective or patrolled, were attacked, exchanged fire, and returned to base. Because the physical geography and road network in Ramadi enabled the enemy to observe and predict coalition movements, nearly every movement into the center of the city was attacked multiple times by improvised explosive devices, RPGs, or small arms, often with deadly results. Moreover, the patrols played into the insurgents' information operations campaign: Al-Qaeda exploited any collateral damage by depicting coalition Soldiers as aloof occupiers and random dispensers of violence against the populace.

It was clear that to win over the sheiks and their people, our BCT would have to move into the city and its contested areas. Thus, we decided to employ a tactic we had borrowed from the 3d Armored Cavalry Regiment and used successfully in Tal Afar: the combat outpost, or COP. Our COPs normally consisted of a tank or infantry company team based in a defensible local structure in a disputed area. Eventually, the COPs included an Iraqi Army company wherever possible as they became emboldened by our presence. Later, we began to establish Iraqi Police substations at or near the COPs as well. At this early stage, the outposts provided "lily pads" for mechanized quick-reaction forces, safe houses for special operations units, and security for civil-military operations centers. In rural areas, the COPs sometimes doubled as firebases with mortars and counterfire radars.

Because we now maintained a constant presence in disputed neighborhoods, the insurgents could no longer accurately trace and predict our actions. Frequent and random patrols out of the COPs prevented AQIZ from effectively moving and operating within the local populace. At the same time, the COPs enhanced our ability to conduct civil-military operations; intelligence, reconnaissance and surveillance (ISR); and IO.

These outposts also acted as "fly bait," especially in the period immediately after a new COP

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was established. Experience in Tal Afar taught us that insurgents would attack a newly established outpost using all systems at their disposal, including suicide car bombs. These attacks usually did not end well for the insurgents, who often suffered heavy casualties. During the establishment of the first outpost, in July 2006, the enemy mounted multiple-platoon assaults. The frenzy of attacks on the new outposts culminated in a citywide battle on 24 July 2006 in which AQIZ forces were severely beaten and sustained heavy casualties. By October, attacks were far less fierce, with elements consisting of a handful of men conducting hit-and-run type operations. These noticeable decreases in enemy strength indicated our plan to decimate their ranks was clearly working. Constant coalition presence, insurgent attrition, and loss of insurgent mobility freed the people from intimidation and sapped any support for AQIZ.

The COPs also allowed us to control the infrastructure in Ramadi and use it to once again support the populace. This was the case with the Ramadi General Hospital. We established a COP just outside the hospital's walls while an IA unit secured the premises. Within days, the hospital was providing quality medical attention for the first time in a year, and the IA was detaining wounded insurgents who had come seeking treatment.

We continued to build new outposts in the city and surrounding areas until our redeployment transition began in February 2007. The strategy was not unlike the island-hopping campaign in the Pacific during World War II. With new outposts established in an ever-tightening circle around the inner city, we wrested control of areas away from the insurgents. As areas became manageable, we handed them over to newly trained Iraqi police forces (whom we kept a watchful eye on), and used the relieved forces elsewhere to continue tightening the noose. All these developments in securing the populace required an accompanying development of key alliances with tribal leaders, the history of which is inseparable from the operational story of the Anbar Awakening.

Courting local leaders. Convincing the local sheiks to join us and undertake another uprising was an immense challenge, but obtaining their support was the lynchpin of the second part of our strategy. We knew it would be pivotal when we arrived in Ramadi in June. The sheiks' memory of their first, failed attempt at establishing the Al Anbar People's Council (late 2005-early 2006) was the main obstacle to our plan in this regard. The Sunni tribal alliance was fragmented and weak compared to the growing Al-Qaeda forces that controlled Ramadi in those days.

At the same time, area tribal sheiks had no great love for U.S. forces or the Iraqi Army. Early in the

The police station in Ta'meen, a district of Ramadi, occupies a wreck of a building—its roof shattered by shells, its windows blown out, its walls pockmarked by shrapnel. That is not unusual in Iraq. What makes this station extraordinary is that a city in the heart of the infamous Sunni Triangle, a city that once led the anti-American insurgency, has named it after a U.S. soldier—Captain Travis Patriquin. The honor is well deserved. Captain Patriquin played a little-known, but crucial, role in one of the few American success stories of the Iraq war. He helped to convert Ramadi from one of Iraq's deadliest cities into arguably the safest outside the semi-autonomous Kurdish north. This graveyard for hundreds of American soldiers, which a Marine Corps intelligence report wrote off as a lost cause just a year ago, is where the U.S. military now takes visiting senators to show the progress it is making.

—Martin Fletcher, "How life returned to the streets in a showpiece city that drove out Al-Qaeda" *The Times*, London, 31 August 2007.

[COL MacFarland] agreed to set up police stations in their areas, but only if the sheiks would provide 100 men to serve as police elsewhere in the city. Last year there were roughly 100 police patrolling Ramadi. Now there are about 4,000. And where there were once 4 outposts, there are 24, where Americans and Iraqis live together.

—Tom Bowman, "U.S. Soldiers, Iraqi Police Unite to Redeem Ramadi," *NPR All Things Considered*, 22 February 2007.

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insurgency, they had directly and indirectly supported former-regime nationalist insurgents against U.S. forces, and as a result they had temporarily established an alliance of convenience with AQIZ. Many tribal members were killed or captured combating coalition forces, which diminished the sheiks' ability to provide income for their tribes. These conditions in turn enabled AQIZ to recruit from those families in need of money. Another aggravating factor was that IA forces initially stationed in Anbar consisted largely of southern Iraqi Shi'ites. Ramadi area inhabitants regarded them as agents of the Sadr militia or Badr Corps, with a covert agenda to kill off Sunni tribes and enable a Shi'ite takeover of Anbar.

Nevertheless, the tribal leaders were still fed up with Al Qaeda's violence and frustrated by their own loss of prestige and influence in their traditional heartlands. The brigade staff believed that by offering convincing incentives, we could create a tribal alliance that could produce lasting security in Ramadi. To persuade the tribes to cooperate, we first needed to understand the human terrain in our AO, and that task fell to an outstanding and talented junior officer, Captain Travis Patriquin.

An Arabic-speaking former Special Forces Soldier and an infantry officer assigned as the Ready First's S-9/engagements officer, Patriquin coordinated brigade-level local meetings and discussions. He quickly gained the sheiks' confidence through his language and interpersonal skills and developed strong personal bonds with their families. He strengthened these bonds during meetings between the brigade commander or deputy commanding officer and the sheiks. Battalion and company commanders also worked on improving relations with the townspeople on a daily basis. Thus, the sheiks' growing trust of the brigade's officers led them to support our efforts to reinvigorate police recruiting.

The combined effects of the engagement efforts were eventually hugely successful. However, some staff officers outside the brigade became concerned that we were arming a tribal militia that would fight against Iraqi security forces in the future. To allay those concerns and to pass on the "best practices" we had developed in Ramadi, Captain Patriquin created his now-famous PowerPoint stick-figure presentation "How to Win in Al Anbar."[6] This slideshow perfectly captured the Ready First's concept for winning the tribes over to our side.

We deliberately placed our first IP stations manned with newly recruited Sunni tribesmen where they could protect the tribes that were supplying us with additional recruits. This tactic gave the IPs added incentive to stand and fight and effectively ended Al-Qaeda's murder and intimidation campaign against the men serving in the ISF. In a significant change of circumstance, the newly minted IPs quickly became the hunters, arresting a number of insurgents and uncovering tremendous weapons caches. By the end of July 2006, AQIZ was definitely feeling the pinch.

In reacting to the pressure, Al-Qaeda inadvertently aided our efforts by overplaying its hand. The group launched a series of attacks against the new IP stations. On 21 August, the insurgents attacked a newly established IP station in a tribal stronghold with an immense suicide vehicle-borne improvised explosive device (SVBIED). The IPs, however, refused to be scared away. Despite offers of safe haven at a nearby coalition base, the survivors remained at their posts, ran their tattered flag back up the flagpole, and even began to conduct patrols again that same day.

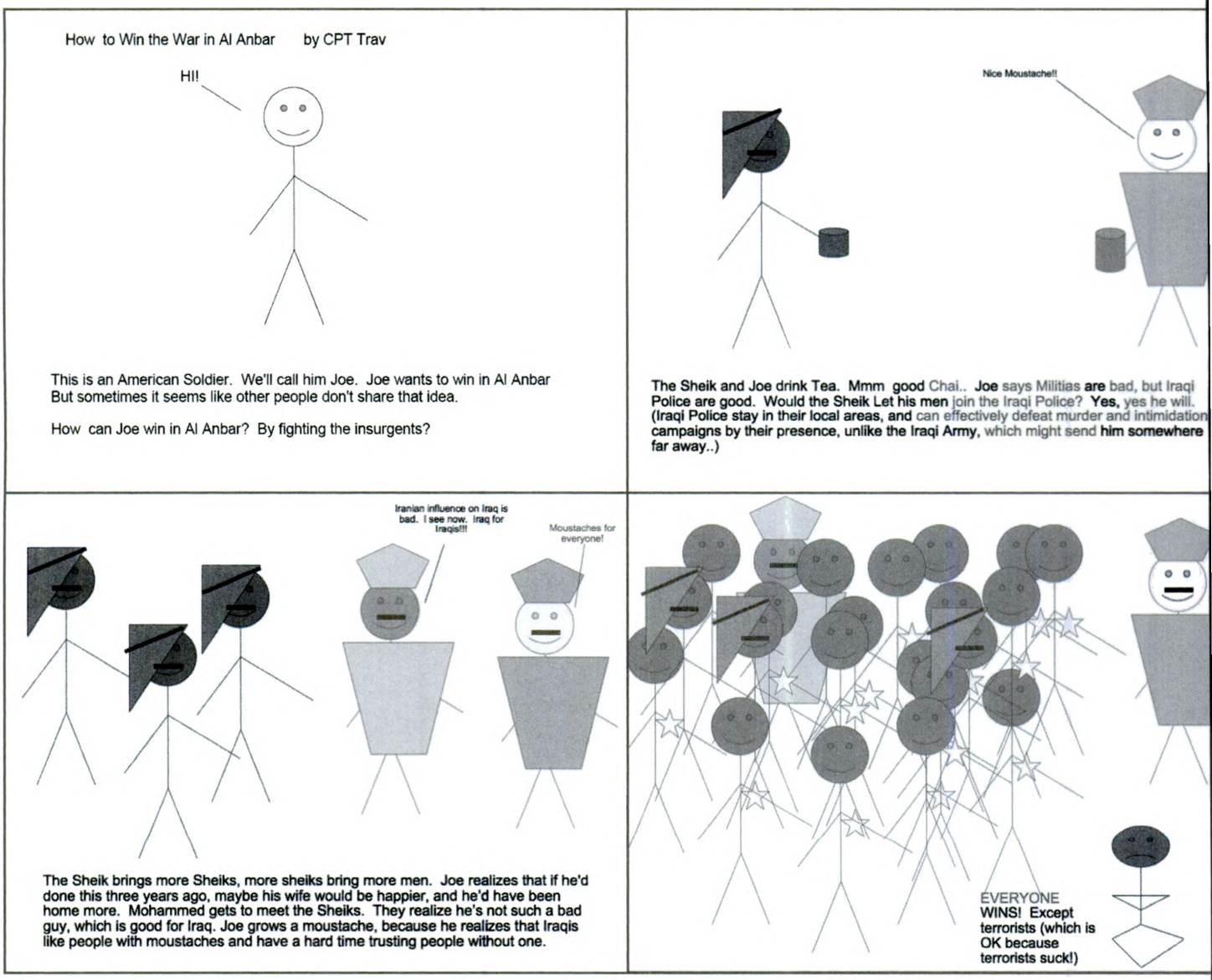
Hours later, Al-Qaeda attempted to intimidate future recruits by murdering and desecrating the body of a leading local sheik who had been instrumental in our early push at recruiting tribe members into the ISF. The attack inflamed tribal sentiment against AQIZ and drove several fence-sitting tribes to support our police recruitment.

A significant leader for the burgeoning movement emerged in Sittar albu-Risha, a younger sheik who resided on the west side of town and who was reputed to have smuggling and business connections throughout Anbar. In addition to having questions about Sittar's true motives, some were concerned that we would be placing too much stock in a relatively junior sheik and undercutting ongoing negotiations with Anbar tribal leaders who had fled to Jordan. However, with each successful negotiation and demonstration of trustworthiness by Sittar, we were able to whittle away at these reservations.

The Tipping Point

Sheik Sittar was a dynamic figure willing to stand up to Al Qaeda. Other, more cautious, sheiks were happy to let him walk point for the anti-AQIZ

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Selected slides from the PowerPoint presentation created by Captain Travis Patriquin. On 6 December 2006, Captain Patriquin was killed in action in Ramadi by an IED. Numerous sheiks attended his memorial service.

tribes in the early days, when victory was far from certain and memories of earlier failed attempts were still fresh. In *The Tipping Point,* Malcolm Gladwell writes that three types of individuals are necessary for a radical change, or a "tipping point," to occur: mavens, salespersons, and connectors. In brief, mavens have the goods, salespersons spread the word, and connectors distribute the goods far and wide.[7] In Ramadi, the Soldiers of the Ready First were the mavens who had the goods—in this case, the ability to form, train, and equip ISF and new leaders. The brigade and battalion commanders acted as salesmen. We identified Sittar as a connector who could get the people to buy into the Awakening. All the elements were in place for transformation; we only had to decide if we trusted Sittar. When our salesmen decided to take a risk with this connector, the effect was amazing in its speed and reach.

On 9 September 2006 Sittar organized a tribal council, attended by over 50 sheiks and the brigade commander, at which he declared the "Anbar Awakening" officially underway. The Awakening Council that emerged from the meeting agreed to first drive AQIZ from Ramadi, and then reestablish rule of law and a local government to support the people. The creation of the Awakening Council, combined with the ongoing recruitment of local

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A power struggle has erupted: al-Qaeda's reign of terror is being challenged. Sheikh Sittar and many of his fellow tribal leaders have cast their lot with the once-reviled U.S. military. They are persuading hundreds of their followers to sign up for the previously defunct Iraqi police. American troops are moving into a city that was, until recently, a virtual no-go area. A battle is raging for the allegiance of Ramadi's battered and terrified citizens and the outcome could have far-reaching consequences.

—Martin Fletcher, "Fighting back: the city determined not to become al-Qaeda's capital," *The Times*, London, 20 November 2006.

security forces, began a snowball effect that resulted in a growing number of tribes either openly supporting the Awakening or withdrawing their support from AQIZ.

Although recruiting and establishing the neighborhood watch units was an important and necessary step to securing Ramadi, it was not sufficient to remove AQIZ influence in the city completely. We needed more police officers who would join us inside the city, which our Soldiers called "the heart of darkness." A critical agreement emerging from the council resulted in commitments to provide more recruits from local tribes to fill out requirements for police forces.

Soon after the council ended, tribes began an independent campaign of eradication and retaliation against AQIZ members living among them. Al-Qaeda's influence in the city began to wane quickly. U.S. and Iraqi units operating from COPs killed or captured AQIZ's most effective elements while resurgent IP and tribal forces raided their caches and safe houses. By late October, nearly every tribe in the northern and western outskirts of Ramadi had publically declared support for the Awakening, and tribes in the dangerous eastern outskirts of the city were sending out feelers about doing the same. The stage was set for a major change in Ramadi.

The Battle of Sufia

AQIZ did not sit idly as it slowly lost its dominance of both the terrain and the populace. Attacks remained high through October 2006 (Ramadan) inside the city limits while SVBIED attacks against and harassment of new COPs and IP stations located outside the city occurred regularly. These attacks often inflicted casualties on the nascent security forces. Casualties were not enough to slow the Awakening, however, and support continued to expand for the movement.

AQIZ long counted on a secure support base on the east outskirts of town in the Sufia and Julaybah areas. These rural tribal areas were some of the most dangerous in the Ramadi AO, and intelligence indicated they harbored a large support network for the insurgents operating inside the city. AQIZ learned that one of the major sheiks of the Sufia area was considering supporting the Awakening and that he had erected checkpoints to keep out insurgents. Facing a threat to its vital support areas outside of town, AQIZ acted quickly to maintain its grip there.

On 25 November, 30 to 40 gunmen in cars drove into the Albu Soda tribal area and began murdering members of the tribe. AQIZ forces took the tribal militiamen attempting to defend their homes by surprise, killing many while looting and burning their homes. A group of civilians fled in boats across the Euphrates River and reached an Iraqi Army outpost where they breathlessly described what was happening. The IA battalion relayed the information to our brigade TOC, where the operations staff reallocated ISR platforms and immediately called for Captain Patriquin to provide an Iraqi account of the situation.

Within an hour, Patriquin had gained an understanding of the situation through phone calls to the local sheiks. The brigade headquarters quickly made a crucial decision—we would support the Albu Soda tribe in defending itself. The BCT commanders and staff cancelled a planned battalion-sized combined operation in east Ramadi that was just hours from execution. The battalion commander who was responsible for that area, Lieutenant Colonel Charles Ferry of 1st Battalion, 9th Infantry (Manchus), quickly diverted his force away from the planned operations to assist the Soda tribe in defending its homes. The decision was immediate and the response rapid, underscoring the brigade's flexibility in recognizing and adapting quickly to take advantage of opportunities, rather than following plans in lockstep.

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AP

Armed militants drive through Ramadi, Iraq, 5 December 2006.

U.S. Marine Corps aircraft arrived overhead to perform "show of force" sorties designed to intimidate the insurgents and convince them that air attack was imminent. Next, a ground reaction force from Task Force 1-9 Infantry began preparations to move to the area and establish defenses for the Albu Soda tribe. Because we were viewing the area using aerial sensors, our vision of the fight was indistinct, and we were unable to separate insurgents from the friendly tribesmen. We did not want to attack the friendly tribe by mistake, so we undertook actions to intimidate the insurgents by firing "terrain denial" missions. Explosions in empty nearby fields raised the possibility of suppressive artillery fire in the minds of the enemy. Complemented by the roar of fighter jets, the startled AQIZ forces became convinced that massive firepower was bearing down on them. They started to withdraw, separating themselves from their victims.

As AQIZ gunmen began fleeing the area, they loaded into several cars, three of which our sensors identified. Our UAV observed a body dragging behind one of the cars, evidently an Albu Soda tribesman. The insurgents obviously meant to terrorize and insult the tribe through this act of mutilation, but they also triggered a boomerang reaction by clearly identifying themselves. The Ready First TOC coordinated F-18 attacks that overtook and destroyed the fleeing vehicles in a blazing fury as M1A1 tanks maneuvered to engage. Armed Predator UAVs and M1A1 tanks in ambush positions finished off others attempting to escape. In the end, the Al Qaeda forces suffered far more casualties than the Albu Soda tribe. By nightfall, several companies of infantry and some M1A1 tanks had reinforced tribal defenders, further demonstrating coalition commitment.

Once again, AQIZ's intimidation attempt spectacularly backfired: tribes joined the Awakening movement at a rate that proved difficult to keep up with, even expanding into the neighboring Fallujah and Hit AOs. Within two months, every tribe in Sufia and Julaybah had declared support for the Awakening, and four new combat outposts had been constructed to secure the populations. An area previously deemed high threat and used as a staging ground for AQIZ mortar attacks became almost completely secure. Tribal

While Al-Qaida has been driven from the city, it has not been driven from Anbar Province, nor from Iraq. But Ramadi—which the Marines thought in August 2006 was fully under control of the insurgents, is THE example of Iraqi-American co-operation. There is an economic boom taking place: there are rebuilding projects; the porcelain factory is re-opening next month, shops are re-opening, and better-quality food and goods are for sale in the markets—and salaries have risen 20 percent in the last six months. For as Mayor Latif Obaid said to me in April when I attended his 3rd Economic Development Conference, Ramadi is open for business—come visit us!

—Andrew Lubin, "Ramadi: Building on Success," *On Point*, 30 October 2007.

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members inside Ramadi began supporting the Awakening as well, and security rapidly improved. Once a tribal area joined the Awakening, enemy contact in those areas typically dropped to near zero, as IP, IA, and U.S. forces provided security. Bases once under daily mortar and small arms attacks became secure areas and transitioned to IP control, freeing U.S. forces to pursue AQIZ elsewhere.

Overall, by February 2007, contacts with insurgents dropped almost 70 percent compared to the numbers in June 2006, and they had dramatically decreased in complexity and effect. The combination of tribal engagement and combat outposts had proved toxic to AQIZ's efforts to dominate Ramadi.

Rebuilding

Clearing and holding are the bloody but relatively straightforward part of any counterinsurgency effort; building the infrastructure to sustain military success is the complicated part. In Ramadi, it was essential to begin building at the beginning of a clearing operation, so there would not be a gap between establishing security and implementing projects.

While civil affairs projects are obviously vital to the success of a clear, hold, build campaign, building human infrastructure, which includes installing government officials and agency directors, is just as vital. One of the keys to success in Tal Afar was the establishment of a credible local government with a mayor respected by the populace. In Ramadi, there was no local governance when we arrived. We prevailed upon the provincial council to appoint a mayor—one acceptable to the tribes—to coordinate development for the city. This appointment was important because it relieved the governor of municipal level duties and allowed him to focus on issues elsewhere in the province. We then worked with the mayor to ensure that schools, hospitals, sewers, power stations, and other infrastructure all returned to pre-war normalcy as soon as possible. In fact, the western part of Ramadi was undergoing redevelopment even while combat operations in east Ramadi continued during autumn. This rebuilding effort demonstrated that normal services could function again and helped convince the people of Ramadi that local security improvements were permanent.

We wanted to encourage people living in still-embattled neighborhoods that joining the Awakening was both possible and in their best interest. To that end, we held the first "Ramadi Reconstruction Conference" in January 2007 at Sheik Sittar's home. Sheik Sittar invited all of the local sheiks, any government officials we could find, and local contractors. Following a brief on all ongoing projects, we explained the different ways coalition forces could be of assistance in reconstruction. The participants broke down into geographically based small groups, led by our five maneuver task force commanders and their local partners, to design and refine plans for reconstruction. The commanders discussed local needs and, just as importantly, local reconstruction capabilities. Everyone was asked to return in March to brief plans. Accordingly, we were able to begin reconstruction in cleared parts of Ramadi before the fighting was over elsewhere. Maintaining the initiative in this way was the single most important thing we did throughout the campaign.

Why We Succeeded

Clearly, a combination of factors, some of which we may not yet fully understand, contributed to this pivotal success. As mentioned before, the enemy overplayed its hand and the people were tired of Al-Qaeda. A series of assassinations had elevated younger, more aggressive tribal leaders to positions of influence. A growing concern that the U.S. would leave Iraq and leave the Sunnis defenseless against Al-Qaeda and Iranian-supported militias made these younger leaders open to our overtures. Our willingness to adapt our plans based on the advice of the sheiks, our staunch and timely support for them in times of danger and need, and our ability to deliver on our promises convinced them that they could do business with us. Our forward presence kept them reassured. We operated aggressively across all lines of operation, kinetic and non-kinetic, to bring every weapon and asset at our disposal to bear against the enemy. We conducted detailed intelligence fusion and targeting meetings and operated seamlessly with special operations forces, aviation, close air support, and riverine units. We have now seen this model followed by other BCTs in other parts of Iraq, and it has proved effective. Indeed, the level of sophistication has only improved since the Ready First departed in February 2007. Although, perhaps

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This is news the world doesn't hear: Ramadi, long a hotbed of unrest, a city that once formed the southwestern tip of the notorious "Sunni Triangle," is now telling a different story, a story of Americans who came here as liberators, became hated occupiers and are now the protectors of Iraqi reconstruction.

—Ullrich Fichtner, "Hope and Despair in Divided Iraq," *Der Spiegel*, 10 August 2007.

groundbreaking at the time, most of our tactics, techniques, and procedures are now familiar to any unit operating in Iraq today.

The most enduring lessons of Ramadi are ones that are most easily lost in technical and tactical discussions, the least tangible ones. The most important lessons we learned were—

- Accept risk in order to achieve results.
- Once you gain the initiative, never give the enemy respite or refuge.
- Never stop looking for another way to attack the enemy.
- The tribes represent the people of Iraq, and the populace represents the "key terrain" of the conflict. The force that supports the population by taking the moral high ground has as sure an advantage in COIN as a maneuver commander who occupies dominant terrain in a conventional battle.

No matter how imperfect the tribal system appeared to us, it was capable of providing social order and control through culturally appropriate means where governmental control was weak.

Conclusion

The men assigned and attached to the Ready First paid a terrible price for securing Ramadi. In nine months, 85 of our Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines were killed, and over 500 wounded in some of the toughest fighting of the war. Only the remarkable results they achieved, and the liberated citizens of Ramadi who can now walk the streets without fear, temper the grief caused by their sacrifice. It is gratifying to see our model adapted and used elsewhere in the War on Terror. It proves once again that America's Army is truly a learning organization. In the end, probably the most important lesson we learned in Ramadi was that, as General Petraeus said, "Hard is not hopeless." ***MR***

NOTES

1. Frederick W. Kagan, "The Gettysburg of This War," *National Review*, 3 Sep 2007.
2. Megan K. Stack and Louise Roug, "Fear of Big Battle Panics Iraqi City," *Los Angeles Times*, 11 June 2006.
3. For the purposes of this essay, the multiple insurgent groups are broken into two main categories: former regime elements (FRE), consisting of former Baathists and other nationalists, and Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQIZ), consisting of Islamic fundamentalist insurgent groups.
4. The "How to Win in Al Anbar" presentation became famous quickly, even gaining mention on several news talk shows. It can be downloaded at <http://abcnews.go.com/images/us/how_to_win_in_anbar_v4.pdf>.
5. Malcolm Gladwell, *The Tipping Point: How Little Things Can Make a Big Difference* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 2000).

This article is dedicated to the members of the Ready First Combat Team who lost their lives to make Iraq a better place and to the tens of thousands of other Soldiers and Marines who are still in the fight.

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Special thanks to Major Eric Remoy, Lieutenant Colonel Philip Mayberry, and Captain Michael Murphy who contributed to this article.

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Addendum: Anbar Awakens

Colonel Sean MacFarland, U.S. Army

You old guys need to get over that s—t.

Young Marine to Marine sergeant major when asked how he felt about fighting alongside an Army unit in Al Anbar, Iraq.

IN THE MARCH-APRIL 2008 ISSUE of *Military Review*, Major Niel Smith and I wrote about the accomplishments of the Soldiers, Marines, Sailors, and Airmen who fought in Ramadi from June 2006 through February 2007. I would like to elaborate on an important point raised in the article: the Al Anbar campaign was a model of joint operational effectiveness.

One of the great legacies of the fight for Al Anbar province will be the enduring, mutual respect earned by the various service-members who fought side by side. This respect was nowhere more evident than in Ramadi, where our Army brigade combat team, the 1st BCT, 1st Armored Division (Ready First Combat Team), fought under the command of I Marine Expeditionary Force (I MEF). The Ready First was not a pure Army BCT. It contained U.S. Marine Corps (USMC) elements, including a reinforced rifle battalion (initially 3/8 Marines and later 1/6 Marines), two rifle companies from a Marine Expeditionary Unit (2/4 Marines), a riverine patrol unit, an air and naval gunfire liaison platoon, and a civil affairs detachment. The Air Force supported the Ready First with an air liaison team embedded in the BCT. The brigade staff itself was a de facto joint organization—it had Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine officers and NCOs throughout. The electronic warfare officer, a Catholic chaplain, and the head surgeon were all Navy commanders. The civil affairs and public affairs officers were Marines. Outside the brigade, support came from a Marine logistics group and I MEF's air combat element. Numerous other external USMC units, including a platoon from a radio battalion, a postal unit, explosive ordnance disposal teams, fire-fighting teams, air traffic controllers, and military transition teams, also provided support. So did the Navy, in the form of surgical teams and corpsmen, SeaBee battalions, electronic warfare experts, and SEAL platoons from SEAL Teams 3 and 5.

The Ready First enjoyed a particularly good working relationship with the Special Forces and other special operations forces in and around Ramadi. Soldiers bestowed the affectionate nickname of "Army SEALs" on the members of SEAL Team 3 in Ramadi who fought and died alongside them. The brigade is particularly proud of its association with SEAL MA2 Mike Monsoor, who while supporting an operation in Ramadi won the Medal of Honor.

The Soldiers, Sailors, Marines, and Airmen in Ramadi were deeply grateful for the lifesaving heroics of their Navy doctors and corpsmen. The spiritual aid given by Navy chaplains to all services will never be forgotten. The skill

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PHOTO: With U.S. Navy SEALs aboard, a USMC patrol boat works Lake Habbaniyah, South of Ramadi, in November 2006. An Army National Guard Apache flies overwatch. (courtesy of author)

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and courage of Marine Corps pilots who attacked targets to assist troops in contact will likewise never fade from memory. In return, the Army's Apache pilots won the respect of Marines and Sailors who, in the mix, also came to rely on Army Paladins for timely and accurate fire support.

A command could not have asked for a better higher headquarters. The I MEF staff was dedicated to ensuring that there were no "haves" and "have-nots" among the units in Al Anbar. Often, the Army received first priority, ahead of the MEF's own Marines. The MEF commander at the time, Major General Richard C. Zilmer, ensured the Ready First had the resources it needed to fulfill his intent, and he never questioned or second-guessed us, even during the darkest hours. His forbearance demonstrated his trust in, and respect for, the professionalism and competence of the Soldiers under his command.

Altogether, the joint effort in Ramadi worked because, no matter what service uniforms they wore, professionals dedicated to the mission performed as expected. This professional dedication evinced itself in shared values and shared understanding. It was not uncommon to see Soldiers and Marines march forward side by side in final honors at memorial services for their lost comrades. At times, the helmets atop inverted M4 carbines reflected a mix of Army and Marine Corps camouflage.

The U.S. Army and the U.S. Marine Corps, each today without peer in its domain of land warfare, have not shared such a strong bond of common experience and understanding since the island campaigns of World War II. The services should nurture those bonds and sustain them over time. Those who share experiences on the battlefield with comrades from sister services can help strengthen these bonds and create closer ones by contributing to the discourse. Articles and other forms of media spawned from joint endeavors, co-written perhaps in cooperative cross-service efforts, will help feed the knowledge base for all services and make us stronger yet as a joint force. ***MR***

Master at Arms Second Class Michael A. Monsoor, United States Navy Awarded the Medal of Honor



The family of U.S. Navy SEAL Master at Arms Second Class Michael A. Monsoor accepted the Medal of Honor, awarded posthumously, during a ceremony at the White House on 8 April 2008.

On 29 September 2006, Navy SEAL Michael A. Monsoor was serving as a member of a sniper overwatch element on a rooftop in an insurgent-held sector of Ramadi. The enemy assaulted the element, engaging them with rocket-propelled-grenade and small-arms fire. As enemy activity increased, Petty Officer Monsoor took position with his machine gun between two teammates on an outcropping of the roof. An insurgent threw a hand grenade, which bounced off Monsoor's chest and landed in front of him. Although only he could have escaped the blast, Monsoor chose instead to protect his teammates. Instantly and without regard for his own safety, he threw himself onto the grenade to absorb the force of the explosion with his body, giving his life to protect the lives of his two teammates.

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Commander's Assessment: SOUTH BAGHDAD

Lieutenant Colonel Ross A. Brown, U.S. Army

THE CHALLENGES a battalion commander faces in Iraq are as great as any U.S. battalion commanders faced in other wars. After a year of combat, from March 2005 to March 2006, I developed an assessment of my Area of Operations (AO) in southern Baghdad that, based upon discussions with my peers, encapsulates many of the challenges other battalion commanders face elsewhere in Iraq. This article attempts to explain those challenges and my conclusions about them, as well as my perspective of what we need to do to win, at least in my former AO.

To prepare myself and my unit, the 3d Squadron (Thunder Squadron) of the 3d Armored Cavalry Regiment for combat in Iraq, I read historical descriptions of counterinsurgency (COIN) operations, the draft field manual on COIN (FM 3-7.22), and all the lessons-learned I could find. I discovered that counterinsurgency is almost universally defined as the combined military, paramilitary, economic, psychological, and civic actions taken by a government to defeat an insurgency. In such a fight, the host country's population is the strategic and operational center of gravity; thus, winning the people's confidence and support is the centerpiece for operations at those levels. Although there aren't any centers of gravity at the tactical level, gaining the local population's confidence and support is just as important as in the higher echelons of operations.

The Problem

The Army's Military Decision Making Process (MDMP) offers a template for solving problems. The first step in the process is to conduct mission analysis in order to scope the military problem and identify its components. Subsequent steps in the MDMP seek to solve the military problem by leading to the execution of activities according to a plan or order. Although I began my tour using only a few components, or bullets, to outline my military problem, the number of bullets increased as my tour wore on. By the end, I had 16:

- The enemy blends into the population.
- The enemy learns and adapts and is usually about a week behind us tactically.
- The enemy rapidly reseeds its leadership and is diverse—there are multiple different groups operating in the AO with multiple cells.
- The enemy uses Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) as an offensive weapon.

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PHOTO: SGT Michael Olivas, 3d Squadron, 3d Armored Cavalry Regiment (Thunder Squadron) provides security during a battalion command visit to a squadron patrol base, September 2005. (AFP, 2005)

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- The terrain does not easily support tracked movement and forces the use of predictable routes.
- The AO is an enemy support zone with caches, meeting places, training, etc.
- There are no large population centers in the AO.
- The population is at best neutral, but seems to support the insurgents.
- The majority of the population is Sunni, with small enclaves of Shi'a spread throughout the AO.
- Wahabbists/Salafists are operating along the Tigris River.
- There are five different tribes in the AO, each with multiple sheiks.
- Coalition engagement with the AO's population was spotty prior to our arrival.
- Unemployment is high.
- We have multiple Iraqi Security Force (ISF) partnerships.
- There are effectively no funds to buy and use informants.
- We are fighting a fight the squadron did not train for.

I anticipated that the number of components defining my problem would initially increase as I conducted operations and learned more about my AO, but I thought that by the end of my tour they would be dramatically reduced. Not only did they increase, but even with a much greater understanding of the complexities of my area, I was unable to solve my problem prior to being relieved by my successor. The fact is that we could have continued to fight the war in my area for the foreseeable future. Everything was contingent upon the population allowing the conflict to exist and their continued willingness to replace the insurgents we killed or detained.

The Enemy

When we left our AO, we were fighting multiple known insurgent groups, the most infamous of which was Al Qaeda in Iraq. In terms of battlefield geometry, I defined the *battle zone* in Multinational Division-Baghdad's (MND-B's) area of responsibility as central Baghdad. The capital is the strategic focus for the enemy in MND-B and where he benefits his cause the most by killing civilians and ISF. His mayhem there undermines the credibility of the government, spreads fear, sows the seeds of a sectarian divide, and generally attracts the most international interest. The areas that surround central Baghdad, particularly my AO in the south, are best characterized as *support zones* where the enemy lives, trains, plans, and prepares for operations. While the enemy did conduct operations against my cavalry squadron, I characterized these as tactical operations, lower in priority to the strategic operations in central Baghdad and the more beneficial tactical operations against the ISF. Although the insurgent groups we faced had different political objectives, I concluded that there was some synchronization between them since attacks were not sporadic and tended to following discernable trends from month to month. I also came to believe that the groups were linked logistically, and we attempted throughout the year to disrupt all the groups' activities by limiting their logistical support.

The People

Understanding the history, language, customs, and traditions of the people among whom you are fighting is essential in a counterinsurgency. Most of the cultural preparations for our operations in Iraq amounted to a few classes on Iraqi customs and one on basic language. Our officers worked through the 3d Armored Cavalry Regiment's recommended reading list, designed to broaden our understanding of the Iraqi people and their country, but there were few discussions about the readings—there simply wasn't much time available after regular predeployment training and maintenance. The relative lack of cultural training wasn't critical, however, because 60 percent of the Soldiers in my squadron had served in Operation Iraqi Freedom I. Having returned from Iraq only 11 months before, my Soldiers already had a working knowledge of Iraq's customs and language.

I concluded that the people in our AO would allow the insurgents to move freely through them and live among them unless we or the ISF were physically present 24 hours a day. I also believe that the people are withholding their loyalty to both the newly elected government and the insurgents until they think they know who is going to win. From my perspective, the majority of the people have survived by "going along to get along" throughout the years, and they are convinced that to commit to either side too early could cost them their lives.

In my dealings with the Iraqi people, I was struck by their penchant for interpreting everything

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AFP, 2005

SFC Kim Bradshaw, NCO in charge of the author's personal security detachment, inspects one of the patrol bases the squadron used to control its area of operations, September 2005.

through the lens of individual self-interest. This applied to both the civilians and the ISF. The concept of putting community or country first was less important than individual best interest. I also had the sense that they didn't care much what kind of government they'd ultimately have, whether it would be a democracy, theocracy, or autocracy. The people's priority was to ensure that their basic needs were satisfied, and the government or group that could best do that would gain their favor. Throughout my year in Iraq, I used this premise of "satisfying basic needs" to allocate funds and prioritize projects. In the end, Maslow's "Hierarchy of Needs" was a very applicable tool for understanding the people's requirements and prioritizing civil-military projects. It also led to my minimizing discussion on the benefits of a democracy. If you drink the same water as your cows, you're likely not interested in a U.S. Soldier explaining the advantages, theory, and practice of Jeffersonian democracy.

It is important to understand the tribal structure of Iraq and your AO, and I knew little about either when I first arrived in Baghdad. What I learned over time was that first and foremost, tribes will protect their own. Individuals willing to provide information about insurgents or criminals would do so about members of other tribes, but never about members of their own. Another thing I learned was that despite a forest of satellite dishes pumping popular Arabic media into every home and hut in my AO, word of mouth was the most trusted form of communication within the tribes. It became something that I would try to influence in my discussions with sheiks and tribal elders. I also came to realize that sheiks had no real power and therefore, I didn't spend too much time wooing them. A trusted sheik told me that he could influence the perspective of those 40 years and older, but had very little influence over younger tribe members. Since the vast majority of those I was fighting were younger than 40, the sheiks couldn't help me much.

Some COIN thinkers believe that civil-military projects can influence the loyalty of the people. I concluded that while the Iraqis in my AO would accept gifts, money, and projects, such perks did little to sway them to our side. As a result, I used the very limited project money I was given to build soccer fields for kids (in the hopes that we'd have better luck with the next generation), to satisfy basic human needs like clean water per Maslow's Hierarchy, and to make it easier to do my mission by, for example, improving roads. In the end, I told my subordinates that all project money would be used for our mission first and the Iraqi people second.

In my dealings with the Iraqi people, I was struck by their penchant for interpreting everything through the lens of individual self-interest.

The ISF

During my tour, our squadron was partnered with two Iraqi Ministry of the Interior (MOI) battalions and two Iraqi Army (IA) battalions. While each

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unit had different strengths and weaknesses, there were some commonalities among them. For one, very few of the Iraqi officers or NCOs we worked with had had any formal military training. We are currently building a professional education infrastructure with the Iraqis, but in the meantime, U.S. commanders need to know who and what they are working with.

Since most ISF leaders are chosen from within the ranks, sycophancy is valued more than education, effectiveness, or professionalism. The result, at least in our case, was ineffectual units and frustration among those Iraqi soldiers who wanted to lead, fight, and win. Additionally, the units we worked with were either all Shi'a or all Sunni, and there were no Kurds. This led to a bias for or against the populations in which the units were operating. One of our IA partners was a Shi'a battalion whose commanding officer was also sheik of the tribe from which the battalion's soldiers came. His executive officer was his son. He told me that if we left Iraq, he would move his battalion south to defend the community that he and his soldiers were from. Unfortunately, I believe that as long as we have sectarian-based units comprised of soldiers from the same communities, we won't be able to develop a viable national army whose loyalty to country is greater than loyalty to community and religion.

A commander new to theater must also understand the prevailing mindset of his Iraqi partners. While the MOI special commando units we soldiered with were very offensive-minded, our IA partners were more defensively oriented. IA leaders were generally more comfortable establishing checkpoints or working out of forward operating bases (FOBs) than conducting raids. Nevertheless, we found that when we had Iraqis under our command during U.S.-initiated offensive operations, they proved to be tough, capable soldiers.

Another challenge was that our ISF units had very limited planning, command and control, and logistics capabilities. Our internally generated military transition teams (MiTTs) focused their energy on developing these capabilities at the company and platoon level while my own headquarters focused on the ISF battalion staffs. We introduced our counterparts to the MDMP, helped them create logistics systems, and augmented their very limited and ineffective communications architecture.

...we found that when we had Iraqis under our command during U.S.-initiated offensive operations, they proved to be tough, capable soldiers.

When working with the ISF, Operations Security (OPSEC) is a consideration that shapes all operations. A prudent commander will always keep in mind the fact that some of his ISF partners could be insurgent infiltrators or sectarian sympathizers, and he will take the steps necessary to ensure OPSEC. When we worked with the MOI, all planned targets for an operation had to be vetted by MOI headquarters before permission was given to my partnership unit to proceed. This requirement caused one of my largest and most complex operations to fail when an insurgent spy in MOI headquarters gave the enemy our target list (thankfully, this leak did not result in the loss of life of any of our Soldiers). The Ministry of Defense is more supportive of multinational operations and didn't require permission above the IA brigade headquarters for our operations.

When I left Iraq, the ISF in my area were clearly incapable of providing security or conducting operations without our support and guidance. I often wondered whether they were as interested in winning the war as we were or whether they just needed a paycheck. I'm glad to report that, in spite of my apprehensions, the ISF improved consistently throughout our tour of duty.

How to Lose

As a result of suffering casualties and, at one time, feeling as if we were losing the war, I came to several conclusions about how a unit can lose in Iraq. The surest way to lose is to be predictable. Leaving the FOB at the same time every day, using the same routes or vehicles, reacting to attacks or events in the same way—all offer the enemy predictable behavior that he can then target. Closely related to being predictable is failing to learn and change. To be effective, units must create an environment in which initiative is rewarded and everyone is committed to learning and changing in order to maintain the initiative. I set up weekly skull sessions in my squadron

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The surest way to lose is to be predictable.

battle-rhythm during which commanders and staff sought to solve the problems we were facing. The sessions were free-wheeling, combative—and productive. There is no place for group-think in combat and particularly in counterinsurgencies. I am most proud of the fact that the organizational energy of my squadron was focused on winning by seizing the initiative and creating as many problems for the enemy as possible. It's not easy to do this, but the battalion commander can begin by creating an environment that leads to a learning organization.

Another way to guarantee that you will lose is to conduct U.S.-only operations and presence patrols. Putting an Iraqi face on all operations reinforces the legitimacy of the government and the ISF while also making it easier to identify foreign fighters and conduct effective tactical questioning. The Iraqis can quickly discern different Arabic accents, and they can get the most out of potential detainees and locals through tactical questioning. The people feared the ISF much more than U.S. Forces and were generally more willing to talk to their countrymen and provide information about the enemy. Sometimes we used this to our advantage by threatening to allow the ISF to talk to potential detainees in our place. The Iraqi people in my AO knew that our treatment of them was guided by the Law of Land Warfare and our rules of engagement, but they weren't sure if the new Iraqi Army had transitioned from Saddam's Army and its abusive treatment of the people.

All patrols in Iraq are combat patrols. I told my leaders in Kuwait that if there was no military necessity for a patrol or no clearly defined purpose for an operation, then we wouldn't do them. To conduct a presence patrol and lose a Soldier's life was grounds for relief or worse in my view. I gave patrol leaders the authority to cancel a patrol until they and their Soldiers clearly understood what their objective was and what was expected of them during and at the end of the patrol. Although only one patrol was cancelled by a patrol leader during our year in Iraq, I believe the empowerment my subordinates felt ensured that our combat patrols had the proper focus and value in defeating the enemy.

Senior-level commanders in Iraq have stated that U.S. forces will increasingly operate from large FOBs. To do so without also establishing patrol bases in the AO would have caused our squadron to lose and to suffer far more casualties than we did. Not only do we provide the enemy predictability by operating from large FOBs, but we are also unable to establish or maintain a secure environment in the AO if we are constantly moving in and out of it. The U.S. Marines in Vietnam, the British throughout their recent military history, and my own squadron in Iraq proved that living among the people is the most effective way to establish a secure environment and to protect our own forces.

Mass and its application in a counterinsurgency is probably worthy of an article in and of itself. My own conclusion is that the sequential application of mass along all lines of operations (LOOs) in an AO will fail. Unless the enemy is planning to attack, he will move to other, safer, places once a friendly offensive operation is communicated or initiated. We have only to look at the results of operations in Fallujah and Tal Afar for examples of this. While some insurgents decided to stay and fight in both of these cities, others left to fight another day in another place of their own choosing. To be effective in my AO, I had to spread resources equally among my subordinate units and then conduct precision offensive operations based upon intelligence from informants. Had I massed in one area and then sequentially massed in another with the expectation that once clear an area would remain clear, then we would have lost in our AO. We simply can't mass and "win in the west" and then, based upon a decision point, mass and "win in the east" if we are to be victorious in a counterinsurgency.

There is a requirement, then, to mass simultaneously along all LOOs throughout an AO. We had four lines of operation in our area: combat operations, ISF

...living among the people is the most effective way to establish a secure environment and to protect our own forces.

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operations, information operations, and civil-military operations. To be effective, we couldn't just focus on one or two LOOs; we had to integrate all four lines into each of our operations and the overall campaign, and we had to apply them simultaneously. As an example, when we executed a raid, we included our ISF partners, used tactical psychological operations teams and our own Soldiers to ensure the public knew what our intent was, and then followed up the raid the next day by making goodwill gestures to the population, such as distributing soccer balls, repairing roads, or providing clothing and food. The integration and simultaneous application of all four lines in each operation during the campaign prevents the enemy from focusing on one line. Over time, it creates depth along each line of operation.

How to Win

By the time we redeployed, I thought we were winning the war in our AO. Although I don't believe we could have completely extinguished the insurgency with the limited resources we had available, we were winning. To get to where we were, we came up with 10 commandments for winning the COIN war in south Baghdad:

- Keep instructions clear and operations simple.
- Constantly modify tactics to maintain the initiative.
- Use civil-military ops for the mission, not the people.
- Mass throughout the depth of the battlespace and along all LOOs—create multiple problems for the enemy.
- Establish patrol bases throughout the battlespace to disrupt, control, project, and defeat.
- Execute continuous and complementary air assault, mounted, and dismounted operations.
- Conduct precision offensive operations based on multi-sourced human intelligence.
- Use Special Forces to complement conventional operations and augment intelligence.
- Engage sheiks to gain intelligence and execute info ops.
- Clear–Hold–Build/Project to create interior lines.

We have already discussed most of the bullets above, but I would like to highlight a few more. I began operations primarily using M1114s (up-armored Humvees). Although the M1114 is a very capable vehicle, our tanks and Bradleys proved to be much more effective in protecting the force and deterring or destroying the enemy. During our year in Iraq, 30 of our combat vehicles were destroyed, to include 6 tanks, 10 Bradleys, and 14 M1114s. Had we not used mainly heavy tracked vehicles, we would have had many more casualties. Some may argue that a tank or Bradley deters effective interaction with the public. My priority was to protect the force first, knowing that once our Soldiers and our Iraqi partners were talking to the people on the ground, their mode of transportation wasn't important. I'd also like to highlight that if we used tracked vehicles for an operation, we always put our Iraqi partners under armor, either in M113A3s or Bradleys, to protect them and ensure they knew that we thought their lives were as important as our own Soldiers' lives.



AFP, 2005

The author, right, with SFC Kim Bradshaw and CPT Robert Guillen, attempts to identify the position an insurgent observer used to detonate an IED about an hour earlier, September 2005.

As our tour wore on, our dismounted operations increased. Although we were a heavy armored cavalry squadron, the demands of counterinsurgency in Iraq require all ground maneuver Soldiers to be physically tough, capable of conducting long dismounted operations in temperatures over 100 degrees Fahrenheit and under body armor. We also executed over 30 air assaults, using anywhere from

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For a more detailed explanation of recommendations dealing with convoy operations and IED avoidance, to include schematics and recommended march order, see the 3/3 Armored Cavalry After Action Report, dated March 31, 2006, which can be found on the Center for Army Lessons Learned (CALL) database at the following webpage address:
https://call2.army.mil/focus/pubs/index.asp

2 to 18 aircraft. I concluded that the helicopter is decisive in Iraq. Transports can speed Soldiers to the right locations, and attack aviation can acquire, kill, or otherwise deter the enemy. In the end, the continuous sequencing and complementing of air assault, mounted, and dismounted operations maximized the element of surprise, disrupted the enemy, and ensured we were not predictable.

So how did we know we were winning? Measures of effectiveness are among the most hotly debated issues in Iraq. Everybody has an opinion, but we set stock in the following:

- A decrease in the number of attacks against the squadron and IA forces in the AO.
- An increase in the number of informants offering targetable information.
- An increase in the number of caches located.
- Demonstrated willingness of locals to work on or support projects initiated in our AO.
- An increase in the number of local leaders willing to support our initiatives or start their own (e.g., neighborhood watch with IA support).

As the ISF matured, they increasingly conducted independent reconnaissance patrols and area security operations. Based upon their interaction with the population during these patrols, and after the establishment of patrol bases permanently manned by an Iraqi infantry company (with a small squadron MiTT) throughout the AO, the number of informants increased tenfold. Information from these informants provided the intelligence necessary to gain and then maintain the initiative in our AO.[1]

After receiving information about enemy activities or locations, we would launch a raid to destroy or detain insurgents and their caches. To win, battalion commanders must develop an informant network that will drive their operations. Although a lack of funds to buy informants prevented us from challenging the insurgents to the degree that we wanted, the ISF proved invaluable in developing an informant network that my subordinate commanders, tactical human intelligence team, and intelligence officer could leverage.

At some point in the rotation, I read an article about Andrew Krepinevich's argument for adopting a "Clear-Hold-Build" strategy in Iraq.[2] While I liked this basic concept, I further modified it and integrated the establishment of patrol bases, which we had used in Ranger school and I had observed the British using in Bosnia. IEDs were our greatest threat, and although we were attempting to kill the emplacers and manufacturers and destroy the means to make IEDs, we knew we would have to deliberately clear routes in the AO before establishing patrol bases. My subordinate commanders together developed a technique that integrated ground-penetrating radar, dismounts, an explosive ordnance detachment, tanks, Bradleys, and aviation. Not a single Soldier was killed or seriously wounded utilizing this technique, and we discovered and destroyed over 50 IEDs.

After the route had been cleared to an abandoned house or one belonging to a known insurgent, we occupied the home and rapidly established security and a permanent traffic control point. We manned the route leading to the patrol base with permanent mounted or dismounted patrols in depth, and we never relinquished control of it. As a result, we severely disrupted the enemy's ability to emplace IEDs. After establishing patrol bases throughout our AO and securing the routes that led to them, we did not lose a Soldier to an IED. Additionally, by securing the routes that led from our FOB to our patrol bases, we effectively created interior lines that allowed us to mass quickly, move relatively securely, and provide logistical support expeditiously.

After establishing patrol bases throughout our AO and securing the routes that led to them, we did not lose a Soldier to an IED.

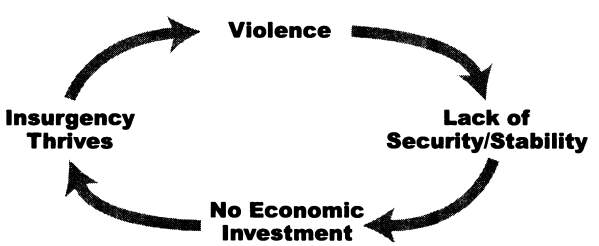
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Although the interior lines were valuable for defense and logistics, we were offensively oriented, and so we also used the secure lines and bases to project our influence further into the AO. Conducting offensive operations from our patrol bases, we severely disrupted the enemy's lines of communication to Baghdad as well as his ability to plan and prepare for operations against us. Concurrently, we built upon our success by focusing civil-military projects on the locals' quality of life while the continuous security we were now able to provide led to increased, albeit limited, economic activity. The enemy responded to our patrol bases with more ambushes, snipers, and mortar fire, but we met them with massed direct fire and indirect fires. When the Lightweight Countermortar Radar was digitally linked to our Paladin battery, we limited the enemy's ability to fire mortars. At the same time, we created a niche in the COIN fight for our superior firepower and artillery.

Conclusion

As the ISF became more confident and capable, they conducted more independent security operations while we conducted combined/multinational offensive operations. This modus operandi played to both our strengths and, coupled with operations along the other LOOs, severely hindered the enemy's ability to move freely in the population; it put him on the defensive. According to the measures of effectiveness we had compiled, at the end of our tour we were winning the war in our AO. To turn winning into lasting victory, however, we needed additional assets that weren't available.

I used the graphic below to explain our challenges to the sheiks in my AO:



In general terms I told them that an unstable, violent environment all but prohibited economic investment and ensured unemployment, which were the sheik's greatest long term concerns. No long term investment and no jobs then led to a thriving insurgency as the people supported and participated in the fighting to express dissatisfaction with their ineffectual government and the U.S. occupation. The result was more violence directed against the people, their property, the ISF, and our squadron. I suggested to the sheiks that we break this cycle along the lack of stability/security line. I told them that being partners against the insurgency was the only way to establish the secure environment that would break the insurgency's back and deliver the economic benefits their people deserved.

As I look back now, I have to say that the greatest hurdle we had to overcome in our area was the Iraqi people's reluctance to partner with us and the ISF against the insurgency. In the end, we could continue to provide a certain degree of security and to disrupt the insurgency, but without the people's moral resolve and support, any hope of decisive victory was scant. The people's lack of commitment spilled over into the ISF—our military partners were never as committed as we were to building the new Iraq. Our own side is culpable, too. As I stated earlier, we were never really resourced to defeat the insurgency in our AO. Nor was our commitment to victory matched by the other representatives of national power. There was very little if any contribution from the diplomatic, financial, and law enforcement agencies of the U.S. and Iraqi governments. Their help either trickled down in tiny amounts or didn't come at all.

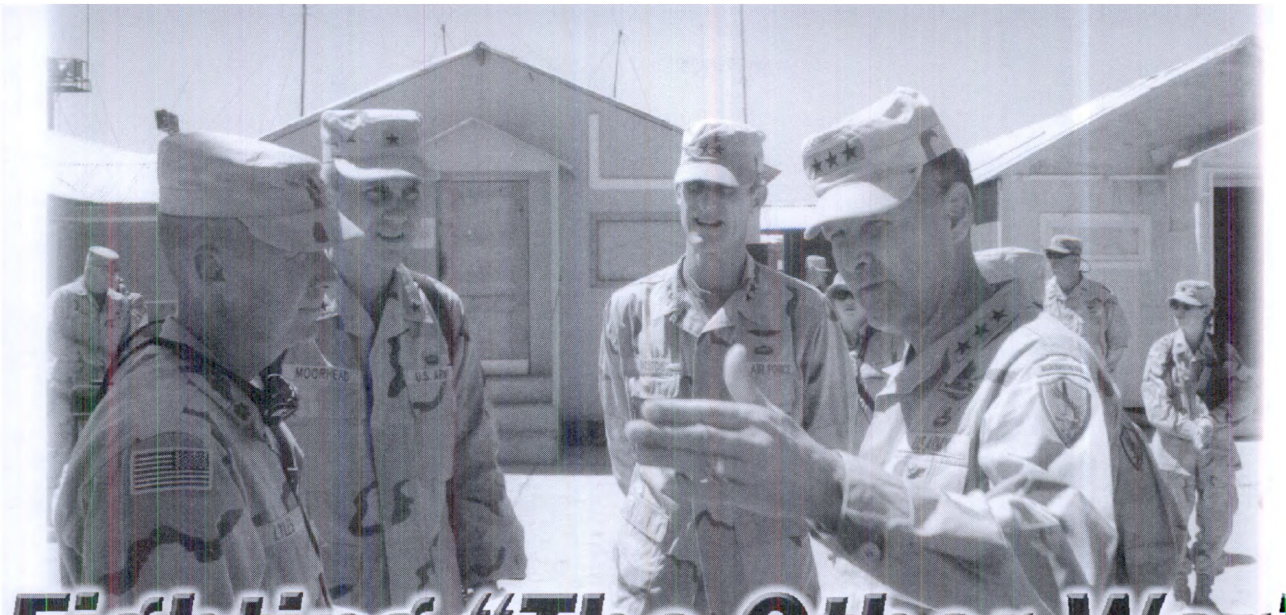
In sum, I was convinced upon leaving Iraq that given the circumstances we faced and the resources that were committed, we would have continued to fight the war in my AO for the foreseeable future. ***MR***

NOTES

1. Almost no reliable information for executing operations came from our higher headquarters. They contributed by fusing intelligence from multiple headquarters in an attempt to identify enemy trends across the larger AO, and by providing resources that helped answer my priority intelligence requirements.

2. Andrew F. Krepinevich Jr., "How to Win in Iraq," *Foreign Affairs* (September-October 2005), <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20050901faessay84508/andrew-f-krepinevich-jr/how-to-win-in-iraq.html>.

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Fighting "The Other War"

Counterinsurgency Strategy in Afghanistan, 2003-2005

Lieutenant General David W. Barno, U.S. Army, Retired

The views expressed in this article are those of the author and do not reflect the official policy or position of the Department of Defense or the U.S. Government.

Strategy without Tactics is the slowest road to Victory. Tactics without Strategy is the noise before Defeat.
—Sun Tzu

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PHOTO: The author at TF Phoenix. TF Phoenix was responsible for the training and equipping of the Afghan National Army. Left to right are LTC Lyles, Operations Officer, TF Phoenix; BG Moorhead, Commander, TF Phoenix; MG Weston, Chief, Office of Military Cooperation-Afghanistan; and LTG Barno. TF Phoenix was based in eastern Kabul. (DOD)

AFGHANISTAN IN MID-2003 was at a point of transition—a strategic fork in the road. Major combat operations had ended in 2001, devolving into a long-term pursuit of Taliban and Al-Qaeda remnants, and humanitarian support was beginning to enlarge the nascent reconstruction effort; but Taliban-related activity was increasing in the south and east of the country, while heavily armed militias continued to dominate many areas. Politically, however, optimism across the nation was almost tangible. Plans were underway for a nationwide *loya jirga* (grand council) to draft a new constitution, an effort to begin the democratic process that would move beyond the 2002 jirga, which had appointed Hamid Karzai the leader of a transitional government. Additionally, presidential and parliamentary elections were being planned for 2004.

The Bonn process had organized the overwhelming international sympathy toward Afghanistan with lead nations designated to oversee security sector reform.[1] International support for stabilizing Afghanistan was strong, focused upon the UN Assistance Mission to Afghanistan (UNAMA), which was led by the renowned and influential Algerian diplomat Lakhdar Brahimi. A 5500-person International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) had transitioned into a NATO-led mission, but remained confined to security duties in Kabul. On balance, however, the nationwide writ of the provisional government in Kabul was tenuous at best, and increasing security concerns threatened to undermine both international support and the nascent political process.

Unfortunately, the U.S.-led military coalition was not well postured to counter the rising threat. Coordination between the military and interagency partners was hampered by a U.S. Embassy and military headquarters separated by over forty kilometers. Unity of effort suffered; the military command and control situation was in flux; our tactical approach was enemy-focused and risked alienating the Afghan people; and the substantial draw of operations in

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Iraq had put severe limits on the availability of key military capabilities for Afghanistan. To make matters more difficult, the American military leadership was rotating, and the first U.S. ambassador since 1979 had departed with no replacement. Clearly, without a significant change in course, Afghanistan was at risk.

This article outlines the changes subsequently made to U.S. strategy in Afghanistan. It depicts the approach, begun in October 2003, to create a successful counterinsurgency (COIN) campaign in "the other war" that resulted in over two years of relative stability and progress. It also provides a brief assessment of the situation in Afghanistan now, as we move toward the end of 2007.

The Military Situation—Summer 2003

In mid-2003, the U.S.-led coalition embodied over 12,000 troops representing 19 nations. It was led by Combined Joint Task Force (CJTF)-180, formed in June 2002 as the forward headquarters in Afghanistan and based at the old Soviet airbase at Bagram, a 20-minute helicopter flight north from Kabul.

The U.S. had downsized the original CJTF in the spring of 2003, replacing a powerful and well-resourced three-star-led headquarters (XVIII Airborne Corps) and a subordinate division headquarters (Task Force 82) with a single division-level headquarters (10th Mountain Division).[2] As a result, operational tasks once performed by the corps headquarters and tactical tasks performed by the division headquarters were now assigned to one headquarters struggling to oversee both levels of war for a very large theater of operations.

In Kabul, an Office of Military Cooperation (OMC) had been formed in mid-2002 to take on the mission of building the Afghan National Army (ANA), and de facto a number of political- military tasks as well.[3] The focus of the U.S. military effort in the aftermath of the December 2001 fall of the Taliban had been two-fold: to hunt down the remnants of Al-Qaeda and the Taliban across the rugged landscape of southern and eastern Afghanistan, and to build the ANA. "Nation-building" was explicitly *not* part of the formula.[4]

Despite the presence of a large U.S.-led combined and joint civil-military operations task force (CJCMOTF) then based in Kabul, the military focus on reconstruction was limited. Four provincial reconstruction teams (PRTs) had been created—two American teams at Gardez and Konduz, a British effort at Mazar-e-Sharif, and a New Zealand mission in Bamian. All four were in relatively quiet areas. There was no PRT presence in the more volatile south and only one in the east (at Gardez), although an expansion of four more PRTs had been planned for the spring of 2004.

Overall, the military span of control in Afghanistan was vast: one division-size joint task force headquarters (with a series of temporary commanders in the summer of 2003) supported over 10,000 soldiers of a multinational force conducting security and reconstruction efforts across a nation the size of Texas with a population of 31 million. (Afghanistan is nearly 50 percent larger than Iraq and has 4 million more people).[5]

Of even greater concern, only one ground maneuver brigade had tactical responsibility for this immense battlespace. To complicate matters, Special Forces, civil-military operations, aviation, and logistics commands operated throughout the battlespace, but reported individually to the CJTF-180 headquarters in Bagram—not to the ground brigade commander.[6]

The primary approach on the ground was enemy-centric. Conventional units operated out of sizeable bases such as Bagram or Kandahar or smaller forward operating bases such as Shkin or Orgun-e. They gathered intelligence, planned operations, and sortied on "raids," which could be small, prolonged patrols of some days' duration or battalion-size operations lasting several weeks (e.g., Operation Mountain Lion). Underlying these actions was the concept that intelligence drives operations; as a result, tactical operations inevitably remained focused on the enemy.

This "raid strategy" combined with the small number of troops had the effect of largely separating coalition forces from the Afghan people. The tactics, techniques, and procedures (TTP) units used often worsened this separation. "Tossing" whole villages in a cordon-and-search operation based on an intelligence tip, regardless of its accuracy, could quickly alienate a neutral or even friendly populace.

At the time, the U.S. military had not published COIN doctrine since Vietnam, and units had relatively little training in COIN before their arrival

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in country. There was much "learning by doing" and even disagreement as to whether the fight in Afghanistan was a COIN fight at all. In fact, unit commanders were forbidden from using the word "counterinsurgency" in describing their operations—they were executing a "counterterrorist" mission in keeping with U.S. strategic guidance and an operational focus on the enemy.[7]

In view of this situation, the commander of U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) recognized the need for a different headquarters configuration. In October 2003, he ordered a new three-star coalition headquarters to stand up in Kabul and focus on political-military efforts, permitting the two-star JTF headquarters at Bagram to focus more fully on tactical operations.[8] This initiative represented a distinct break from the previous belief that the overall military headquarters should be somewhat removed from the capital, in part to avoid entanglement in the political complexities of a city of three million Afghans. Kabul was interlaced with all manner of international embassies, special envoys, NATO ISAF units, UNAMA, and a plethora of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), all working to bring a better future to Afghanistan—but in a free-wheeling, confusing, and sometimes counterproductive mix. "Kabul will consume you," warned one senior U.S. commander who had served in Bagram.[9]

A Counterinsurgency Strategy

Although the story of how we created a three-star operational headquarters with no existing core staff (and from a start point of six members!) in an ongoing operational environment holds important lessons of its own, the centerpiece of this article is the evolution of a COIN strategy for Afghanistan.[10] The latter story began shortly after my arrival in country, when Lakhdar Brahimi asked us to develop an approach to address the deteriorating security situation in the south and east of the country. The UN had responsibility for devising and implementing a plan to hold Afghan presidential and parliamentary elections in 2004, and it was becoming clear that the organization would be unable to extend its reach into significant parts of the Pashtun southern half of Afghanistan if the security situation continued to remain dangerous there. Moreover, a strong Taliban offensive was expected in the spring of 2004, which would further threaten the elections and thus undermine the "roadmap" set forth by the international community in the Bonn Process.

After 10 days of intense staff work led by my talented director of planning, a British colonel whose 22-man J5 (future plans) shop now comprised over two-thirds of our entire staff, we were able to propose a new approach to security and stability to take into 2004.[11] Initially called "Security Strategy South and East," this effort quickly grew into a comprehensive COIN approach for Afghanistan. Ultimately, it evolved into a detailed campaign plan co-written with the U.S. Embassy and broadly shared by the Afghans and international community. Titled "Counterinsurgency Strategy for Afghanistan," the plan was crafted in the absence of U.S. military doctrine, but reflected a solid knowledge of classic COIN approaches. The bookshelves in my Kabul offices at the embassy and military compound were well stocked with my own COIN readings and several senior British officers on my staff supplied important operational insights from their Northern Ireland tours.[12]

To outline our strategy in simple terms, we created "The Five Pillars" diagram (figure 1). This graphic became a powerful tool for explaining the basics of our strategy to civilians, and within the command it circulated down to the very lowest tactical levels. In addition to providing an extraordinarily effective means of communicating complex ideas, it helped us implement the strategy's fundamentals.[13]

Overarching Principle 1: The People as Center of Gravity

The core principle animating the new strategy was our identification of the Afghan people as the center of gravity for COIN (roof of the five pillars).[14] This constituted a sea change in practice from earlier approaches, which had held that the *enemy* was the center of gravity and should be the focus of our military effort (a determination driven in part by the U.S. strategic outlook in 2003, which viewed nation-building as an inappropriate military task).

In making this change we were motivated by both classic counterinsurgency practice as well as thoughtful consideration of Afghan military history. In late 2003, international forces comprised nearly 20,000 armed foreigners living in the midst of 31 million (often armed) Afghans who, throughout

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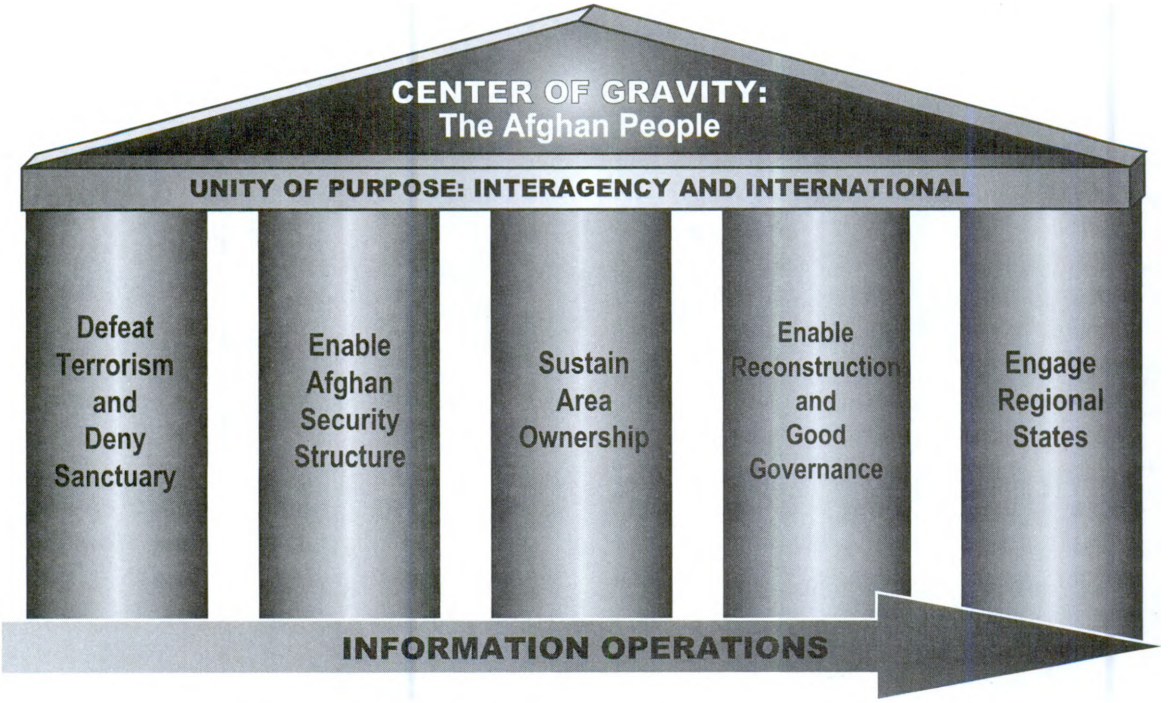


Figure 1. CFC-A counterinsurgency strategy, 2003-2005.

their history, had shown immense enmity to foreign forces. Two successive British expeditions in the 19th century and the massive Soviet invasion in the late 20th century had provoked virulent responses from the people of Afghanistan—each ending in the bloody demise of the foreign military presence. In fact, the "light footprint" approach taken by U.S. force planners was, in many respects, derived from a strong desire not to replicate the Soviet attempt at omnipresence.[15]

In our emerging strategy, I viewed the tolerance of the Afghan people for this new international military effort as a "bag of capital," one that was finite and had to be spent slowly and frugally. Afghan civilian casualties, detainee abuse, lack of respect shown to tribal elders, even inadvertent offenses to the conservative Afghan culture—all would have the effect of spending the contents of this bag of capital, tolerance for foreigners, more quickly.

With "respect for Afghans" as our watchword, we decided that convincing the Afghan people to commit to their future by supporting elections for a new government would be the near-term centerpiece of coalition efforts. Thus, our military "main effort" in 2004 would be explicitly to "set the conditions for a successful Afghan presidential election"—certainly an unconventional military focus. One of the changes in our military approach evinced by this focus on the population was a near-ironclad prohibition against using airpower to strike targets not directly engaged in close combat with coalition troops. Air strikes based solely on technical intelligence were almost entirely eliminated owing both to their conspicuous lack of success and the unintended casualties they characteristically caused among Afghan civilians. In my estimation, this new judicious reserve in the application of coalition firepower helped sustain the people's fragile tolerance of an extended international military presence. In essence, we traded some tactical effect for much more important strategic consequences.

Overarching Principle 2: Unity of Purpose

A second principle of our strategy was interagency and international unity of purpose. Militarily, this was paralleled by a deliberate and measured reorganization to achieve unity of command in coalition operations. As noted above, our military organizational structures had evolved unevenly as forces echeloned into Afghanistan in disparate increments following the Taliban's fall in late 2001. During the execution of that early operational phase, most U.S. troops were based outside of Afghanistan, and those

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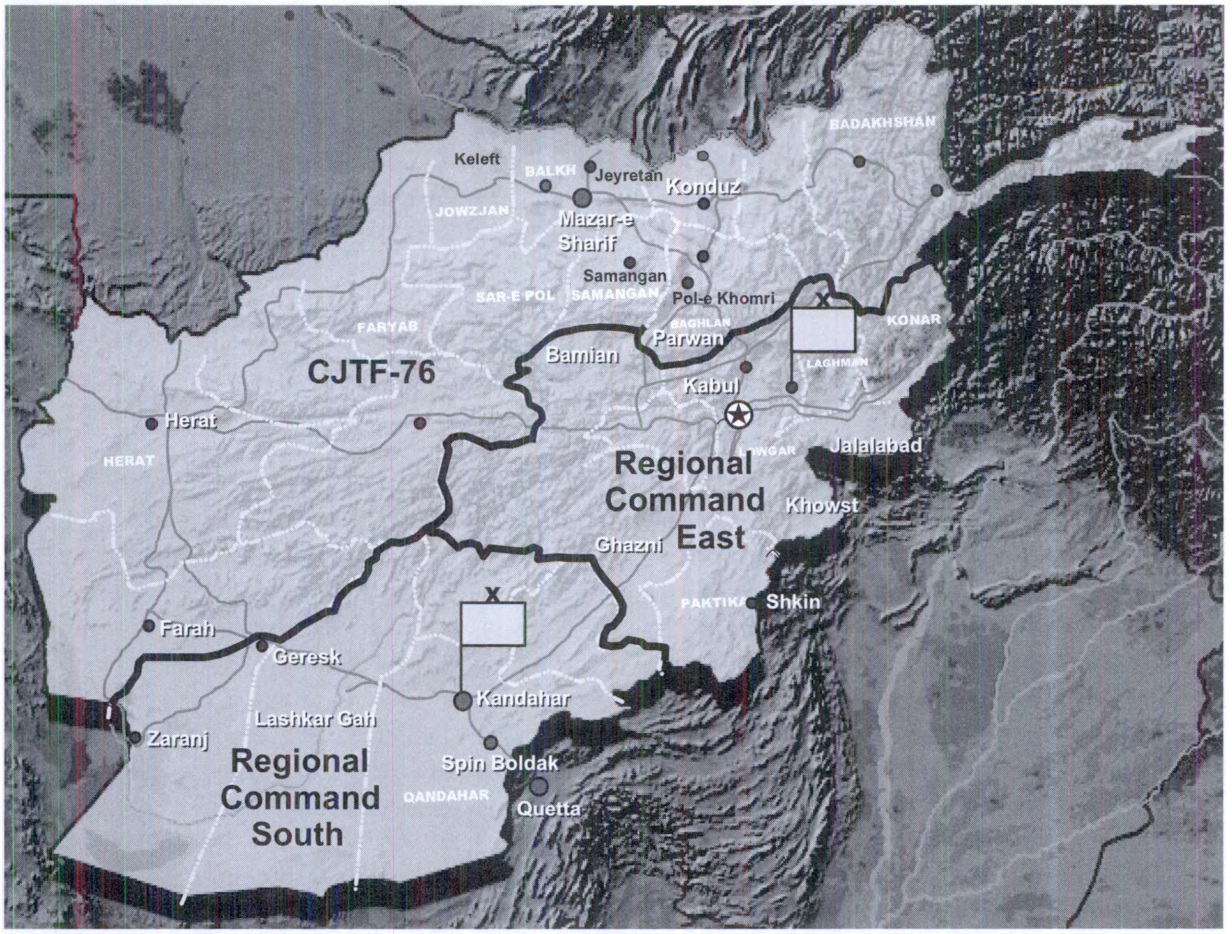


Figure 2. U.S. and Coalition Battlefield Geometry, May 2004

in-country had only begun to establish what would become long-term operating bases. During 2002, Bagram and Kandahar became the primary base locations for large units, logistical infrastructure, and coalition airpower. As more units were added to the mix, and as the coalition presence continued long beyond initial expectations, a patchwork line of command authorities had evolved—an unsurprising situation given the need to cover a huge country with a small sliver of forces.

Our moves over the next months focused on establishing two ground brigade-level headquarters, one assigned the hazardous south and the other the volatile east (figure 2).[16] (The northern half of the country remained largely free from any enemy threat, and thus became an economy-of-force area.) The brigades' headquarters in the south and east became centers for regional command and control of forces in the vast southern half of the country. Each brigade was assigned an area of operations spanning its entire region. All organizations operating in this battlespace worked directly for or in support of the brigade commander. This was a striking and powerful organizational change.

Establishing unity of purpose in the non-military sphere was much more difficult. Arguably, the greatest flaw in our 21st-century approach to COIN is our inability to marshal and fuse efforts from all the elements of national power into a unified whole. This failure has resulted in an approach akin to punching an adversary with five outstretched fingers rather than one powerful closed fist.

Oftentimes, this rift has had its origin in relations between the U.S. chief of mission (i.e., our ambassador) and the military commander—each reporting to different chains of command in the midst of a nation embroiled in a counterinsurgency war. Afghanistan in 2003 was no exception—a situation made even more difficult by personnel turnover. After the U.S. ambassador departed in July without a replacement, the deputy chief of mission served as the acting chief for four months, and the presidential special

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envoy for Iraq and Afghanistan, Zalmay Khalilzad, shuttled in and out. Ultimately named as the new U.S. ambassador, Khalilzad arrived for full-time duties on Thanksgiving Day 2003—but retained his special envoy status and thus had direct and regular access to the president as well as to the Department of State (DOS).[17] As the U.S. and coalition military commander, I reported to the commander of U.S. Central Command, General John P. Abizaid, and through him to the secretary of defense and the president. Our system dictates that our top diplomat and main military commander receive orders from and report to different people, coming together only at the president. Moreover, the cultural differences which separate the departments of State and Defense—and their people—are well known.

Fortunately, chemistry counts, and personalities matter. Ambassador Khalilzad and I both recognized that our personal relationship would set the tone for embassy and military teams across Afghanistan. We established a strong personal bond in Kabul that became a keystone in what would be a seamless approach to the interagency challenges we faced in Afghanistan.[18] (In retrospect, I have viewed this approach as much akin to a "supporting-supported" relationship between the military and the embassy for many tasks involving other than the military elements of power). My guidance to our staff was that as the most powerful organization in the country, we would take a direct interest in *everything*—not just the traditional warfighting piece. As I told an exasperated and overworked staff officer in October 2003: "We own it all!"[19] Our tactics outside the military arena would largely be characterized as "leading from the rear" but were nonetheless very effective. To demonstrate personal commitment to this unified embassy-military approach, I moved into a half-trailer on the embassy compound and established an office there next to the ambassador's. I began each day attending country-team and core security-group meetings with our new ambassador. The message to our staffs was unambiguous: there would be no "white space" between the military and interagency effort in Kabul, and by extension, throughout Afghanistan.

The close personal relationship the ambassador and I established paid us both immense dividends. Through daily meetings of key players in the embassy, we developed a common view of the fight that further cemented the unity of our integrated effort. This shared view significantly shaped our unified interagency approach. It also had a major impact on the direction of our military efforts.[20]

Building teamwork and consensus among the diverse international players in Kabul was more problematic. The simple challenge was getting all the players on the same playing field, playing the same sport, and moving toward the same set of goal posts. (Having everyone in the same jersey was not expected!) We spent significant personal time and military staff effort building close relations with the Afghans, UNAMA, foreign embassies, the media, and even the NGO community. A key element in developing our COIN campaign plan was "shopping it around" in draft form—first to the members of the U.S. Embassy, then to the broader set of international and Afghan players who would be essential in supporting its goals. This unconventional approach sent a message of inclusion to all those committed to Afghanistan's future. At the same time, it significantly refined and improved our planning.

We also seconded five military staff officers to the ambassador packaged as an unusual new group, the Embassy Interagency Planning Group, or EPIG. Led by a brilliant Army military intelligence colonel, this small core of talented planners—the "piglets"—applied structured military staff planning to the diverse requirements Ambassador Khalilzad faced in shaping the interagency response in Afghanistan.[21] With the ambassador's guidance, the EPIG drafted the embassy's mission performance plan, and it developed and tracked metrics for him on all aspects of interagency and military performance. Eventually, we also seconded military officers from our headquarters to many of the embassy's key sections to augment a small, young country team. This served two important purposes: it lent structured planning and organizing support to overworked embassy offices, and it kept our military team well connected to the embassy's efforts across the spectrum. This move, too, contributed to building a unified team with close personal ties, trust, and confidence.

Five Pillars

As figure 1 depicts, our COIN plan for Afghanistan had five pillars:

- Defeat terrorism and deny sanctuary.
- Enable the Afghan security structure.

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- Sustain area ownership.
- Enable reconstruction and good governance.
- Engage regional states.

Linking these pillars together was information operations (IO)—winning the war of ideas.

The keys to delivering on our COIN strategy were to implement and integrate the actions called for by these pillars, and to have every platoon, squad, and team in Afghanistan clearly understand their intent. We had departed notably from previous, more constrained approaches by naming the Afghan people as our operational center of gravity and by focusing on unity of purpose across diverse stakeholders. The five pillars reflected our reassessment of how to apply even long-standing military capabilities in new directions.

Defeat terrorism and deny sanctuary. As we switched our focus from the enemy to the people, we did not neglect the operational tenet of maintaining pressure on the enemy. Selected special operations forces (SOF) continued their full-time hunt for Al-Qaeda's senior leaders. The blood debt of 9/11 was nowhere more keenly felt every day than in Afghanistan. No Soldier, Sailor, Airman, or Marine serving there ever needed an explanation for his or her presence—they "got it." Dedicated units worked the Al-Qaeda fight on a 24-hour basis and continued to do so into 2004 and 2005.

In some ways, however, attacking enemy cells became a supporting effort: our primary objective was maintaining popular support. Thus, respect for the Afghan people's customs, religion, tribal ways, and growing feelings of sovereignty became an inherent aspect of all military operations. As well, the "three-block war" construct became the norm for our conventional forces.[22] Any given tactical mission would likely include some mixture of kinetics (e.g., fighting insurgents), peacekeeping (e.g., negotiating between rival clans), and humanitarian relief (e.g., digging wells or assessing local needs). The 2001-2003 notion of enemy-centric counterterrorist operations now became nested in a wholly different context, that of "war amongst the people," in the words of British General Sir Rupert Smith.[23]

Our forces in the field once again demonstrated their remarkable ability to adjust to changing situations with only general guidance—and deliver results. When I asked a superb battalion commander how, in the absence of doctrine, he was able to shift his leaders toward a largely new COIN approach in the middle of their combat tour, he laughed and said: "Easy, sir—Books-A-Million.Com!"[24] Reading classic counterinsurgency texts in the field became a substitute for official doctrine. The realization grew that "First, do no harm" must be a central consideration, and that Afghan security forces must play a visible role in coalition military operations. Even local elders were enlisted, for we knew that intelligence could often be manipulated to settle old scores and discredit our efforts.

Our growing recognition of the need to respect the population eventually led us to develop the "Fifteen Points," a coordinated set of guidelines (see sidebar) that we proposed to President Karzai in response to his growing concerns about the impact of coalition military operations. Together, we publicized these efforts in order to assure the Afghans that we recognized and respected the sovereignty of their country. This had the intended effect. It extended the freedom of action granted to coalition forces for perhaps years, allowing us to spend the "bag of capital"—Afghan tolerance—that much more slowly.[25]

Enable the Afghan security structure. Under this pillar, we extended and accelerated the training of the Afghan National Army, and ultimately turned our scrutiny to the police as well. The development of the ANA and the Afghan Ministry of Defense (MOD) were significant success stories in the two years after the fall of the Taliban. Despite intense tribal rivalries, the ANA and MOD were re-created with an ethnically balanced, merit-based leader selection process that, by late 2003, had established both as models among the most-reformed bodies of the Afghan Government.

The ANA training effort produced ethnically balanced, well-trained formations down to platoon level. The strikingly positive reaction these units evoked when they entered villages alongside their embedded U.S. trainers stood in stark contrast to the reactions elicited by the repressive tribal militias then still common in Afghanistan. In fact, villagers often assumed that ANA units were foreign forces until their members began to speak in local dialects. Their professionalism, discipline, and combat effectiveness stood out; they became sources of national pride. The Office of Military

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THE FIFTEEN POINTS

1. No searches of national government property are conducted without COMCFC-AFG approval.
2. Units must coordinate to have a government official present during the search of the property of another government official.
3. All units must coordinate for local police or other government officials when conducting searches unless there is a compelling and time sensitive reason. Approval authority for this is the regional commander.
4. All material/documents taken in a search will be returned, unless the person is detained, in which case the property becomes evidence.
5. Soldiers participating in searches will be briefed on local customs.
6. When possible soldiers will ask locals to open locked doors versus forcing entry.
7. Units must avoid cuffing/binding hands unless necessary for security.
8. During low risk operations, a local person will be asked to enter a structure first to explain what is happening.
9. Require Regional Commander approval for conducting night searches.
10. Units will infuse reconstruction funds into areas where people were detained and subsequently released.
11. Inform people that the International Committee of the Red Cross has information on detainees.
12. Establish a Joint Afghan led board in the Ministry of Interior to provide information on detainees and coordinate releases.
13. Work with national government to identify ineffective or corrupt local officials.
14. Monthly Joint review to identify which units are receiving the most complaints.
15. Assign an Afghan liaison to each of our units.

Cooperation-Afghanistan (OMC-A), initially led by Major General (now Lieutenant General) Karl Eikenberry, produced a remarkable training and combat organizational structure from a base of near-zero in less than a year's time. From 2003 to 2005, no ANA formations were defeated or broke in combat engagements. Moreover, ANA units showed notable discipline during intense civil-disturbance operations—operations for which they had not been specifically trained.[26]

The police forces in Afghanistan during this period were more problematic. Initially under-resourced and hampered by a training model that focused on the individual policeman (unlike the ANA, which adopted a "train as units" model), the police program faltered until interagency realignments in mid-2005 permitted OMC-A to assume joint oversight (with DOS) of the police. Lobbied for by both the military and the embassy from Kabul, this significant change allowed the coalition to put lessons learned in ANA training to good effect in police training. It also enabled the coalition to realize economies of scale by combining the two forces' training oversight. With the police widely acknowledged to be the "first line of defense" in a COIN campaign, it remains unfortunate that the fusion of police and ANA training oversight came so late.

Sustain area ownership. In my view, this pillar codified the most important, although least visible, change on the ground. *Area ownership* is an extension of unity of command. Under the previous "raid strategy," units owned no battlespace save the ground they were on during a two- or three-week operation. Long-term, battlespace was "owned" only at the CJTF-180 level in Bagram; no subordinate unit had long-term responsibility for the outcomes in any specified area. With area ownership, we dedicated key contested areas of Afghanistan (i.e., the south and east) to each maneuver brigade and battalion. This seemingly simple concept had profound implications. Now, rather than pass through an area intent on simply routing out an enemy based on intelligence derived in a faraway operating base, units operated in their own distinct territory for up to 12 months.

Our approach consciously mirrored New York City's very successful policy in the 1990s of holding police captains responsible for reducing crime in their precincts. Like New York's captains, our commanders now "owned" their areas and were responsible for results. Area ownership meant that for the first time in the war, unit commanders had a defined area, clear sets of challenges, and direct responsibility for long-term outcomes.

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Of course, they also had the authority to effect those outcomes, along with Commanders Emergency Response Program funding to address pressing civil needs with a minimum of bureaucracy. Commanders could become experts in their areas, build personal relations with tribal elders and key government officials, convince the population that they were there to stay—and then see the results.[27] The areas were unavoidably large—one battalion had an area the size of Vermont, another the size of Rhode Island—but those areas were *theirs!* Again, this is classic counterinsurgency, although it was new in Afghanistan.

Enable reconstruction and good governance. Extending the reach of the central government was fundamental to helping Afghanistan become a nation that embraced the rule of law and entrusted its elected government with a monopoly on violence. As Said Jawad, Afghan Ambassador to the U.S., often notes, "Afghanistan is a strong nation, but a weak state." Afghanistan, over its long history, has stayed together as a country despite many opportunities for powerful interests to fracture the nation into separate tribal parts. At the same time, the power of the nation's legitimate institutions grows weaker with every kilometer of distance from Kabul. Effective local government remains elusive, and traditional tribal and clan cultures hold powerful sway even today throughout much of the countryside—and will likely do so for generations. The primary military instrument designed to address this challenge was the provincial reconstruction team.

Conceived in 2002 by a British officer, PRTs were 80- to 100-person organizations normally posted to provincial capitals. Led by a colonel or lieutenant colonel, they typically comprised a security force, medical and logistics components, a civil affairs team, a command and control element, and senior representatives from the Afghan Ministry of Interior, U.S. DOS, USAID, and in certain areas, the U.S. Department of Agriculture. The mission of the PRTs included security and reconstruction, in fine balance. A PRT's very presence in an area served as a catalyst for both, and it signified the international and Afghan commitment to bettering the lives of the people through improved government support. A multinational PRT executive steering committee in Kabul, co-chaired by the Afghan Minister of Interior and U.S./coalition commander, coordinated the PRT effort.[28]

PRTs became a powerful offensive weapon in our strategic arsenal as we crafted our plans for 2004 in Afghanistan. The four existing PRTs, as mentioned earlier, were deployed in largely quiet areas (Gardez, Konduz, Mazar-e-Sharif, Bamian) with the next four being developed at a very deliberate pace. We soon accelerated the latter by largely disassembling the combined and joint civil-military operations task force headquarters in Bagram and sending its well-resourced pool of civil affairs experts to form new PRTs in the field. The immediate goal became eight new PRTs in the south and east of Afghanistan, so that when the snows melted in the spring of 2004, we would have newly deployed PRTs confronting the Taliban across the most contested areas. (figure 3)

This bold move sent an incontrovertible message about the progress of the security and reconstruction effort into the most dangerous areas of Afghanistan. It was a calculated risk. PRTs had little ability to defend themselves, but the enemy well understood that 20 minutes after a distress call, any PRT in southern Afghanistan could have combat aircraft with bombs overhead and a rapid reaction force ready to arrive soon thereafter. The 2001 offensive that toppled the Taliban had produced a healthy respect for American airpower that allowed us, among other things, to conduct small patrols far from our bases in relative security. PRTs similarly benefitted from air support, and leveraged it regularly.

Engage regional states. This task fell largely into my in-box, but senior leaders at our tactical headquarters in Bagram ably supported me.[29] Combined Forces Command-Afghanistan's (CFC-A) combined joint operations area for USCENTCOM included all of Afghanistan, all of Pakistan less Jammu and Kashmir, and the southern portions of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Our forces conducted combat operations only in Afghanistan, but my charter gave me authority to travel and interact regularly with the senior security leaders of the other three countries—with particular emphasis on Pakistan.

This Pakistani component of engagement was necessary to address border-security issues between Afghanistan and Pakistan (the Taliban operated in both) and to assist the Pakistanis in their own efforts to disrupt and defeat so-called "miscreants" in their tribal areas adjacent to Afghanistan. Quarterly

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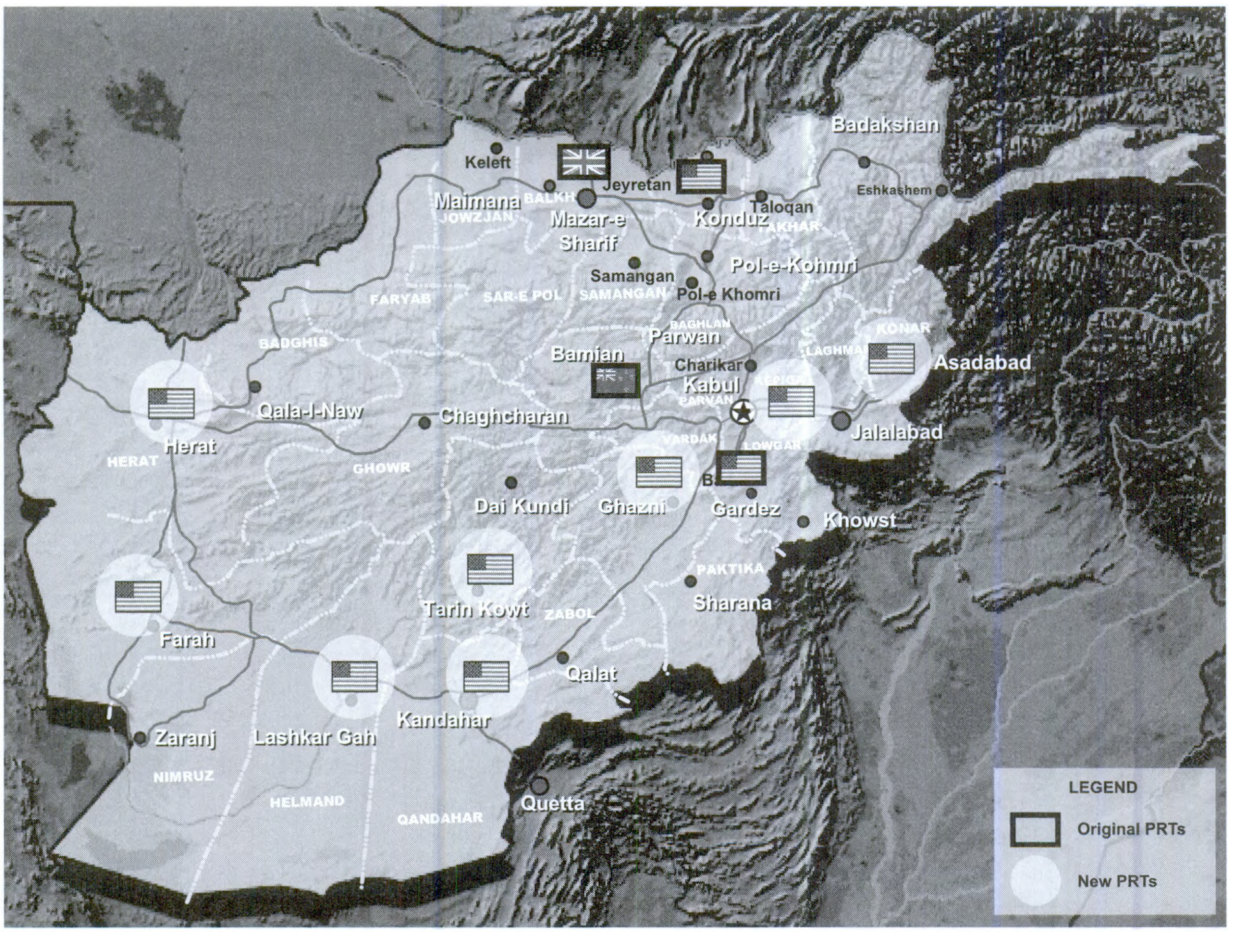


Figure 3. Provincial Reconstruction Teams, 2004.

tripartite conferences chaired at my level (and supported by the U.S. embassies in Kabul and Islamabad) brought together Afghanistan's and Pakistan's senior security leaders to address security issues of mutual concern. CJTF-180 (and later CJTF-76) also hosted monthly tactical border-security meetings along the ill-defined Pakistan-Afghanistan border to reduce local tensions; exchange radios, communications frequencies, and procedures; and build cross-border relations at the local level. Frequent trips to Islamabad rounded out our effort and kept me closely engaged with senior Pakistani military leaders.

All this engagement paid significant dividends when the inevitable exchange of fire across the border occurred between U.S. or Afghan and Pakistani forces. The close military ties that grew from building relationships also helped encourage Pakistani action against the enemy on Pakistan's side of the border. In mid-2004, the Pakistani Army conducted major operations in the Federally Administered Tribal Area for the first time in Pakistan's history. The effort inflicted hundreds of casualties on the enemy and noticeably disrupted Taliban and Al-Qaeda operations on both sides of the border.[30]

Crosscutting vector: information operations (IO). Winning the war of ideas and communicating effectively in a wholly foreign culture was among the most vexing tasks in our COIN strategy. We recognized early on that winning the war of ideas might decide the outcome of the conflict. How would the Afghan people perceive our efforts? Would they retain hope for their future? In the end, would they have more faith in the prospects of their own elected government and their embryonic political process, or would they turn back in despair to the certainty of total control represented by the Taliban?

On balance, it became apparent to me that international forces would always remain at a permanent disadvantage in perceptions, and that the IO effort had to be first and foremost an Afghan one. Our

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Winning the war of ideas and communicating effectively in a wholly foreign culture was among the most vexing tasks in our COIN strategy.

challenge was to do everything we could to be truthful, to get the facts out, to let success speak for itself, and to create the unshakeable story of good outcomes—all uncompromised by "spin." Results ultimately speak for themselves. Without demonstrably positive results, information operations can be perceived as spewing empty words that corrode credibility and legitimacy.

Evaluating Results of COIN, 2003-2005

In retrospect, the late 2003 shift in strategy from an enemy-centric counterterrorist strategy to a more comprehensive, population-centered COIN approach marked a turning point in the U.S. mission. While dedicated forces continued unabated the hunt for Al-Qaeda leaders and remnants, the overall direction of the U.S.-coalition effort shifted toward a more classic COIN approach (albeit with a very light footprint) that would have been familiar to Louis Lyautey, Sir Gerald Templer, or Creighton Abrams.

Results over the 2003-2005 period were positive and dramatic. Meeting in a national loya jirga, Afghans drew up and approved the most moderate constitution then extant in the Islamic world. Throughout the spring and summer of 2004, 10.5 million Afghans—twice as many as had been expected to do so—registered to vote in the first-ever Afghan presidential elections. In the face of significant insurgent threats, intimidation, and violence, 8.5 million Afghans actually voted that fall, electing Hamid Karzai as president with 55 percent of the vote from among 18 candidates. By year's end, a respected cabinet was in place and a peaceful inauguration completed. The year 2005 built on this success with a nationwide effort again turning out millions of voters to elect members of the *wolesi jirga*, or lower house of parliament. The winners took their seats by year's end.

All in all, as 2005 came to a close, we had achieved significant progress toward accomplishing the objectives of the 2001 Bonn conference and the follow-on 2004 Berlin conference, but most importantly, we had built a solid basis of hope among the Afghan people for a better future. Without hope among the population, any COIN effort is ultimately doomed to failure.

Afghanistan since 2005

Much has changed in Afghanistan since 2005 ended so promisingly. The Taliban and Al-Qaeda have gathered strength, changed tactics, and significantly increased both their capabilities and their attacks. As one measure, there were 139 suicide attacks in 2006, as compared to 17 in 2005, 5 in 2004, and 2 in 2003. In the first six months of 2007, there were over 80 suicide attacks.[31] Across the border in Pakistan, further offensive operations against Al-Qaeda and the Taliban have been largely suspended since the aggressive Pakistani military efforts in 2004 disrupted much of the terrorist base structure in tribal areas of Waziristan.[32] Consequently, a large potential sanctuary for the Taliban and Al-Qaeda has gone largely unmolested for nearly three years.

On the American side of the ledger, the U.S. publicly announced in mid-2005 that NATO was assuming full responsibility for military operations throughout Afghanistan. By the end of that year, the U.S. declared that it was withdrawing 2,500 combat troops.[33] Unsurprisingly, this was widely viewed in the region as the first signal that the United States was "moving for the exits," thus reinforcing long-held doubts about the prospects of sustained American commitment.[34] In my judgment, these public moves have served more than any other U.S. actions since 2001 to alter the calculus of both our friends and adversaries across the region—and not in our favor.

All in all, as 2005 came to a close, ...we had built a solid basis of hope among the Afghan people for a better future. Without hope among the population, any COIN effort is ultimately doomed to failure.

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As promised, by late 2006 NATO had assumed command of the military effort in Afghanistan, commanding over 26,000 troops (including 12,000 from the U.S.). An additional 10,000 Americans served under U.S. national control, many in logistics units and SOF. Twenty-six NATO PRTs are now deployed across Afghanistan, but they vary widely in size, composition, and mission (according to the contributor)—and now report through a different chain of command than do NATO's maneuver units in the same battlespace. The American-led three-star CFC-A headquarters has been inactivated, and the senior U.S. military commander is a two-star general once again located at Bagram—but in tactical command of only one-quarter of the country, Regional Command East. Headquarters, ISAF, has tactical responsibility for all of Afghanistan—and is assisted by a staff including 14 NATO generals.[35] Operational responsibility for Afghanistan resides in Brunssum, the Netherlands—over 3,000 miles distant. An American four-star general commands ISAF, but he officially reports only through NATO channels, not U.S. Both the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, and the Commander of U.S. Central Command own the Afghan theater and its battlespace—and direct forces in Afghanistan who report separately up their two reporting chains.[36] OMC-A has evolved into Combined Security Transition Command-Afghanistan and remains located in Kabul. No senior U.S. military commander lives and works at the American Embassy. U.S. Embassy Kabul is in its final stages of a "normalization," designed to make it function and look like every other U.S. embassy in the world. It remains, of course, in a combat zone.

Continual turnover of U.S. senior leaders has made continuity of effort a recurrent challenge in this very complex COIN fight. Since 2001, the U.S. endeavor in Afghanistan has seen five different chiefs of mission and six different military commanders—not counting those who served less than 60 days.[37] Since mid-2005, the comprehensive U.S.-led COIN strategy described above has been significantly altered by subsequent military and civilian leaders who held differing views. With the advent of NATO military leadership, there is today no single comprehensive strategy to guide the U.S., NATO, or international effort. Unity of purpose—both interagency and international—has suffered; unity of command is more fragmented; area ownership has receded; and tactics in some areas have seemingly reverted to earlier practices such as the aggressive use of airpower.

The "bag of capital" representing the tolerance of the Afghan people for foreign forces appears to be diminishing.[38] NATO's ISAF has assumed a narrow focus on the "20-percent military" dimension of COIN. It views the remaining "80-percent non-military" component of successful COIN operations as falling outside the purview of what is, after all, a "military alliance."[39] Both NATO and coalition tactics, too, seem to convey the belief that the center of gravity is no longer the Afghan population and their security, but the enemy. In many ways, these changes take us "back to the future" of 2002 and early 2003—and they in all likelihood do not augur well for the future of our policy goals in Afghanistan.

The Afghan people, whose aspirations rose to unprecedented heights in the exhilarating days of 2004 and 2005, have experienced a series of setbacks and disappointments. Besides facing threats from a more dangerous Taliban, President Karzai is under growing pressure from powerful interests inside his own administration. Corruption, crime, poverty, and a burgeoning narcotics trade threaten to undermine public confidence in the new democratic government. NATO, the designated heir to an originally popular international military effort, is threatened by the prospects of mounting disaffection among the Afghan people. This threat is perhaps only exceeded by political risk at home in Europe, owing to the prospect of dramatically increased NATO casualties as the lethality perfected in Iraq migrates east with jihadist fighters freed to fight other battles in Afghanistan.

Looking Ahead—Tomorrow and the Day After

At the end of the day, what is most important to the United States and to our friends in this region is that success or failure in Afghanistan will dramatically shape the future of a strategically important region for decades to come. Afghanistan's popular image is that of a backward country once best known as a "terrorist-supported state," but it remains at the center of a global energy and trade crossroads—one which is only growing in significance. It is also situated in an exceptionally important neighborhood:

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to the east lies Pakistan, the second largest Islamic nation in the world, and likely armed with dozens of nuclear weapons; to the northeast is China, with growing regional energy and security interests; across the north, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan, three former states of the Soviet Union, are struggling against internal forces of instability while confronting powerful neighbors; and to the west is Iran, whose looming nuclear program and support for terrorism in the region is cause for grave concern. This neighborhood defines strategic interest for the U.S. and the West—and within it, Afghanistan remains a friendly state anxious to increase its connections to the West and especially to the U.S. At this juncture of history, the U.S. and its alliance partners in NATO can ill afford to walk away from this region with any other outcome save long-term success in Afghanistan. ***MR***

NOTES

1. Agreement on Provisional Arrangements in Afghanistan Pending the Reestablishment of Permanent Government Institutions (Bonn: December, 2001), henceforth referred to as the Bonn Process. This UN-supported response assigned lead nations to oversee varied security-sector reform efforts in Afghanistan: police—Germany; military—U.S.; justice-Italy; disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration—Japan; counter-narcotics—United Kingdom.

2. Combined Joint Task Force (CJTF)-180 (now comprising Headquarters, 10th Mountain Division) retained its name upon the departure of XVIII Airborne Corps until March 2004, when it became CJTF-76. Its focus became tactical and low-end operational as Combined forces Command-Afghanistan, the senior coalition headquarters in Kabul, assumed the role of high-end operational and theater (i.e., regional) strategic levels. NATO's ISAF in October 2003 consisted of approximately 5500 troops located exclusively within the city of Kabul.

3. Author's conversation with chief, Office of Military Cooperation, September 2003.

4. Conversations with senior U.S. commanders, 2003; see also Nicholas D. Kristoff, "The Wrong Lessons of the Somalia Debacle," *New York Times* (5 Feb 2002).

5. See *The CIA World Factbook* online entries for Afghanistan and Iraq, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/af.html>.

6. Author's first visit to Afghanistan, pre-deployment, September 2003.

7. Author's conversation with an infantry battalion commander, December 2003.

8. Author's conversation with General John Abizaid, October 2003: "*. . . your mission is 'big Pol' and 'little mil.'*"

9. Conversation with a former senior U.S. commander for Afghanistan, August 2003.

10. This headquarters officially became Combined Forces Command-Afghanistan (CFC-A) in early 2004. Command responsibility was assumed in November 2003.

11. The first augmentation of our staff beyond an original six members came by moving the entire CJTF-180 CJ5 (future plans) section to Kabul under Combined Forces Command. Colonel (now Brigadier) Ian Liles, U.K., was the CJ5 largely responsible for drafting the initial "Security Strategy South and East." By May 2005, CFC-A staff stabilized at just over 400 members.

12. See, for example, *The History of Revolutionary Warfare*, Vols. I-V (West Point, NY: United States Military Academy, 1974). Among other valued texts I read during my nineteen months of command were John Nagl's *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife* (University of Chicago Press: 2005) and Louis Sorley's *A Better War* (Harvest Books, 2007).

13. General Barry McCaffrey, U.S. Army (retired), comment to the author on the depth of consistent understanding of CFC-A COIN strategy during his visits to units across Afghanistan, 2004.

14. "Strategy" here is used as a more commonly understood interagency and international substitute for what would be called in military parlance a "campaign plan." Our complete campaign plan addressing all elements of power eventually became a 400-page document.

15. The footprint of fewer than 20,000 Western forces in Afghanistan in 2003 was light compared with over 100,000 Soviet troops at the height of their ill-fated military involvement. My belief remains that the "light footprint" approach in Afghanistan holds great advantages, despite its many challenges. See Rory Stewart, "Where Less is More," *New York Times*, 23 July 2007.

16. This occurred under CJTF-76, which succeeded CJTF-180 in April 2004.

17. This was a powerful advantage. Direct access and a personal relationship with the president, vice-president, and secretaries of state and defense gave Ambassador Khalilzad and the Afghan enterprise a strong voice at the most senior policy levels in Washington.

18. Christopher Griffen, "A Working Plan: Hope Isn't the Only Strategy for Afghanistan," *Armed Forces Journal* (April 2007).

19. Our entire headquarters staff at this point had fewer than 40 people.

20. Our six-day-a-week Security Core Group meetings brought top U.S. interagency leaders together to "synchronize" outlooks and information almost every morning. Among the attendees were the ambassador, military commander, USAID chief, Afghan Reconstruction Group (ARG) chief, intelligence chief, OMC-A chief, and deputy chief of mission. All left updated with a common view of events in Afghanistan, thus insuring our daily efforts remained well coordinated and mutually supportive.

21. The Embassy Interagency Planning Group (EPIG) was led by Colonel John Ritchie, USA.

22. General Charles Krulak, Commandant, USMC, created the three-block-war construct.

23. General Sir Rupert Smith, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World* (Alfred A. Knopf,2006), 5.

24. Discussion at Forward Operating Base (FOB) Shkin with LTC Mike Howard, USA, Commander, 1-87 Infantry, 10th Mountain Division, winter 2003-4.

25. Personal observation. The reaction of President Karzai, his cabinet, and outward reactions of the Afghan people to this effort were very positive.

26. Herat riots, August 2004; preparations for civil disturbances in Kabul, August 2004.

27. Paraphrasing LTC David Paschal, Commander, 2-87 Infantry, 10th Mountain Division: "The longer I spent in one place, the more people became comfortable with me and were more willing to share information. At first, they were fearful, then they watched with curiosity but then they gained confidence in us and our ability to provide security and services. With ownership we were able to build a level of trust." Outbrief to Headquarters, CFC-A, 5 May 2004.

28. The Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) Executive Steering Committee met monthly and comprised senior representatives of all nations contributing PRTs or considering such a contribution. It was typically attended by the UN senior representative of the secretary general and co-chaired by the Afghan minister of interior (who oversaw PRTs in the Afghan governmental structure) and the senior U.S. (and later NATO) military commanders.

29. After the departure of Headquarters, XVIII Airborne Corps, in the spring of 2003, CJTF-180 was formed around Headquarters, 10th Mountain Division; later, CJTF-76 formed around Headquarters, 25th Infantry Division (Light), and subsequently, Headquarters, Southern European Task Force (SETAF).

30. Personal observations and discussions with senior Pakistani military officers 2004.

31. Figures on 2003-2006 suicide attacks are from former Afghan Minister of Interior Ali Jalali.

32. Situation as of mid-July 2007. The Pakistani military response in the FATA to the outburst of nationwide terrorist attacks following the government's 10 July assault on the Lal Masjid ("Red Mosque") in Islamabad had yet to fully develop as of this writing.

33. As reported by the Associated Press and AFX News Limited. See *USA Today*, "NATO to take over Afghan security in 2006" 4 August 2005; and Forbes.com, "U.S. to reduce troop numbers in Afghanistan soon," <www.forbes.com/finance/feeds/afx/2005/12/26/afx2414408.htm>.

34. A remark we commonly heard from Afghans of every stripe was "You Americans are not going to abandon us again, are you?" The Taliban were often noted for saying "the Americans may have all of the wristwatches, but we have all of the time."

35. CFC-A during this era operated with two generals: one U.S. three-star commander and one U.K. two-star deputy commander. U.K deputies were, in sucession, Major Generals John Cooper and Peter Gilchrist, both exceptional talents. The CFC-A staff principals were entirely composed of colonels or Navy captains; CFC chiefs of staff were, in succession, COL Tom Snukis, USA, and COL Dave Lamm, USA, whose efforts were nothing short of heroic.

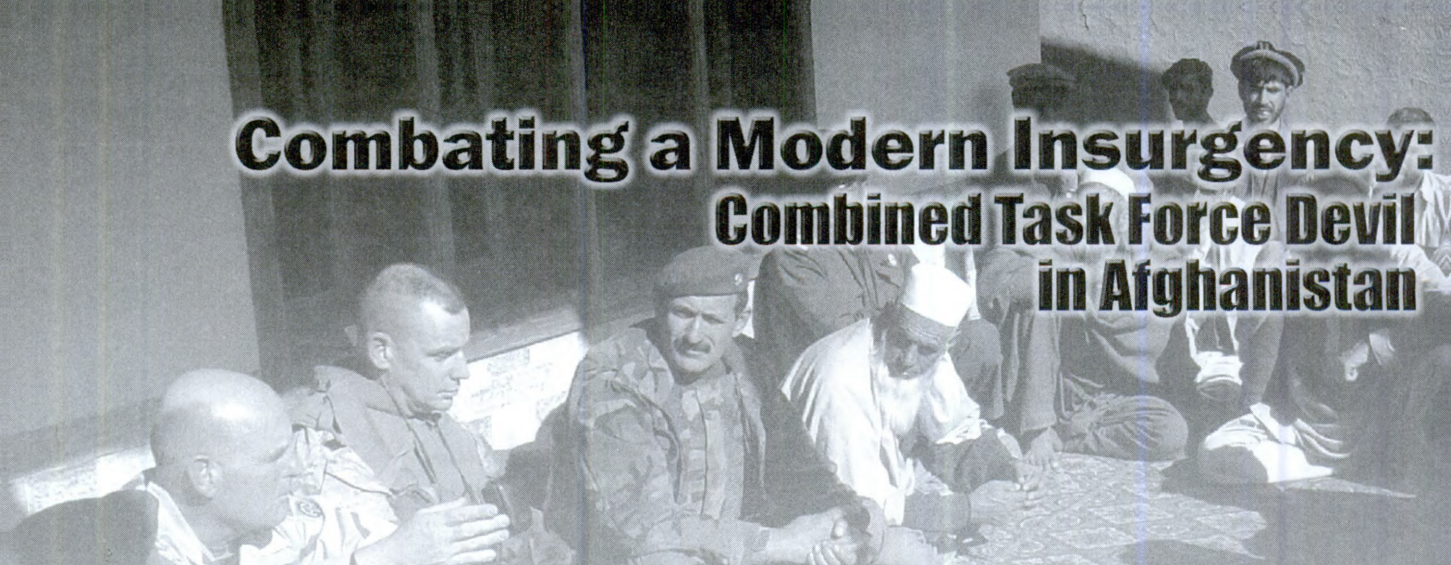
36. For example, forces under the "Operation Enduring Freedom mandate" (e.g., U.S. Special Forces) in Afghanistan report through a U.S.-only chain to Admiral Fallon, Commander, U.S. Central Command, in Tampa; forces under the "NATO mandate" (e.g., U.S. infantry battalions) report through Headquarters, ISAF, in Kabul (tactical level), to Commander, Joint Forces Command, Brunsuum, the Netherlands (operational level) to the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, General Craddock, in Mons (strategic level).

37. Ambassador Finn, Deputy Chief of Mission David Sedney, Ambassador Khalilzad, Ambassador Neumann, Ambassador Wood; LTG Mikolashek, LTG (now General) McNeill, LTG Vines, LTG Barno, LTG Eikenberry, and MG Rodriguez.

38. President Karzai press conferences; April 2006 riots in Kabul; protests to civilian casualties.

39. David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice* (New York: Praeger Security International Paperback, August 2006). According to Galula, successful counterinsurgency is 20 percent military effort, 80 percent non-military.

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Combating a Modern Insurgency: Combined Task Force Devil in Afghanistan

Colonel (P) Patrick Donahue, U.S. Army, and Lieutenant Colonel Michael Fenzel, U.S. Army

Whatever else you do, keep the initiative. In counterinsurgency, the initiative is everything. If the enemy is reacting to you, you control the environment. Provided you mobilize the population, you will win. If you are reacting to the enemy, even if you are killing or capturing him in large numbers, then he is controlling the environment and you will eventually lose . . . Focus on the population, further your game plan, and fight the enemy only when he gets in the way. This gains and keeps the initiative.

—Lieutenant Colonel David Kilcullen, Australian Army[1]

Colonel (P) Patrick Donahue, U.S. Army, is the executive officer to the U.S. Army Vice Chief of Staff. He holds a B.S. from the U.S. Military Academy and studied at the University of Innsbruck, Austria, and Harvard University as an Olmsted Scholar, earning an MPA. He also holds an M.S. in national security studies from the Army War College. His deployments include OIF I, OEF III (2003), OIF III (2004), and OEF VI (2005-06). COL Donahue commanded CTF Devil through OEF VI.

Lieutenant Colonel Mike Fenzel, U.S. Army, is the commander of Task Force Eagle (1-503d Airborne), now deployed to Eastern Paktika province, in Afghanistan, as part of Combined Task Force Fury. He holds a B.A. from Johns Hopkins University and two masters degrees in international security and strategic studies from Harvard University and the U.S. Naval War College. His deployments include operations Desert Shield/Storm (1990-91), Joint Endeavor to Bosnia (1995-96), Assured Response to Liberia (1996), OIF I in Iraq (2003-04), and OEF VI (2005-06) and OEF VIII (2007-08) in Afghanistan. He was deputy commander of CTF Devil through OEF VI.

PHOTO: CTF Devil, TF Koa, and an ANA brigade commander meeting with sub-governor, police chief, and elders in Chapadara, Kunar province, 14 November 2005. (U.S. Army, LTC Trevor Bredenkamp)

IN EARLY SUMMER OF 2005, Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) was in the midst of its sixth rotation of forces in Afghanistan since late 2001. On 1 June 2005, the 1st Brigade of the 82d Airborne Division became the core of Combined Task Force (CTF) Devil and assumed command of Regional Command East (RC East). Its area of responsibility included 10 provinces and covered a mountainous region roughly the size of North Carolina. Attached to CTF Devil were 8 provincial reconstruction teams (PRTs), 5 maneuver task forces, a forward support battalion, 2 batteries of artillery, and 9 separate companies for a total of over 5,000 Soldiers, Sailors, Airmen, and Marines. Special Operations Forces, to include a Special Forces battalion, and other government agencies cooperated closely with the task force, while two brigades of the Afghan National Army (ANA) served as primary partners in addressing security within the borders of RC East (see figure 1).

CTF Devil received a classic counterinsurgency (COIN) mission:

- Conduct stability operations to defeat insurgents and separate them from the people.
- Protect the people in RC East and interdict infiltrators out of Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA).
- Transform the environment by building the Afghans' capacity to secure and govern themselves.

In these operations, CTF Devil fought four different enemies:

- The insurgents themselves—the Taliban, the Hizb-i Islami (Islamic Party) Gulbaddin (led by Gulbaddin Hekmatyar), and Al-Qaeda. Each had differing techniques, tribal affiliations, and goals.
- Afghanistan's own weak-state threats: the corruption, smuggling, drugs, and refugee problems associated with 25 years of near-constant war.
- A challenging climate: rains in the spring brought powerful floods, the summer heat limited aircraft loads, and extreme cold and snow in

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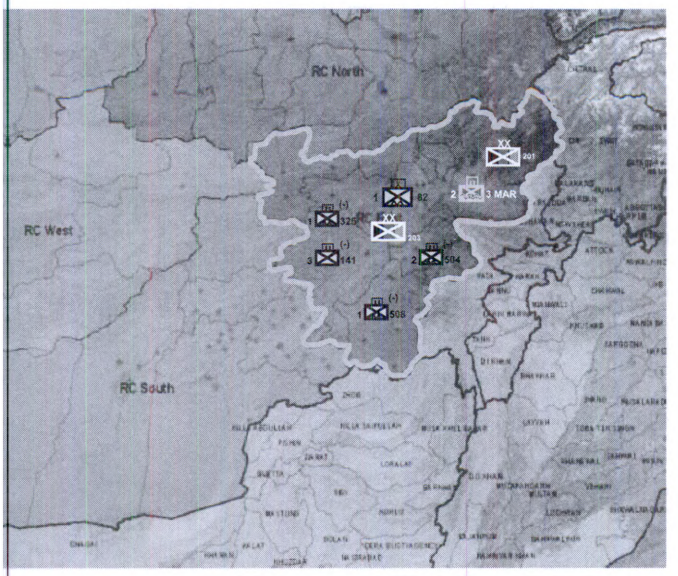


Figure 1. Regional Command East and CTF Devil disposition, August–December 2005

the winter cut off cities and even entire provinces from the rest of the country.

- Very difficult terrain varying from high plains 7,000 feet above sea level, to densely forested mountains over 10,000 feet high (with only camel trail access), to deep valleys with raging rivers.

The AO's strategic significance lay in the 1,500 kilometers of border shared with Pakistan, including the Khyber Pass, the main entry point into Afghanistan for commerce. To manage this sprawling battlespace, CTF Devil executed a pragmatic strategy that balanced kinetic, nonkinetic, and political actions.

Operational Environment in RC East

At the provincial and district levels, the government in Afghanistan was so weak in 2005 as to be nearly nonexistent, especially in the border areas where only tribal authorities were recognized. The people ignored district and governmental boundaries, and a gamut of unofficial actors filled gaps in the power base. Internal councils (shuras) governed the primarily Pashtun tribes, and carefully selected leaders and elders represented them externally. These tribal structures and shuras were de facto governments in areas where no institutional functions existed. They also represented a challenge to the emerging provincial governments because they resisted ceding their traditional authority. Mullahs gained political clout during CTF Devil's tenure because they increasingly saw politics as their inherent sphere of influence. Surprisingly, they were relatively anti-Taliban and supported a moderate version of Islam. CTF Devil routinely worked with the mullah shuras to dispel rumors, counter extremist propaganda, and address security issues directly.

While the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (IRoA) and coalition forces represented a progressive alternative to Taliban authority, strongmen, warlords, and militia leaders were still influential, particularly in border districts. In certain cases, former warlords had become the local chiefs of the Afghan Border Police or Afghan National Police (ANP) to mask their criminal operations behind official duties.

In theory, the Afghan government is a strongly centralized system, with power mostly flowing from Kabul. In practice, the central government has limited influence in much of the country outside of Kabul. During Operation Enduring Freedom VI, this limited influence was due to a lack of financial and human resources, destroyed institutions and infrastructure, corruption and inefficiency, and the inherent difficulties of governing the fiercely independent people in the border regions.

Task force provincial reconstruction teams (PRTs) and maneuver battalion commanders had contact with the provincial governor who served as the coalition's principal interlocutor with the ministries and national government. At the lowest level, a sub-governor appointed by the provincial governor administered each district and maintained close contact with company-level leadership.

The task force determined at the start that reconstruction could only move forward if coalition and Afghan army and police forces maintained an offensive posture; therefore, it made a concerted effort to synchronize capabilities. To keep the initiative, CTF Devil implemented a campaign plan that focused on four goals:

- Building Afghan capacity.
- Extending the reach of the central government.
- Blocking infiltration.
- Ensuring good governance.

A key task involved promoting and protecting the nation's first-ever parliamentary elections. These goals drove many of the CTF's actions during its first six months in country. Measures of effectiveness focused on positive indicators such as changes

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in infrastructure and institutional capacity (numbers of businesses opening, police manning their posts, children in school, homes with electricity, etc.) and the degree to which the people supported their local and national government (number of IEDs turned in to the police by civilians, voters registering, former Taliban reconciling, etc.).

During planning in May 2005, the CTF determined its main effort would focus on building Afghan security with three supporting lines of operation: good governance and justice, economic and strategic reconstruction, and security cooperation with Pakistan along the shared border. The task force used this focus to shape its campaign.

Killing or capturing insurgents was important when required, but this was not an essential task. The CTF's decisive operations would focus on the people, the center of gravity. For operations to succeed, coalition forces realized the people needed to believe they were secure. The task force found itself in competition with the Taliban for the will of the people. Though both sides were trying to win over fence sitters who were waiting to see which side would bring them the most benefits, the CTF possessed two very effective means to rally support: a substantial development effort, and alignment with the popular Afghan president, Hamid Karzai. By 2005, these two factors had substantially eroded support for Taliban theocratic ideology in eastern Afghanistan. As a result, the Taliban had to resort to coercion, intimidation, and terrorism.

The preferred manner of engaging Taliban insurgents was not through search-and-attack missions between mountaintops and ridgelines. Instead, the task force asked PRT and maneuver commanders to identify the most effective methods of separating the insurgents from the population. CTF Devil believed it had to give the people quick, tangible reasons to support their government. To obtain this support, perception of Afghan institutional autonomy had to improve. Expansion of U.S. cooperation with the Afghan National Security Forces helped initially.[2] Task force leadership understood that conditions for long-term security had to be set first. Improved security had the potential to set the conditions for a wave of sustainable development that would both improve perceptions of government autonomy and undercut insurgent aspirations.

In pursuing security, U.S.-only operations aimed at eliminating insurgents did not lead to favorable outcomes. CTF leaders quickly discerned that unilateral operations were culturally unacceptable to Afghans, encouraging conditions that would perpetuate the insurgency. For instance, a paratrooper entering an Afghan building for any reason without accompanying Afghan forces brought shame to the owner of the dwelling. In addition, according to the Afghan Pashtunwali code, for every zealot-militant U.S. forces killed, no less than three relatives were honor-bound to avenge his death.

CTF Devil's goal in this regard involved developing Afghan security capacity to a point where ANSFs could conduct and, ultimately, lead clearing operations. Just putting an "Afghan face" on missions (i.e., having token Afghans along on U.S. operations) was not sufficient. There were challenges to overcome first, though. The Afghan National Police knew their communities and the insurgents operating in them, but they feared taking action because they were often outgunned and out-manned. Furthermore, the nascent Afghan legal system was still weak, and police were reluctant to arrest insurgents because corrupt judges often released them quickly. But by working closely with the police, building trust through combined training, and showing the willingness to backup the ANP, the task force emboldened its allies. After CTF Devil established this partnership, the often ill-equipped and poorly trained ANP suddenly began discovering IEDs and willingly moved against insurgent cells in their districts.

Still, U.S.-led kinetic operations were necessary, particularly in Kunar province's Korengal Valley



Afghan National Police in Nuristan, Afghanistan, 30 September 2005.

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in the north and the border districts of Lwara and Bermel in Paktika province. In areas like these, the insurgents proved to be well trained, well equipped, and able to operate in groups as large as 100. Their rocket threat against forward operating bases and a resurgence of IED cells in the interior districts presented concerns only U.S. forces were ready to address effectively. In such situations, the CTF tried to function as a shield, the idea being that the Afghan police and army could form behind U.S. forces and, eventually, take over the fight.

During CTF Devil's tenure, transitioning Afghans to the lead proved to be an evolutionary process, not a series of revolutionary events. The task force conducted frequent combined operations with an increasing focus on cooperative security development. It did so from company to brigade level, and it included provincial security forces. In time, these efforts brought Afghan and coalition forces closer and closer together.

Combat Operations

U.S. commanders learned what every maneuver battalion has to understand when fighting a counterinsurgency: protecting the people, motivating them to support their government, and building the host-nation's capacity are all primary objectives. In pursuing these priorities, the CTF's maneuver battalion commanders pioneered efforts to share intelligence with their counterpart ANA brigades and police commanders. The efforts yielded immediate tactical and eventual strategic results.[4] They cultivated the enduring trust and confidence sorely needed to protect and support the people.

While the main effort in the AO was building Afghan security capacity, the task force also conducted many deliberate combat operations that garnered meaningful results. These maneuvers ranged from air assault raids against insurgent leaders along the border with Pakistan to brigade operations in partnership with ANSF in the Afghan interior. In every case, maneuver generated intelligence, and that intelligence drove further operations, allowing the CTF to maintain the initiative and keep the militants and their insurgent leaders on the run.

Principles Guiding CTF Operations

These principles, elaborated below, governed CTF operations:

- *Commit to making every operation a combined operation.* Including the ANSF in coalition operations enabled them to gain experience and improve their skills. They participated in planning and rehearsal processes, and the CTF collocated key leaders to assist them during execution phases. CTF Devil pre-cleared all targets and operations with the provincial governors and ANA brigade commanders. Although "how" and "when" were not revealed, normally the ANA would wholeheartedly endorse the task force's target selection and provide additional Afghan resources to help achieve U.S. objectives. CTF Devil never had an operational security leak from sharing this information with Afghan leaders, although commanders had feared such occurrences.

Combined operations provided the task force with reciprocal benefits. The regular presence of Afghan counterparts enhanced coalition combat power by increasing the number of intelligence collectors, linguists, and cultural experts working together to solve the same problems. As aforementioned, CTF Devil discovered having Afghans search a compound was much more culturally acceptable and effective than doing U.S.-only searches. Not only did the Afghan search avoid the issue of perceived sovereignty violations, but also the Afghans knew where to look, and the professionalism of their searches impressed the people. ANA soldiers or local police officers also conveyed key messages to village elders much more effectively than could U.S. Soldiers using interpreters. U.S. forces thus learned to embrace their roles as advisors in a counterinsurgency.

- *Always seek to mass effects.* CTF Devil did this, for instance, by cross-attaching rifle companies from one battalion to the next to give them the combat power needed for an operation. In massing, the task force worked with governors and ANA brigade commanders to get the most Afghan support possible. CTF Devil could not task the ANA to participate in operations, but it "partnered" with them to identify missions of mutual interest. The combined force positioned itself to mass fires by emplacing artillery, mortars, radars, and observers throughout its battlespace and by creating numerous autonomous fire and counter-fire teams. The teams paired fire direction centers and counter-fire radar with two to four howitzers commanded by an experienced lieutenant. In employing these teams,

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CTF Devil fired over 6,800 artillery rounds during its OEF rotation.

Artillery proved useful for defeating the ever-present rocket threat and for handling ambush situations by covering a company movement through a valley where enemy squads occupied dominating ridgelines. The task force also massed electronic warfare assets; information operations; intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance; Army aviation; and close air support (CAS) to assist operations. When it had troops in contact or when actionable intelligence breakthroughs occurred, the CTF also re-tasked these assets on the fly.[5] Just as importantly, the task force massed joint nonlethal effects, seeking to exploit every possible advantage over the Taliban insurgents.

- *Make an understanding of how local traditions influenced the battlespace and the Afghan people a significant part of operations planning.* Identifying the effects of tribes, ethnicity, religion, and weak-state threats enabled CTF Devil to better understand and respond to what was happening. Local Afghans, security forces, and government leaders contributed to our targeting processes and provided insights needed to gain operational advantages. Understanding how these cultural idiosyncrasies affected the conditions proved invaluable.

For example, an area like Lwara was constantly in dispute for a host of reasons: the Zadran tribal territory extends across the border there, and the insurgent leader Haqqani is a Zadran elder; Lwara is a traditional crossing point from Pakistan's Miram Shah within the federally administered tribal area into Afghanistan, and the border there has been contested for centuries; a trafficable river valley leads from Miram Shah to the nearby Lwara Dashta plains just inside Afghanistan; and the Lwara foothills contain rich deposits of chromite ore, which smugglers move across the border for resale in Pakistan. Such knowledge can be a tremendous help to U.S. planners, but it is hard to gain without involving Afghans in the targeting process.

- *Seek operational interoperability with the Pakistan military forces (PAKMIL).* Such interoperability was essential when operating along the border. CTF Devil therefore developed relationships with its PAKMIL counterparts by conducting numerous flag meetings at all levels, from company to brigade and higher. The task force sought to have Afghan commanders join these meetings too, in order to reduce border friction between the wary neighbors. Eventually, CTF Devil developed reliable communications with PAKMIL battalions and brigades across the border and began to coordinate actions to prevent insurgent forces from using the border region as a sanctuary. For example, when CTF Devil reported an ambush, PAKMIL counterparts maneuvered forces to block the insurgents' egress across the border. Once U.S. and Pakistani leaders acknowledged they were fighting the same enemy, the task force began to share intelligence with the Pakistanis and integrate operations along the border. Cooperation did not come easily; it required a consistent effort to build trust, but it was critical to success. On one occasion, after U.S. forces had fired counter-battery artillery on a target that was close to a PAKMIL ground commander's border checkpoint, the brigade headquarters received an angry phone call from the commander. The task force explained to him that a rocket fired from that location had destroyed a hangar the PAKMIL commander had himself visited just a week earlier. This information was sobering. He was mollified when U.S. officers explained they had certain knowledge of an insurgent rocket's point of origin before they began to return artillery fire.

- *Treat Afghans with respect and display discipline at all times.* U.S. restraint and professionalism contrasted with coarse Taliban cruelty and capriciousness, reinforcing the CTF's legitimacy. Mentoring, training, and supervising Afghan forces,



U.S. Army, LTC Trevor Bredenkamp

Colonel Patrick Donahue and Lieutenant Colonel Michele Bredenkamp confer with a Pakistani brigadier general during a flag tri-partite meeting in Lwara Bazaar, Pakistan, 8 February 2006.

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in conjunction with embedded training teams (ETTs), cemented that legitimacy. With the police particularly, values reform represented welcome progress in the eyes of the people; it gained the Afghan government much-needed public support. When people's confidence in their local police grew and they saw ANA soldiers comporting themselves professionally, they began to develop a nationalistic pride in their new security forces and became more willing to turn against the insurgency. As they did so, intelligence reporting from local sources increased, leading to even more successful combined operations.

• *Apply combat power, civil-military expertise, and IO simultaneously—not sequentially.* For example, if CTF Devil were executing a cordon-and-search of a village to locate an IED cell, it did not wait until after completing the mission to explain its rationale. Additionally, if it searched one end of the village, it also conducted a medical civil affairs program on the other end, often treating hundreds of local villagers. This type of operation created goodwill and established excellent new sources of intelligence. Just as combat operations had an Afghan lead, so, too, did these concurrent civil-military operations. The ANA distributed humanitarian relief supplies to refugees, and its medics treated patients. In some cases, CTF Devil asked the provincial governor to broadcast a radio message to explain its mission and ask for people's support. When the task force met with tribal elders to explain the purpose of an operation, it brought Afghan counterparts to explain their roles and their view of the threat. The CTF followed up with a PRT project for those tribes that helped solidify and consolidate the gains our maneuver battalions made. These actions enabled us to maintain good relations with the public and led to much better actionable intelligence and early warning.

Operations in Kunar Province

The most contested region in RC East during OEF VI was the Wahabbiist stronghold in the Korengal River Valley, in the center of Kunar province. All three battalions from the 3d Marine Regiment from Hawaii that rotated through RC East during our tenure had responsibility for this area. In the aftermath of the shoot-down of an MH-47 in this area during Operation Red Wings in July 2005, it became clear that moving tactically in the dangerous high ground surrounding the valley required detailed preparation and logistical planning. Movement through the precipitous hills and across the craggy cliffs had to be slow and deliberate. Sometimes it would take an entire day to traverse a single kilometer of the mountainous terrain.

Securing a landing zone (LZ), for instance, took hours in the mountains. Marines and paratroopers had to secure all terrain that dominated the LZ—not just the LZ's four corners. Similarly, resupply in the mountains had to be painstakingly plotted, then carefully executed using varied means, including containerized parachute delivery systems, guided donkey caravans, hired pick-up trucks, and contracted porters from local villages.

Fully planned and coordinated artillery support was also vital to the success of missions in Korengal. Artillery was so overwhelmingly important that CTF Devil required follow-on battalions to train and certify on relevant artillery-related tasks upon arrival in country. Adjusting fires in the mountains required different approaches from those used at Fort Bragg or Grafenwoer, Germany. CTF Devil rediscovered the art of employing indirect fires for operational advantage in mountainous terrain.



U.S. Army

A 2d Battalion, 504th Infantry paratrooper pulls security near the crash site of an MH-47 in the hills of the Korengal Valley, July 2005.

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U.S. Army, LTC Trevor Bredenkamp

A combined U.S./Afghan patrol preps for a mission, Khost, Afghanistan, 5 June 2005.

In every engagement its maneuver battalions fought in Kunar province, CTF Devil had to show the Afghans it was worth the risk to support their government. Commanders learned to appreciate the provincial governor's role and the targeting of reconstruction to contested areas as a technique for cementing security gains won in a fight. Although personalities and commitments varied, the coalition found that the Afghan authorities were uniformly dedicated to improving conditions and helping their people achieve a higher standard of living.

Building Afghan Security Capacity and Partnership

In fostering Afghanistan's nascent security apparatus, CTF Devil forged partnerships with U.S. government agencies, international organizations, and the Afghan government. Whereas TF Phoenix's embedded training teams mentored their ANA counterparts, CTF Devil's battalions actually teamed with them. Teaming up meant providing infantry, artillery, engineer, combat service support, and planning opportunities the ETTs could not. After coordinating with Afghan corps and brigade commanders and their U.S. advisors, the task force aligned or "partnered" CTF Devil units with Afghan units and established habitual training and operational relationships. Rifle squads and military police platoons teamed with the ANA and routinely conducted sustained five-to-seven day training modules with ANP in the district police headquarters to reinforce training the Afghans had received at their academies.

Training in this team-oriented relationship routinely ended with an Afghan-planned and led combined operation. During these operations, the coalition strengthened trust between it and the ANSF by providing close air support, artillery support, army aviation, MEDEVAC, and infantry reinforcements. For its part, the CTF learned to be more sensitive to cultural concerns, such as evacuating soldiers killed in action ahead of the wounded, which was important to the ANSF for religious reasons. In the process of developing this relationship, coalition forces and ANA soldiers shared experiences, hardships, and operational intelligence with one another. In sum, these team-oriented interactions went far in developing autonomous capacity in the ANSF.

Partnered teamwork also engendered greater unity of effort in the AO. CTF Devil conducted frequent combined planning and strategy sessions with Afghan leaders, including targeting meetings with the ANSF and intelligence-fusion meetings with the National Defense Service (the Afghan domestic intelligence agency, similar to the FBI). These efforts all helped build a unified approach to security and reconstruction. They also prevented zealot militants and insurgents from exploiting



U.S. Marine Corps, LtCol Robert Scott

A Navy Corpsman with 2/3 Marines (TF Koa) provides medical aid to a wounded ANA soldier during a partnered operation in Pech River Valley, Kunar province, August 2005.

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seams between organizations. Most important, as CTF Devil successfully fostered Afghan security planning capacity, its leadership role gradually diminished. Afghan counterparts assumed greater responsibility for guiding these efforts. This shift came about as CTF Devil incrementally empowered indigenous leaders.

Along these lines, the commander of the 1-508th Airborne created the first provincial coordination center (PCC), in Paktika province, to focus the various Afghan security forces on addressing common threats. This PCC experiment proved a great success, and so CTF Devil replicated the effort by establishing PCCs in every province prior to the 2005 National Assembly and parliamentary elections. It resourced the PCCs with teams of talented coalition and ANSF officers and NCOs. Functioning like battalion command posts, the PCCs became a key link between coalition forces, ANSF, and often elusive district sub-governors. During the elections and later during day-to-day operations, the PCCs were a key enabler of intelligence-sharing and joint-security-related problem-solving by ANSF units, the task force, and provincial governors. Initially, CTF Devil led all the efforts and conducted all the shift updates, overcoming intelligence classification issues by describing only the "who" or "what" of the intelligence without disclosing the source. Within a few months the PCCs became nerve centers, and Afghans ran the briefs. CTF Devil then replicated the effort across the AO. Every provincial capital put a PCC into operation to coordinate security for the elections, and they eventually provided a longer-term solution to synchronizing security responses.

Because of the trust built with their ANA allies, U.S. forces continued operations during Ramadan, maintaining support from the ANA throughout the Muslim holy month. Afghan authorities even granted religious exemptions to their soldiers for Ramadan. These dispensations were important because Taliban leaders had already granted exemptions from fasting, and were maintaining a high operational tempo during those holy days. Task force maneuver battalions learned hard lessons about this period early in their tenure, but they figured out what the enemy was doing and why he was doing it. They consistently passed on maneuver-battalion best practices that addressed coping with religious complexities to units in other sectors that were grappling with similar issues.

PRT Threat-based Reconstruction

At our transfer of authority in mid-2005, 25th Infantry Division's Task Force Thunder had established provincial reconstruction teams and initiated reconstruction and development efforts across RC East. In January 2005 Task Force Thunder had shifted the PRTs' focus from emergency support to more sophisticated development and had met Afghan necessities for food, water, and shelter, although these were primitive by first-world standards.

However, CTF Devil had to address other problems:

- An antiquated medical system.
- Limited road networks.
- An insufficient power grid.
- Access to education.
- A judicial system tribal leaders ignored.

In addition, the economy, while improving, languished during the early phases of OEF VI, and high unemployment persisted. Since the Taliban and Al-Qaeda were unable to provide any form of reconstruction, development, or aid to the people, the situation was ripe for improvement. CTF Devil saw an opportunity to use intensified reconstruction operations as a nonlethal mechanism to improve security, governance, and overall economic development. The CTF, however, also realized it had to use this mechanism in a way that did not create unrealistic expectations.

CTF Devil began by re-focusing the efforts of its eight PRTs and five battalions to speed reconstruction, especially of infrastructure and roads—the high-impact and high-visibility projects. Close coordination between task force staff and higher headquarters (CJTF-76) brought increased Commanders Emergency Relief Program (CERP) funding. CTF Devil then tasked each PRT and battalion commander to develop plans with representatives of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA), and State Department to invigorate "unity" in reconstruction efforts. This focus of reconstruction activity threw the insurgents back on their heels. Taliban forces simply could not compete with a well-designed reconstruction strategy. Because cleric-militants focused on otherworldly authority, they never developed anything tangibly positive to offer the population; they could not counter a community-supported project with real-world benefits.

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Instead, the insurgents had to turn to religious propaganda, terrorism, and violence, the only tactics they possessed to realize their strategy of protracting the conflict.

Because of these tactics, seeking projects in contested areas became CTF Devil's first priority. Doing so required developing community support and backing from Kabul for the initiatives. Provincial government legitimacy soared when tangible completed projects trumped insurgent exhortations and attacks. This community-investment approach, discussed below in more detail, became integral to the CTF campaign plan. However, while concentrating CERP projects in contested areas (see the high threat areas on figure 2), CTF Devil had to eschew large, unwieldy projects that had no chance of being completed, or were not sustainable, after the departure of U.S. troops, depletion of CERP funds, or loss of community support.

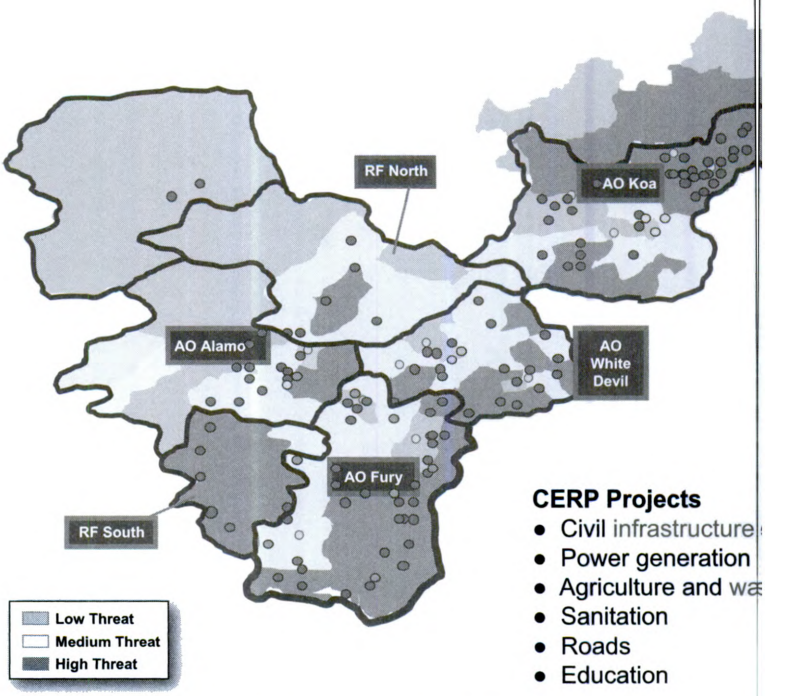


Figure 2. CTF Devil reconstruction projects and threat assessments, January 2006.

Ill-conceived, poorly placed, or failed projects would constitute victories for the insurgent IO campaign. When CTF Devil failed to meet public expectations, the people thought the Afghan government and the Americans were incompetent, creating openings for insurgents to wield their influence. For instance, when CTF Devil provided a power-generation capability for Sharana, the capital of Paktika province, without getting buy-in from the mayor, it created an embarrassing situation. After a single tank of U.S.-provided diesel fuel ran dry, the lights went out in Sharana. They eventually came back on, but in the interim the well-meaning PRT created frustration and resentment among the Afghans they set out to assist.

Achieving consistent success meant concentrating on sustainable projects and avoiding embarrassment for the coalition. Thus, CTF Devil avoided going against the grain and focused on contracting projects that took advantage of Afghan talents and the country's natural resources. To illustrate, after learning that Afghans had little experience with using concrete and cement in construction, but were deft at employing stone, a raw material abundant in Afghanistan, the task force contracted to build stone bridges, rock-foundation flood control walls, and cobblestone roads.

As CTF Devil developed its pragmatic approach to reconstruction, it used weekly PRT staff calls to broaden the development discussion. During these meetings, the task force emphasized projects provincial governors and district leaders would fully support so that development efforts would reinforce their ability to govern. Setting out simply to build and improve the environment in areas of perceived need (i.e., the "red" areas on the map in figure 2), was too haphazard. Tribal leaders had to be involved with informal certification. They had to approve all projects to avoid building a project on disputed land, for instance, and to ensure realistic timetables and community relevance. CTF Devil focused initial efforts on projects that units could complete within a reasonable amount of time (three to nine months) so the populace would quickly see results. Using techniques learned from successful non-governmental organizations (NGOs), CTF Devil also sought "sweat equity" from the community in the form of resources or labor. The CTF asked villages and tribes to contribute whatever they could afford. The resulting buy-in generated lasting community support for these projects.

As part of this process, the CTF decided to put a maximum number of Afghans to work. Major

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General Jason Kamiya, the CJTF-76 commander, pioneered this approach, calling it "Temporary Work for Afghans." If CTF Devil had a choice between hiring one contractor with four bulldozers, 30 men from India, or a local contractor with 100 Afghans wielding picks and shovels, it chose the latter. Smart Afghan general contractors adopted practical methods to exploit this situation. Not only did they hire Afghans, but also they did so from the local community, which enabled their projects to progress without attacks. Contractors who didn't, especially foreigners, were often attacked and had their work sites destroyed. Their projects were delayed indefinitely or abandoned altogether.

CTF Devil also tasked its maneuver battalions and PRTs to work with provincial governors and IRoA ministry representatives to solicit support in planning and oversight of significant projects. The intent was to encourage Afghans to build their own capacity for development planning. At the same time, the task force sought to incrementally design a longer-range vision. Its overall objective was to make each provincial government more self-sufficient, community-invested, and competent.

As noted, the enemy tried to slow the CTF's new reconstruction effort. Setbacks typically took place in areas where the Taliban still maintained some form of influence, for example, in the Zormat district of Logar province where they attacked a recently constructed police checkpoint, and in the Puli Lam district, where they burned down a school under construction. In response, CTF Devil authorized Afghan contractors to hire local security in high-threat areas. It also sought local project protection by establishing security agreements with tribal leaders, making the latter responsible for protecting projects in their areas. So, in addition to the "sweat equity" mentioned, the populace had to commit to the projects by securing them. Completing these reconstruction endeavors marked real, tangible gains the local population could feel, but progress came only after they made a commitment. Completed projects with community buy-in weakened the Taliban and undermined any pretenses of its legitimacy.

In following through with these developments, CTF Devil also recognized the need to foster relations with international and nonprofit organizations in country. As the United Nations Assistance Mission to Afghanistan (UNAMA) and development-focused NGOs saw CTF reconstruction successes, they found more ways to communicate with the coalition, and when security improved in different areas, the international community's organizations increased their presence. A mutual willingness to work together began to build. This cooperation was usually informal because the NGOs, fiercely independent anyway, had to preserve the perception that they were impartial. Thus, they were quick to criticize the coalition if it did something they believed adversely affected them. In its cooperation with these organizations, CTF Devil worked to make "unity of effort" more a working reality than a mere concept or discussion point.

Systems Approach to Reconstruction

A well-designed reconstruction effort took more than just selecting projects that villages, districts, or provinces fervently wanted. The coalition had to consider initiatives in a larger context, as a system of complementary projects. CTF Devil initially did not take this approach and, as a result, stand-alone projects in our AO did not substantially improve the economy or security or address compelling community needs. Eventually, CTF Devil moved to a systems approach to reconstruction. It required projects to be well planned and sustainable, and to complement other development efforts. For instance, road networks became favored projects because they often paved the way for a broader system of development.

In one example, CTF Devil created numerous farm-to-market systems in "red" districts and border provinces. Figure 3 illustrates the complexity of a farm-to-market system in Jalalabad that used CERP projects to complement or leverage existing NGO- or USAID-generated projects. This particular system included projects to improve productivity such as USDA classes on low-cost, modern planting techniques. It also included projects to build irrigation channels, flood control walls, and roads connecting district farms with their principal markets. Whether constructing a grain storage facility just off a new road or building a secondary road to a bazaar where the farmer could sell his product more conveniently, the task force aimed to create mutually reinforcing effects.

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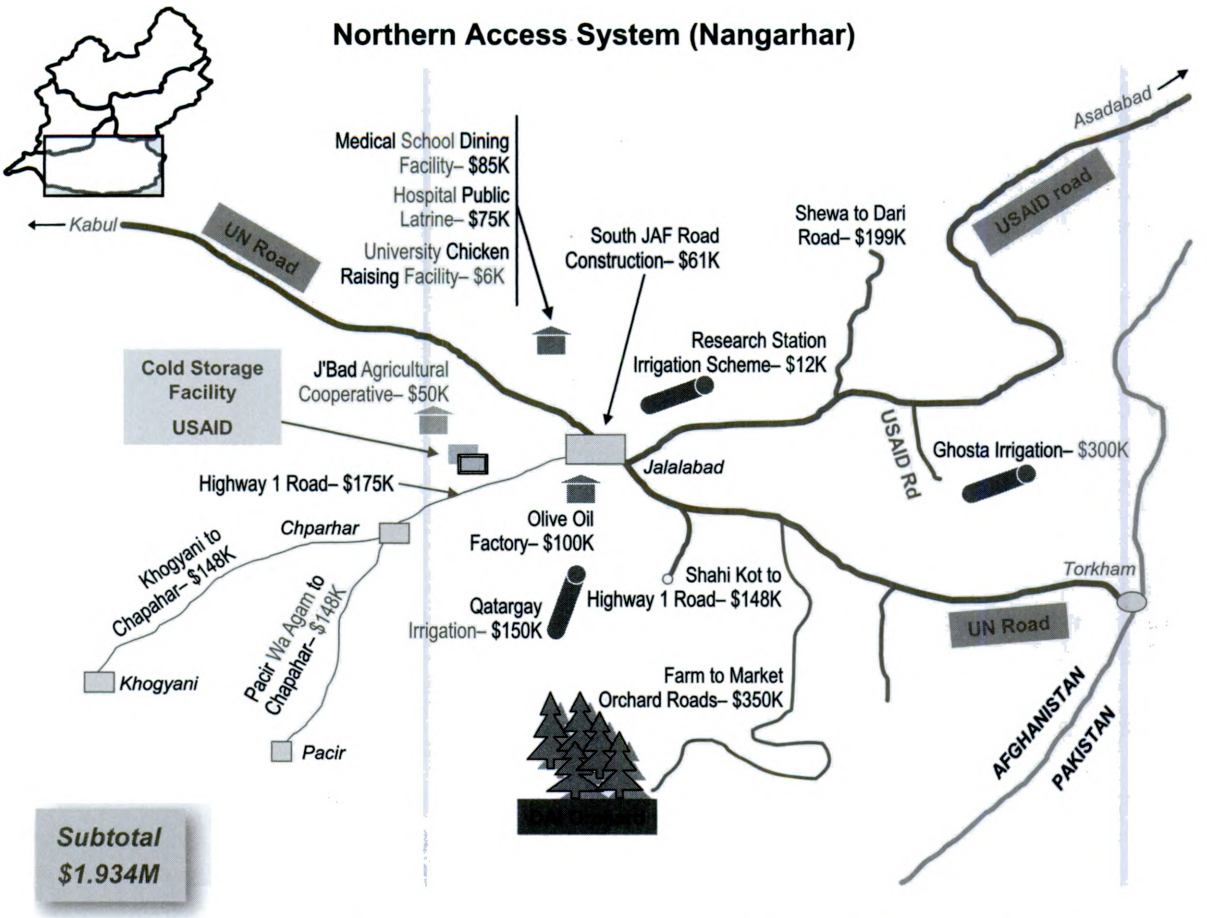


Figure 3. "Farm to Market System" briefed to CJTF-76 commander, Fall 2005.

CTF Devil sometimes had to win over key persons or populations to this systems approach. It avoided building projects in response to requests from government officials if the endeavors would not add to existing development systems. There were exceptions, but they required the CTF commander's approval, and he granted such exceptions only if the coalition could gain some significant operational advantage as a result.

As CTF Devil executed this intensified, systems-oriented plan, the working relationship with USAID and other agencies began to improve. The task force assessed the effects it delivered and analyzed the issues it faced in areas where traditional development was failing or simply not occurring. It realized that, in some cases, it was better to complement or set the conditions for NGO and international community development rather than try to initiate projects itself. It also found it could work with these organizations directly or indirectly. CTF Devil's USAID representative served as a bridge between coalition forces and other U.S. aid and reconstruction organizations. Through the intercession of our representative, the task force was able to capitalize on opportunities to reinforce existing initiatives.

For instance, CTF Devil benefited from a UNAMA-brokered agreement, the Zadran Arc Initiative (named for the tribe inhabiting the region), to promote development in areas of discontent in Khowst, Paktiya, and Paktika provinces. It built on the goodwill created by this agreement, started a major road project, and then began building police stations, clinics, and schools. The area had been a safe haven for Jalaluddin Haqqani elements and Taliban forces, but no longer is, thanks to the broadly supported agreement.

In most cases, once the coalition created a more secure environment, non-governmental and international organizations soon followed. The task force encouraged the PRTs to make the most of their presence by seeking the organizations' input to their reconstruction programs. Combined Task Force Devil tasked the PRTs to work with UNAMA and

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the NGOs in their sector to start up or encourage the expansion of provincial development councils. The purpose of these development councils was to set development priorities and bring order to otherwise haphazard reconstruction efforts.

Sequencing and synchronization of reconstruction projects became a major priority. Schools, roads, administrative buildings, police checkpoints, mosques, medical clinics, and courthouses built out of sequence with, or without links to, other projects usually had little positive impact and could even be counterproductive. In one case a police checkpoint built far away from an existing road actually became a liability because its isolation made it vulnerable to attack. A few months into this heightened reconstruction effort, CTF Devil tasked the PRTs and maneuver battalions to review the timing of current and future projects, so the task force could spend subsequent reconstruction dollars more wisely.

The CTF Devil staff started this review process by conducting a seminar on the systems approach to development. The staff illustrated what a synchronized approach should look like and how it should have links to other projects in time and location. CTF Devil asked each unit to re-assess, re-evaluate, and refine reconstruction plans to reflect a systems approach. In the final planning step, unit commanders briefed the CTF commander, who approved a project only if it met one or more of four criteria:

- The project was in a red area.
- It linked directly to another system.
- The specific endeavor had buy-in from key government and tribal leaders.
- The project was sustainable.

CTF Devil denied many proposed projects because the PRTs and maneuver commands tended to invest in stand-alone projects, an outgrowth of attempts to placate local and tribal leaders with whom units engaged.

U.S. Interagency Teamwork

A wide array of U.S. agencies converged on Afghanistan after November 2001. Understanding what their roles were and where they operated was important to CTF Devil's becoming an effective interagency team member.

The State Department assigned political officers (POLADs) to the eight U.S. PRTs and to CTF Headquarters in Khost province. The POLADs had four primary tasks:

- Advising and mentoring Afghan leaders to govern more effectively.
- Acting as reporting officers, tasked with providing information on political, military, economic, and social trends to the U.S. Embassy in Kabul.
- Serving as conduits of information about the border fight in Pakistan to help define U.S. government policies in Afghanistan at the national level.
- Promoting U.S. government policies within the provincial governments.

The POLADS accompanied CTF commanders to meetings with Afghan political and military leaders. They helped commanders prepare for bilateral meetings and carry out reviews after negotiations or engagements were complete.[4] POLADS developed the social, tribal, political, and economic components of the counterinsurgency, allowing commanders to focus more on military concerns. Maintaining an awareness of these nonmilitary components might have otherwise been more elusive.

USAID assigned officers, designated as field program officers, to all the PRTs and to the coalition headquarters staff. These officers—

- Administered USAID projects at the provincial level.
- Advised military officers on development issues.
- Advised IRoA ministers and governors on long-term reconstruction and development strategy.
- Reported to USAID headquarters in Kabul.
- Worked with NGOs and international organizations to find ways to complement their projects with the development efforts of USAID and CTF Devil. In short, they coordinated development strategy at the provincial level.

The USAID officer in charge worked at CTF headquarters and from there managed representatives at the PRTs. Unlike the POLADs, all USAID representatives were contractors, not career employees. Successfully integrating these contractors into PRT operations depended upon a PRT commander's ability to integrate military development efforts with those of the interagency and international community. The USAID representatives taught PRTs how to gain support for projects from tribal and government stakeholders, and encouraged the task force to seek ways to link CERP reconstruction

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efforts to USAID and international organization development projects.

Agricultural development in most of RC East proved necessary for long-term economic viability. United States Department of Agriculture officers provided development advice to the IRoA, the CTF, and, to a lesser extent, cooperatives and individual farmers. Although not present in most RC East PRTs, USDA officers worked on the staffs of three key posts (task force headquarters and the Ghazni and Jalalabad PRTs) for much of CTF Devil's tenure. These officers breathed life into USAID's alternative livelihood programs. They provided advice on which crops to substitute for the opium poppy and focused on implementing agricultural programs like micro-credit for farmers. They also helped devise high-impact but simple projects that enhanced the value of crops grown by desperately poor farmers. That said, the relatively limited USDA presence in RC East prevented the task force from making the most of its agricultural development programs.

The UN Assistance Mission to Afghanistan in RC East, with hub offices at Gardez and Jalalabad, worked closely with U.S. government political and military officers. UNAMA had a wide mandate, ranging from conflict resolution to human rights monitoring. It played a substantial role in organizing the National Assembly and provincial council elections. Harnessing UNAMA's energy was imperative if CTF Devil was to reach the population effectively. Because UNAMA officers typically had been in Afghanistan for three or more years, had established trust with Afghan officials, and had developed keen insights into the motivations of district and provincial governors, they often served as the continuity in the provinces as military units rotated in and out of the battlespace.

Military CERP and USAID FY 2005 budgets for development in RC East highlighted the importance of interagency teamwork. CTF Devil had $29 million budgeted for development; USAID had 10 times that amount for the same area. Seeing the vast potential for COIN progress if CTF Devil and USAID collaborated, the task force commander directed that development planning involve a concerted effort to bring our two organizations closer together.

From early on, however, CTF Devil encountered staggering gaps in communication, cooperation, and collaboration among representatives of the various agencies. USAID bureaucratic practices also obstructed teamwork and collaboration. Part of the challenge lay in the fact that over 90 percent of in-country USAID representatives were contractors serving under the agency's aegis and their contracts had no explicit provisions for cooperation. The larger problem, however, was the restrictive nature of USAID's development-fund distribution rules. Given USAID's relatively abundant resources, and the direct link between development progress and security, the agency's bureaucratic necessities proved universally frustrating. Nevertheless CTF Devil redoubled efforts, beginning at the brigade headquarters, to forge stronger interagency bonds and increase collaboration with representatives at the PRTs.

These efforts increased interagency integration throughout the command. The CTF overcame philosophical differences and, gradually, set new standards for interagency teamwork. When the CTF's deputy commander began including interagency representatives in PRT meetings and the executive officer started integrating them into the staff estimate process, partnership dynamics improved steadily. As CTF staff emphasized each success in their areas of responsibility, the PRTs and their interagency representatives began to develop into a stronger team. USAID, State Department, and USDA representatives increased their presence and influence in each PRT's area of operation. In the end, these representatives became valued PRT staff members and, along with UNAMA representatives, effective partners within the task force.

Integrating IO

CTF Devil found information operations most effective when Afghans employed them without the appearance of U.S. influence. Information operations messages designed and released solely by U.S. forces often came out too late or were ill suited for the Afghan region or tribe they targeted. Messages were much more effective when Afghan leaders cooperated and spoke directly to the people.[6]

Thus, CTF Devil chose to promote Programme Takhm-e Sohl ("Strengthening the Peace," or PTS), the Afghan government's reconciliation program. Given the success achieved by those governors who actively supported PTS, the task force commander believed that this Afghan-implemented program could become a "war winner." The task force

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therefore encouraged local governors to support and manage this initiative. It yielded significant results when insurgents came down from the mountains and left Pakistan to swear allegiance to the Afghan government.[7] One governor, Hakim Taniwal in Paktia province, experienced noteworthy success with this program. He reached out to insurgents and engaged local tribal leaders to ensure no vendettas or revenge killings would ensue after the insurgents returned. Taniwal then brought in the insurgents, ran them through a vetting process in Kabul, and returned them to the provincial seat of Gardez. There he cycled them through a carefully orchestrated, elaborate allegiance ceremony in which tribal elders swore responsibility for the reconciled insurgents' future actions. Taniwal broadcast these ceremonies on the radio and kept track of the reconciled fighters to ensure they were not simply using the program to infiltrate the province. These reconciled insurgents typically encouraged other Taliban members to lay down their arms through the PTS program. Taniwal even employed a reconciled member of the Taliban as the director for his provincial support office of reconciliation.

Another governor, Shah Mahmood Safi in Lagman province, convinced tribal leaders to declare insurgents outside the protection of the Pashtun tradition of sanctuary, thus denying them a base from which to operate and forcing many to become part of the legitimate process. Still another governor, Assadullah Wafa in Kunar province, used PTS with IO reinforcement, often calling provincial shuras to gain the support of key tribal leaders. To make a case for peace, he regularly sent emissaries from the shuras to engage tribes that supported the Taliban and HiG (a fundamentalist faction of the mujahedeen) in the Korengal and Matin valleys. He also used radio addresses to tell the people of Kunar that specific tribes were "rebelling against the government" and that he was considering "turning loose" the coalition to defeat them if they did not reconcile.

Each provincial governor only needed a simple prod and minimal support to make his IO program work for PTS. Provinces where governors offered only token support to PTS did not yield results no matter how hard the task force worked. As a lesson learned, a successful reconciliation program like PTS should be the host nation's program, run by a regional or provincial authority with national oversight.

Of course, the PTS program came with some risks. In addition to the possibility of revenge killings, infiltrators might have used the PTS program as a shield. Experience suggested, however, that the power of one reconciled insurgent on the radio had the potential to effect more progress and influence more people than an infantry battalion on the attack.[8]

Measuring Success and the Way Ahead

While "metrics" of success in COIN are difficult to identify and even more challenging to track, they are nonetheless important. They serve as indicators to identify and monitor progress effectively, and they can suggest the need to modify plans. CTF Devil tracked negative indicators such as numbers of IED and rocket attacks, but it did not overemphasize them. The task force focused more on indicators of success. For instance, CTF Devil carefully cataloged when NGOs returned to a province. Their return implied security had reached the point where they felt safe enough to operate. When Afghan development ministries became involved in quality control for reconstruction projects, the CTF staff interpreted this as an indicator of growth in Afghan autonomous capacity. Similarly, unilateral operations by the Afghan army, from company to brigade level, suggested progress in military self-sufficiency. Another positive area was the number of IEDs found, reported, and turned in by Afghans. The coalition also noted that despite concerted efforts by the Taliban to disrupt national and provincial elections, over 50 percent of registered voters voted anyway.

The combined efforts of CTF Devil units, U.S. interagency representatives, Afghan government leaders, and international and non-governmental organizations were the driving force in achieving significant progress during OEF VI. Overall, the economy expanded, the government increased its reach, a successful election occurred, and the Taliban did not make appreciable gains in eastern Afghanistan.

As aforementioned, the Afghan people were and are the center of gravity in the COIN fight in eastern Afghanistan. Where the people see a tangible reason to take risk and side with their government, the Taliban will lose. The CTF's job was to help the Afghan government enhance security and win the people's trust. As in most countries, Afghans will

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U.S. Army, LTC Trevor Bredenkamp

Khost Governor Pathan greets the Sabari district sub-governor during preparations for Afghan provincial council elections, 6 June 2005.

vote their pocketbooks, and if they do not perceive tangible economic benefits implying a hopeful future, they may throw out the Karzai government and side with the fundamentalists.

Education metrics will be telling as well. Democracy is unlikely to flourish in the long term if Afghanistan does not advance beyond its current, woefully low level of education, one that primarily serves religious dogma. Opportunities for a liberal arts education will have to be made available to help give the people the intellectual wherewithal to resist the Taliban's otherworldly propaganda and scare tactics. Countering the Taliban with logic and reason may seem too obvious to suggest, but it truly is the answer for encouraging a more moderate religious influence.

Numerous problems remain, including endemic corruption, unhealthy rivalries between tribes, poor infrastructure, a growing drug trade, instability in Pakistan and attendant cross-border attacks, low government revenues, a weak economy, and, as noted, a dark-ages educational framework. Decades of work remain to rebuild Afghanistan. Strong personal relationships and a focus on building Afghan security capacity are the keys to achieving unity of effort and, by extension, longer-term success in the Afghan COIN effort.

An important take-away from CTF Devil's year-long struggle to achieve and maintain unity of effort is that *where the military endeavor is concerned, there can only be one chief within a regional command.* U.S. forces should always place reconstruction and kinetic operations under the direction of one commander to prevent a constant shifting of priorities. This was the case for CTF Devil during OEF VI. With eight PRTs and five maneuver battalions all under the operational control of CTF Devil, the span of control at the brigade level was larger than some division-sized organizations, but it worked.

Experience has been the best source of practical knowledge in this regard. CTF Devil benefited greatly from lessons passed on to us by our predecessors from CTF Thunder in OEF V. In OEF VII, CTF Spartan built on the successes CTF Devil achieved but refined their plans based on changing threats and challenges. Such is the nature of coalition-forces progress in Afghanistan, where each successive CTF stands on the shoulders of those that came before. Each task force, with its varied commands (Airborne, Marine Corps, Army

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U.S. Army

2d Battalion, 504th Infantry paratroopers leaving a landing zone, Patika province, Afghanistan, 25 May 2005.

National Guard, and PRTs), in cooperation with the myriad of U.S. and international aid agencies, develops experience and perspective that successive OEF iterations draw upon. Each of these contributions to evolving the COIN fight has helped to place us on the road to winning. ***MR***

NOTES

1. LTC David Kilcullen, Australian Army, *Twenty-Eight Articles: Fundamentals of Company-Level Counterinsurgency,* Joint Information Operations Center (IO Sphere Publication), 35.

2. 1st Brigade, 82d Airborne Division, had been deployed to Afghanistan as part of OEF III (2003-2004) under the same brigade commander as OEF VI. In OEF III, it routinely conducted coalition-only operations, mainly with attached Italian, Romanian, and French forces.

3. LtCol Jim Donnellan's 2/3 Marines worked in the northern sector of RC East; LTC Tom Donovan's 2-504th Parachute Infantry Regiment (PIR) and LTC Tim McGuire's 1-508 PIR in the CTF's central sector; and LTC Orlando Salinas' 3-141 IN (TXARNG) and LTC Dave Anders 1-325 Airborne Infantry Regiment in the west.

4. LtCol Pete Donnelly, a veteran of Operation Anaconda from OEF I, commanded the 13th Air Support Operations Squadron, and deployed with the CTF. He was instrumental in forming an exceptional joint team for combat operations by certifying joint tactical air controllers (JTACs), training units without JTACs (such as PRTs) to call in close air support, personally calling in airstrikes, and finding the best way for the Air Force to mass effects on the ground. Support from USAF A-10s, B-1Bs, B-52s, HH-60s and USN EA6Bs as well as intelligence platforms such as U2s, JSTARS, and Predator-Bs, was phenomenal.

5. Political officers like Rob Kemp, Liam Walsley, Harold Ingram, and numerous other brave Americans often accompanied commanders on patrol and air assaults to get a first-hand read of the battlefield.

6. Combined operations proved especially effective at producing IO messages and engagements that showed the Afghan people the strength and reach of their government in ways that fit culturally. Often the U.S.-produced products failed because the writers in Bagram did not understand the cultural context.

7. Twenty-four additional Taliban leaders were pending acceptance into the Afghan-run program at CTF Devil's transfer of authority.

8. One incident during CTF Devil's tenure perfectly illustrates the power of Afghan-delivered IO. In November 2005 (during Ramadan), a backpack bomb exploded inside Tani Mosque in Khost province, killing a popular pro-government imam and three other civilians. The imam's killing sent shock waves throughout the country, but produced the opposite effect from the one the Taliban sought. President Karzai condemned the attack and called for a full investigation of the murder. Initially, the provincial governor, Merajudin Pathan, insisted he would not attend the funeral because he was not a family member, but with some prompting from the PRT commander in Khost (LTC Chuck Miller), the governor changed his mind and handled the situation very differently: in addition to attending the funeral, he went to the hospital to visit those injured in the bombing, closed schools to ensure the community was fully mobilized, called for mass demonstrations in the streets, invited the press to follow him around the entire day, and held a 20-minute press interview with *Al Jazeera*. The city of Khost united in anger against the Taliban. With just minimal support, the governor took charge of the situation, organized thousands of people to march through the streets and condemn the Taliban, and set a classic leadership example for other Afghan governors to follow.

***The authors would like to thank**: COL Steve Tableman (former Gardez PRT CDR); LTC(P) Tim McGuire (former CDR, 1-508th Airborne); LTC Michele Bredenkamp (former CTF Devil S2); LtCol Robert Scott (former Executive Officer, 2/3 Marines); CPT Westley Moore (former CTF Devil IO Chief); and Mr. Robert Kemp (former POLAD for RC East) for their cogent contributions to this article.*

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HUMINT-CENTRIC OPERATIONS: Developing Actionable Intelligence in the Urban Counterinsurgency Environment

Colonel Ralph O. Baker, U.S. Army

This article was solicited from the author by Military Review *as a companion piece to his article, "The Decisive Weapon: A Brigade Combat Team Commander's Perspective on Information Operations," published in May-June 2006. It is based on an unclassified briefing COL Baker presents regularly to leaders preparing to deploy to Iraq and Afghanistan.*

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A FEW WEEKS AFTER assuming command of the 2d Brigade Combat Team (2BCT), 1st Armored Division, I found myself sitting in a tactical command center in downtown Baghdad conducting a brigade cordon-and-search. The reports flooding in from my battalion commanders were virtually all the same:

"STRIKER 6, this is REGULAR 6. Objectives 27, 28, 29 secure and cleared. Nothing significant to report. Over."

We spent nearly ten hours searching for insurgents and weapons in hundreds of dwellings throughout our objective area, a bad neighborhood off Haifa Street that was a hub of insurgent activity—and for what? Ultimately, we captured a dozen weapons and a handful of suspects.

Much more worrisome to me than the meager results of our operation was the ill will and anger we had created among the Iraqi citizens who were the unwelcome recipients of our dead-of-night operations. I had been on enough such sweeps already to picture the scene clearly: mothers crying, children screaming, husbands humiliated. No matter how professionally you executed such searches, the net result was inevitably ugly.

That profoundly disappointing experience led me to a blunt realization: our dependency on conventional intelligence collection methods and our failure to understand the negative perceptions our actions were generating among Iraqi citizens threatened to doom our mission. If we did not change our methods, and change them quickly, we were not going to be successful in the urban counterinsurgency (COIN) environment in which we found ourselves. As a result of that realization, I made two decisions in the ensuing days that affected the way our combat team would operate for the remainder of our deployment. First, we would reform the way we conducted intelligence operations, and second, we would make information operations (IO) a pillar of our daily operational framework.

My purpose in writing this article is to share with the reader insights and lessons learned from the reform of our intelligence operations; specifically, what we learned by conducting human intelligence (HUMINT)-centric operations in a heavy BCT in Iraq. To that end, I want to briefly describe the initial state of my BCT and our area of operations (AO), identify the major intelligence challenges that we faced, and offer solutions and techniques we adapted or developed in order to overcome our challenges.

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Background

Second BCT deployed to Iraq in May 2003. We were a conventional heavy BCT, task-organized with two mechanized infantry battalions, a cavalry squadron, an armor battalion, a field artillery battalion, an engineer battalion, a support battalion, and a military police battalion. The BCT's train-up prior to deployment had focused on conventional, mid- to high-intensity combat, and our battalion and brigade headquarters and staff processes were still optimized to fight a conventional threat.

Our AO included two districts in Baghdad—Karkh and Karada. Within these two districts lived somewhere between 700,000 and a million citizens, among them Sunnis, Shi'as, and the city's largest population of Christians. Our AO also included the heavily fortified Green Zone and several neighborhoods with large populations of retired Iraqi generals, plus numerous ethnic, sectarian and political entities (either preexisting or emerging, such as the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution, the Islamic Dawa Party, and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan).

With the exception of our counterintelligence warrant officer and a few other officers who had some previous exposure to HUMINT operations, we neither understood nor anticipated the inadequacy of our conventionally designed intelligence collection and analysis system. More importantly, almost no one understood the dominant role that HUMINT operations would play in developing actionable intelligence on a burgeoning insurgency.

The intelligence system we brought to Iraq was designed to identify conventional enemy formations, and our intelligence personnel were trained to conduct predictive analysis about an enemy based upon our knowledge of his equipment and doctrine. Exactly none of these conditions existed after Saddam's army was defeated.

...we neither understood nor anticipated the inadequacy of our conventionally designed intelligence collection and analysis system.

Instead, we found ourselves in the midst of an insurgency, confronted by an elusive enemy force that wore no uniform and blended seamlessly into the local population. Conventional intelligence collection systems just don't work in this type of environment; our imagery operations, electronic reconnaissance, and standard combat patrols and surveillance operations were simply ineffective. After faithfully applying these conventional ISR (intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance) methods and assets to our combat operations, we netted almost no actionable intelligence.

Challenges

Realizing that we were fighting a growing insurgency and that the current conventional organization and training of our battalion and brigade intelligence sections were inadequate to address our needs, I decided to transition our conventional BCT intelligence system into a HUMINT-centric system.

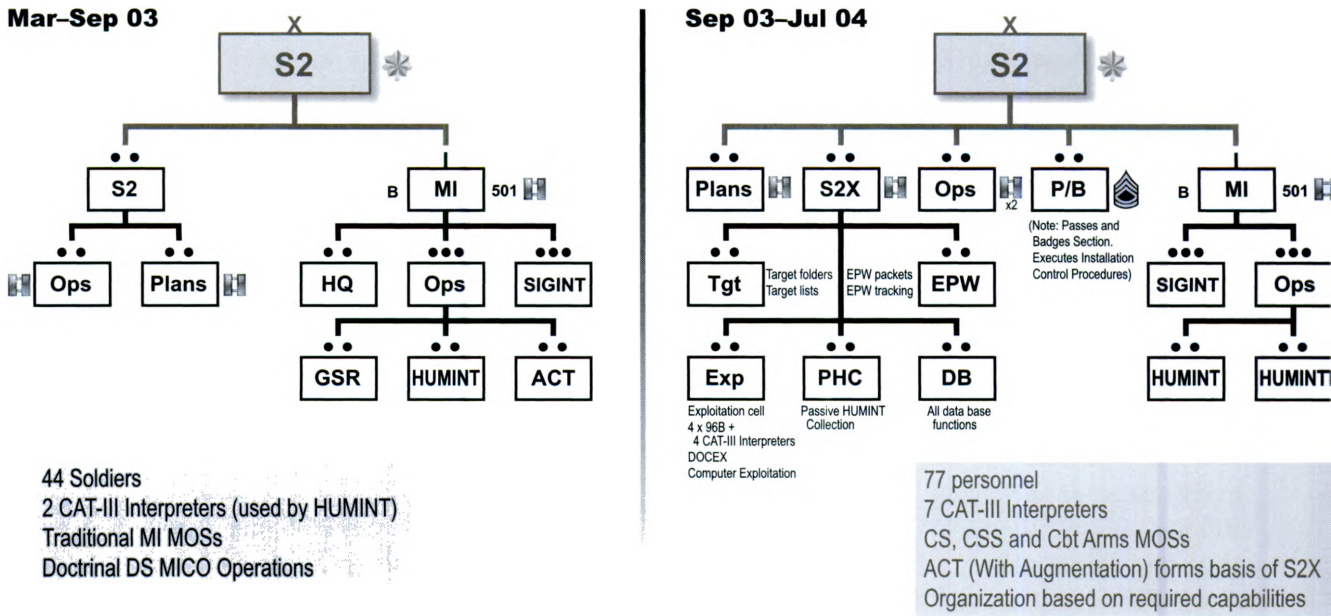
Not unexpectedly, a change of this magnitude for a unit engaged in combat against a growing insurgency presented many challenges. After considering the circumstances we faced in our AO and our leadership's lack of experience and familiarity with COIN operations, I found that our challenges could be grouped into three general categories: leadership, organization, and training.

Leadership

When people are confronted with substantive change that runs counter to their doctrine and training, it's natural for them to be uncomfortable and therefore hesitant to embrace that change. I assumed this would be the case from the beginning; thus, I set about implementing mechanisms to ensure that compliance with our intelligence changes was rapid and "as directed." From the beginning, I felt it was necessary to convince my commanders and staffs that transitioning to a HUMINT-based approach to intelligence was my absolute highest priority.

As a commander, you must set the conditions to ensure that your subordinates make HUMINT operations a priority and that they synchronize such operations with your headquarters. You must start out by providing a sound concept your subordinates can understand and follow: visualize the plan, describe it to your people, and then direct them in execution. After close consultation with my

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2 BCT, 1 AD Intel Organization

staff and other individuals with COIN experience, I presented a vision and draft organization for how I wanted units in the BCT to conduct intelligence operations. Central to our new intelligence system was the development of an extensive network of Iraqi informants. I felt it was absolutely key to identify and develop indigenous sources who had the ability to infiltrate Iraqi society and blend in. Such human sources of intelligence represent a critical capability that no ISR technology, no matter how sophisticated or advanced, can match.

Once we had decided to rely primarily upon informants for our intelligence collection, we modified our analysis process to bring it more in line with police procedures. This meant a heavy reliance on evidentiary-based link diagrams to associate individuals with enemy cells and networks, and some conventional pattern analysis when appropriate. Units were also directed to modify the organizational structures of their intelligence sections to accommodate new functional requirements such as intelligence exploitation cells, more robust current operations and plans cells, and additional subject matter experts who could support analysis and exploitation activities.

Once we had decided to rely primarily upon informants..., we modified our analysis process to bring it more in line with police procedures.

After we developed a concept and described it to the BCT's leaders, the final (and most leader-intensive) part of our transition was getting those leaders to buy in. I fully expected that many of my subordinate commanders would be very uncomfortable changing their intelligence organizations, collection assets, and analysis processes, particularly in the middle of a war. Throughout their careers, they and their Soldiers had experienced only conventional military intelligence operations. Forcing them to abandon a system they were comfortable with and that they thought adequate required commanders at all levels, starting at brigade, to stay personally involved in all aspects of the transformation.

HUMINT Battle Rhythm

Anticipating that I would likely face some resistance from within my organization, I implemented mechanisms that would allow me to promote compliance, conformity, understanding, and confidence in our new approach to intelligence collection and analysis. Two particularly useful venues that allowed me to stay personally involved in intelligence operations with my subordinate leaders were weekly

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reconnaissance and surveillance (R&S) back-briefs and BCT after-action reviews (AARs).

My weekly intelligence battle rhythm consisted of a brigade intelligence targeting meeting on Sunday, followed by a BCT fragmentary order on Tuesday, and then the R&S meeting on Thursday. I personally chaired the latter, with my intelligence officer (S2) and all the BCT's battalion operations officers (S3s) in attendance.

R&S meeting. The R&S meeting was particularly useful for several reasons. First, it allowed me to confirm that the decisions, priorities, and guidance I had provided during my weekly targeting board had been accurately disseminated and interpreted by my subordinate commands. Second, it allowed me to monitor our weekly recruitment and development of informants, who were absolutely central to our HUMINT-based intelligence program. Third, it gave me the opportunity to directly provide or clarify guidance from the weekly brigade intelligence FRAGO to all of the BCT S3s. Fourth, it improved my situational awareness of each of my battalion AOs. Finally, taking the time to personally chair this meeting demonstrated my commitment to making HUMINT-centric operations a top priority in the BCT.

During these meetings, the battalion S3s were required to brief me on a number of mandated topics: the priority of their collection actions, the status of informant recruitment and training, the allocation of intelligence collection assets, and any additional R&S support they required from brigade level or higher. Each battalion used a brigade-standardized matrix to cross-walk their priority intelligence requirements (PIR) with the asset or assets they planned to dedicate against their PIR. Any informant a battalion was using was listed on this matrix along with our organic collection assets.

The gathering of battalion S3s was one of our most important and productive intelligence meetings. It allowed me to assess the development and use of HUMINT assets, to ensure that the battalions' intelligence and collection requirements were nested with the brigade's, and to see how the battalions were progressing in the development and use of informants. It also provided a venue for the battalions to share lessons learned about intelligence targeting and collection.

Weekly BCT AAR. Another meeting that facilitated professional and informative dialog and gave me an opportunity to provide guidance to my commanders on intelligence issues was our weekly BCT AAR. It was held on Saturday, with every battalion commander and S2 attending. Each AAR began with the brigade S2 providing a detailed intelligence update of the entire BCT AO, followed by a discussion to ensure that we all shared a common enemy picture. This forum also allowed for the dissemination of intelligence lessons learned and best practices, and it gave me an opportunity to identify challenges and seek solutions from fellow commanders. Once our intelligence portion of the AAR was complete, the battalion S2s departed with the BCT S2 to synchronize BCT intelligence issues. Commanders stayed and we continued our AAR of information and maneuver operations.

Net gain. These two weekly venues, the R&S meeting and the AAR, were essential to reforming our intelligence system and improving our individual and unit performance. They—

- Allowed me and the BCT S2 to routinely emphasize or reinforce key components of our intelligence system.
- Promoted a learning environment within a chaotic and fast-paced operational environment.
- Allowed the immediate sharing of lessons (good and bad) among key battalion leaders.
- Provided me with immediate feedback on how well we were adapting to our new system.
- Fostered a better understanding of, and leader buy-in to, our new method of intelligence operations.

Eventually, once leaders at all levels understood the new system of intelligence collection and analysis better, had gained experience with it, and had bought into it, I was able to back off and be less directive. My subordinate leaders were then free to adapt and modify their intelligence operations to best fit the needs of their AOs.

Organization and Team Building

It was relatively easy to visualize, describe, and modify the organizational structure and the processes that we adopted to transform our intelligence operations. The greater challenge was manning our new model and training our Soldiers and leaders to conduct HUMINT operations.

As you would expect of a learning institution, our Army is changing its organizational structures and doctrine to address many of the intelligence

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shortcomings that units experienced early on in Iraq. In fact, the intelligence section of today's BCT now includes an exploitation cell—a capability (and personnel) we didn't have just two years ago. In addition to these organizational and doctrinal improvements, BCTs now have more experienced leaders who understand the need to collect HUMINT in the current operating environment.

That said, manning is one of the challenges units encounter when they try to adapt their intelligence sections to HUMINT operations. HUMINT-centric operations are very manpower intensive—the amount of information that must be collected, analyzed, and synthesized to produce actionable intelligence can be overwhelming. Personnel needed for activities such as document and technical exploitation, interrogations, informant meetings, and plans and current operations present additional manpower challenges. As a result, commanders will find themselves undermanned when they have to staff their transformed intelligence activities according to the typical authorization for a conventional intelligence section. The number of authorized billets and Military Occupational Specialties (MOSs) is simply inadequate to conduct and sustain HUMINT-centric operations. To develop an effective brigade intelligence team, you will have to find additional personnel to man it.

One way to address this shortcoming is to screen and select non-intelligence-MOS Soldiers from your BCT who have the required skills: intellectual capacity, technical expertise, and a natural proclivity to contribute to your intelligence effort. We never hesitated to take Soldiers out of other sections or units to resource our intelligence sections. We had more than enough combat power in our organizations to overmatch the enemy in Iraq; what we didn't have was the depth and knowledge in our intelligence sections to find the enemy in the first place. To fix that, we integrated infantry and armor Soldiers, cooks, communications specialists, and mechanics into our brigade and battalion intelligence sections. Commanders might also look closely at any National Guard and Reserve units attached to them during deployment. Many of the Soldiers in these units already have unique skill sets (e.g., law enforcement, finance, computers and telecommunications) that make them excellent choices to serve as intelligence augmentees.

Having to build and train our intelligence team during combat was hardly ideal. Fortunately, units today have the opportunity to reorganize and train their intelligence sections and systems at home station prior to deployment. When we redeployed to our home station, we endured the typical personnel chaos (Soldiers changing station and leaving the service) that occurs in the wake of a long deployment. After the majority of our personnel turnover was over, we immediately set about building and training our intelligence sections in anticipation of the brigade's next deployment.

Working closely with the Combat Maneuver Training Center (CMTC) and 1st Armored Division Headquarters, we developed a HUMINT-centric pre-rotational training program to facilitate the early and progressive training of our new intelligence teams. The chief of the division's All-source Collection Element (ACE) and CMTC's scenario writers and leaders developed a detailed enemy situation and database that replicated an insurgent-terrorist activity, one that could fully exercise the BCT's intelligence units. The intelligence flow began six months prior to commencement of our maneuver training exercise, as our intelligence sections at home received a steady stream of notional intelligence reports, interrogation debriefings, and programmed meetings with HUMINT sources. Using the torrent of information generated by the division ACE and CMTC, our intelligence sections were able to sustain the intelligence processes and techniques that we had developed while previously deployed to Iraq.

With that pre-rotational data and information provided in advance, our intelligence teams were required to conduct analysis, build link diagrams and target folders, and produce other intelligence products that passed along the hard lessons learned during our first deployment. We also continued to

...manning is one of the challenges units encounter when they try to adapt their intelligence sections to HUMINT operations.

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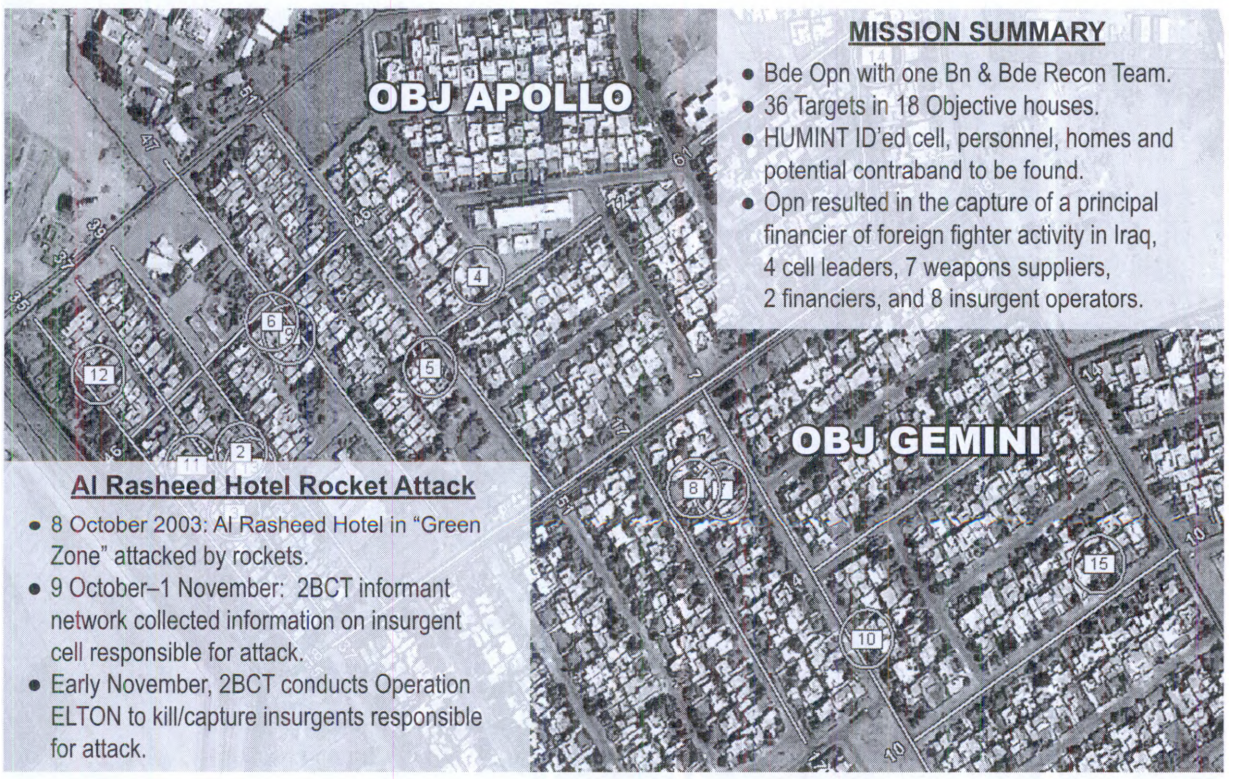
run our weekly intelligence battle rhythm just like we had in Iraq. My staff would provide me with current intelligence updates, recommend changes or additions to our PIR, conduct current analysis of insurgent organizations in our AO, and suggest intelligence targeting priorities.

These pre-rotational intelligence activities supported three important goals: first, they allowed us to train our newly staffed intelligence teams throughout the BCT based upon lessons we had learned and processes we had developed in Iraq. Second, they enabled us to maximize our training experience when we finally deployed for our rotation—instead of spending valuable time learning undergraduate lessons at an expensive postgraduate training event, we were able to hit the ground running based upon actionable intelligence our sections had developed over the previous six months. Finally, and most importantly, they developed the confidence of the new Soldiers and leaders in our intelligence sections.

Informants

As I stated earlier, leveraging informants as our principal intelligence-collection asset constituted a significant shift from the way most of us had ever operated. The theory and logic behind using local sources to obtain information and intelligence is easy to grasp; however, the practical aspects of developing these nonstandard collection assets are less obvious.

In general, we had two challenges with informants: finding them and training them. Initially we relied upon informants who routinely provided unsolicited information to our units. We would track the accuracy and consistency of the information they gave us and, after they established a credible and reliable track record, we would begin to reward them for useful information. Later on, as our knowledge of our AO improved and, more importantly, our understanding of the culture and the nuances of local demographics increased, we became more savvy and cultivated informants from different ethnic, sectarian, political, tribal, and other groups within our AO. Eventually, the brigade's intelligence sections developed a rapport with three to five informants who consistently provided reliable information we could develop into actionable intelligence.



Operation Elton, November 2003: Elton was 2BCT's first major operation to rely exclusively on intelligence from informants. Targeted houses were pinpointed by GPS devices.

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Among our informants were members of political parties, local government officials, prostitutes, police officers, retired Iraqi generals, prominent businessmen, and expatriates. Of course we recognized that there was risk associated with using informants. For example, we were concerned that they might be collecting on us, or that the information they provided might have been designed to settle personal vendettas. Consequently, our BCT S2 and counterintelligence warrant officer developed a vetting program to minimize such risks. All of our informants were screened to validate the quality of their information and to check their motivations for providing it. We also implemented careful measures to ensure that informants were not collecting on U.S. forces or providing information that would put our Soldiers at risk.

Once we determined that a potential informant was reliable and useful, it became necessary to train and equip him so that he could provide more accurate and timely information. We typically provided our informants with Global Positioning System (GPS) devices, digital cameras, and cell phones. The phones not only improved the timeliness of information, but also allowed informants to keep their distance from us, thus minimizing the chance they would be personally compromised. Later on, as Internet cafes began to flourish in the Iraqi economy, we helped our informants establish email accounts and used that medium as another way to communicate with them.

GPS devices were also important, because most informants could not accurately determine or communicate address information that was sufficient to pinpoint target locations. With some basic training, our informants could use their GPSs to identify key locations using the military grid reference system. This increased the accuracy of location marking and measurably enhanced our ability to develop precise, actionable intelligence. Occasionally it was useful to give informants automobiles, too, to facilitate their movement and collection activities inside and outside our AO.

We discovered that identifying and training an informant was a complex and time-consuming process. Finding the right type of individual willing to work with you is both an art and a science. Our counterintelligence-trained Soldiers were instrumental in ensuring that we worked with the most reliable, most consistently accurate informants. Training and equipping our informants were key to their effectiveness and paid great dividends in terms of the volume and accuracy of their information. Because informants were the foundation of our HUMINT system in the brigade, we resourced them accordingly.



Captured insurgent material. 2BCT learned the hard way that it's not enough merely to seize evidence. Contraband must be properly handled and documented to aid in insurgent prosecution.

Collecting and Exploiting Evidence

Although developing indigenous sources of intelligence was central to the way we operated, we quickly discovered that there was another key component to our HUMINT-driven system: the collection and exploitation of evidence. It is not only frustrating, but also detrimental to your mission success to culminate an operation with the capture of insurgents or terrorists only to be directed to release them because your justification for detaining them can't endure the scrutiny of a military or civilian legal review. We quickly learned after a couple of very avoidable incidents that our ability to successfully prosecute intelligence operations was directly linked to the ability of our Soldiers to collect, preserve, and exploit evidence related to our captured suspects. To remedy that, we initiated a training program to give our Soldiers and leaders the skills they needed to manage evidence.

Leveraging the experience and training of our military police, National Guardsmen with law enforcement skills, and FBI agents in country, we were able to rapidly train our Soldiers on the essential requirements for capturing, securing, associating, safeguarding, and

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exploiting evidence. Once they were armed with this training and an effective HUMINT-based intelligence process, our seizure and detention rate for insurgents, terrorists, and other miscreants soared.

Closely linked to the collection and association of evidence to suspects was the exploitation of that evidence. Early in our deployment we were frustrated by the inability of organizations above brigade level to exploit evidence in a timely manner and then provide feedback that we could use.

This was particularly true when it came to captured computer hard drives and cell phones. The standard policy was that these items had to be expedited to division headquarters within 24 hours of capture. This made sense because division was the first echelon above brigade that had the knowledge and expertise to exploit these devices. Unfortunately, for many reasons the turnaround time to receive intelligence from echelons above brigade was typically too slow, or the resultant product too incomplete, to help us.

What we needed was the ability to exploit these items at the BCT level for tactical information, in parallel with the division and corps intelligence shops, which were focused on other priorities. Based upon our previous working relationship with the FBI team in country, we managed to get a copy of a software program the agency was using to exploit hard drives. My BCT communications platoon loaded the software on their computers, received some basic training, and instantly we had the ability to exploit hard drives. We dedicated a couple of linguists to our communications platoon section, integrated this element into our S2X cell, and from then on conducted our own tactical-level technical exploitation of computers. We still had to forward hard drives and cell phones to division within 24 hours of capture, but now we just copied the hard drive, forwarded the complete captured system to division, and exploited the information simultaneously with the division.

This easy technical remedy to our hard-drive exploitation problem consistently provided big payoffs for us. The new capability was useful for documenting evidence to support the detention of an insurgent and for developing follow-up targets. We had the same challenge with cell phones. Unfortunately, we couldn't acquire the technical capability we needed to exploit them as we had with the hard drives. I believe that phone exploitation is yet another trainable skill and capability that we should give our BCT communications platoons.

As with cell phones and hard drives, we were challenged to fully exploit our detainees. Specifically, we had to get them to provide information, and then we had to exploit that information to incarcerate them or to assist us in developing further intelligence to support future counterinsurgency operations. To address this challenge, we developed and adapted two useful tools as we gained experience at tactical-level interrogations. One was a detailed line of questioning that our HUMINT Collection Teams (HCTs) could use when questioning detainees; the other was the "cage infiltrator"—an Iraqi informant who would pose as a detainee in our holding facility to gather valuable intelligence from actual detainees.

Developed by the HCT team leader and the S2, a detailed line of questioning is extremely important for prioritizing the avenues of questioning that your trained and authorized interrogators pursue. It is an especially important tool given the latter's extraordinary workload and the limited amount of time they can dedicate to initial and follow-up interrogation sessions.

As a commander, I found that it was imperative to take a personal interest in the line of questioning our HCTs pursued. For example, it was important to ensure that their line of questioning meshed exactly with the BCT's PIRs and intelligence targeting priorities. I spent a lot of time with my S2 and battalion commanders refining our PIR and specific intelligence requirements (SIR), reviewing and establishing collection priorities, and synchronizing our collection efforts. This entire effort can be derailed if the line of questioning your interrogators pursue isn't nested with your unit's priorities.

To ensure development of the most effective interrogation line of questioning, my S2 required our HCTs to participate in the following five-step process (weekly or mission-specific):

- HCTs receive updated PIR and associated SIR from the unit S2.
- HCTs receive a current intelligence briefing from the NCO in charge of the unit S2X cell.
- Senior HUMINT warrant officer attends the BCT commander's daily intelligence briefings to facilitate his understanding of the latest changes in intelligence priorities.

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Suspects detained during a 2BCT raid. Note the computer in the right foreground. Once the brigade acquired the capability to exploit hard-drives, computers became great sources of intelligence and evidence.

- HCTs develop lines of questioning and back-brief the unit S2 and senior HUMINT warrant officer.
- HCTs conduct interrogations.

We found that it was easy for our HCTs to determine the right questions to ask as long as they thoroughly understood our current PIR and SIR (which we continuously updated and refined).

Because detainees figured out very quickly that we treat prisoners humanely, it was not long before many of them refused to provide useful information. During interrogations we would typically hear things like "I'm innocent, I was just sleeping at my cousin's house when you arrested me," or "Saddam bad, Bush good, thank Allah for the USA." If we didn't have substantive evidence to link these detainees to a crime or insurgent activity, their strategy of denial, obsequious behavior, or happenstance alibi was difficult to dispute. One day, my S2 came to me with an idea. At his suggestion, we planted an informant in our holding facility with instructions to listen to the detainees' conversations and then report to us what they discussed. This technique, which we dubbed "cage infiltration," resulted in immediate intelligence.

Subsequently, we redesigned the individual spaces in our holding facility so that we could place our infiltrators in individual detention spaces, between suspected insurgent leaders and their possible followers. The only way these detainees could communicate among themselves was to talk past our infiltrator to their accomplice or cell member. Our interrogation teams would then remove our infiltrator under the guise of a routine interrogation, debrief him, and then return him to the holding area. Armed with the new information, our interrogators could often modify their line of questioning for more effective and productive follow-up interviews.

In a very short time, this technique became our single most effective method for gaining information and intelligence from our detainee population. An additional benefit to using cage infiltrators was that they were interactive. Over time, as they became more experienced and adept at what they were doing, they became quite clever at developing a dialog with their fellow detainees that would draw out additional information useful in incriminating the suspect or in developing future targetable information.

Another twist to this technique was the use of a taxi-driver informant. Despite our best efforts, there were times when we couldn't build a case strong enough to support the long-term detention

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of a suspect. When that happened, we would make our apologies for the inconvenience the suspect had endured and offer him a taxi ride back to his residence. It was not unusual for these suspects to brag to the driver or among themselves on their way home how they had deceived the "stupid" Americans. They would incriminate themselves in the process or reveal details that we could use to conduct follow-up COIN operations. Upon returning to our headquarters, the taxi driver was debriefed on the suspect's conversation. Based upon the nature of any new information the informant presented, we decided either to recapture the suspect or to cease pursuing him.

Ensuring that the line of questioning our HCTs pursued was nested with the BCT's intelligence priorities, coupled with some simple deception techniques such as using cage infiltrators in our holding facility, considerably improved the quantity and quality of intelligence that we obtained from our detainees.

Conclusion

Throughout the course of this article I have attempted to identify some of the major intelligence challenges my BCT faced during our first tour in Iraq. I have provided examples of how we met these challenges and adapted to best meet our needs at the time. I've also shared some of our more useful and effective practices in the hope that others may use or modify them to support their needs. I don't pretend that the examples and practices I've offered represent definitive solutions to the countless intelligence challenges units face in Iraq. My intent, rather, was to demonstrate that by direct and constant leadership involvement at all levels, conventional units can effectively organize, train for, and execute HUMINT-centric operations in a COIN environment with great success.

One Final Thought

This article is designed to complement a previous piece I wrote for *Military Review* ("The Decisive Weapon: A Brigade Combat Team Commander's Perspective on Information Operations") in which I described the contribution that IO made to our COIN efforts in Baghdad.[1]

Although HUMINT-centric operations and IO may appear distinctly different in terms of their aims, they are closely linked; in fact, they are mutually supportive. HUMINT-centric operations target the insurgent and the terrorist, but in doing so they produce precise and timely information that allows our Soldiers to locate and attack insurgent forces with surgical precision, minimum violence, and minor collateral damage. A corollary benefit is that our actions result in minimal harm and inconvenience to the local population, helping us to convince them that we have the intent and capacity to improve their security and daily lives by eliminating the insurgent threat.

Likewise, IO synergistically supports our intelligence efforts by convincing the local population that it is in their best interest, personally and nationally, to tolerate and even support our efforts to improve their lives. Through IO, we share with the population the progress that is being achieved politically, economically, and socially, and we ensure that they know about the violence and harm the insurgents are wreaking upon their fellow citizens and their nation.

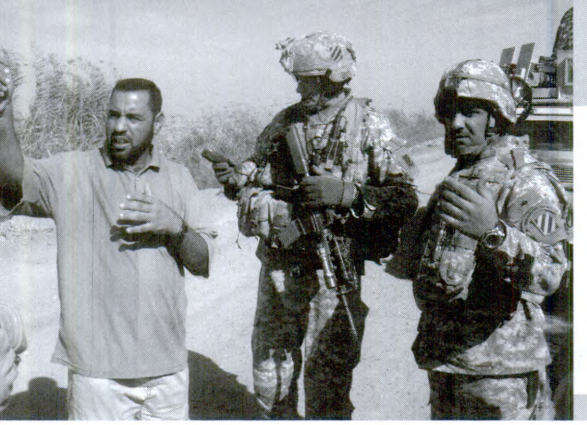
Similarly, through IO we are able to let the population know that we can separate and protect them from insurgent-terrorist threats when they have the confidence to share targetable information with us. The more adept we become at conducting IO and influencing the population, the more information the population will provide to enable us to target the insurgents and terrorists. It's a win-win dynamic.

Given the environment our forces are operating in today and will continue to confront in the future, HUMINT-centric operations and IO are no longer merely "enablers" or supporting efforts. Quite simply, they are the decisive components of our strategy. Both of these critical operations must be embraced; they must become the twin pillars of the framework from which we operate. No longer can we allow our greater comfort with conventional combat operations to minimize these decisive components of a winning COIN strategy. ***MR***

NOTES

1. Ralph O. Baker, "The Decisive Weapon: A Brigade Combat Team Commander's Perspective on Information Operations," *Military Review* 86 (May-June 2006): 33-51.

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HUMAN TERRAIN MAPPING: A Critical First Step to Winning the COIN Fight

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PHOTO: CPT Brian Jennings, commander of C Company, 1-15 Infantry talking with the sheik of Vin Jan Village, Iraq, August 2007. (U.S. Army, 1LT Aaron Wilkerson)

ACCORDING TO CURRENT U.S. MILITARY DOCTRINE, the path to victory in a counterinsurgency (COIN) runs through the indigenous population. Experiences in Iraq and Afghanistan, where the people are centers of gravity, have driven this doctrine. But before the counterinsurgent can win the people over, he must take the necessary steps to really understand and know them.

The U.S. military clearly was not attuned to this reality at the outset of Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF). Today, however, most Soldiers with multiple tours in theater understand that U.S. forces must consider the population first in everything they do operationally. They have discovered that any attempt to separate the insurgents from the population must be coordinated with effective efforts to win the population's support. Soldiers know that to succeed at the latter, they need to understand the human terrain intimately: only deep understanding can point to the conditions essential for success. Therefore, the important question is no longer "why" or "if" Soldiers operating in COIN environments should seek detailed understanding of the population; "how" they obtain that understanding is the issue at hand. In other words, how can a tactical unit most effectively amass and process the information it needs to decisively influence the population in its area of operations (AO)? Using the practical experience it gained during OIF V, Task Force (TF) Dragon (led by 1-15 Infantry, part of the 3d Heavy Brigade Combat Team, 3d Infantry Division) can help answer this question.

An Enemy Within

As many veterans and students of the current wars recognize, insurgents hold the upper hand with their better understanding of local customs and politics, their ability to speak the language, their freedom of movement within society, and their greater comprehension of the population's interests. Moreover, as is always the case in wars of foreign occupation, the insurgent enemy in this war does not wear a uniform and can easily blend with the population.

While preparing for its current combat tour, TF Dragon looked hard at units that were enjoying success in Iraq to figure out how to cope with the difficulties of COIN warfare. Overwhelmingly, the units that seemed to be winning the fight had made significant inroads with local leaders, had found proactive ways to understand and respect local cultural norms, and had addressed specific community needs. Although the task force recognized and understood this lesson early on, when it actually arrived in its area of

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operations (AO), Soldiers found that very little of the ethnographic data it needed to conduct effective operations had been collected.

The available information was sparse and spread out across the continuity files of nearly every staff section. It was also old: there had been no consistent coalition presence in the area for nearly two years, and when the staff tried to verify the little information it had received, it often found that key personalities had moved out of the area or local opinions and loyalties had changed. The task force quickly determined that the first step of its COIN fight would be to acquire an understanding of its AO in human terms.

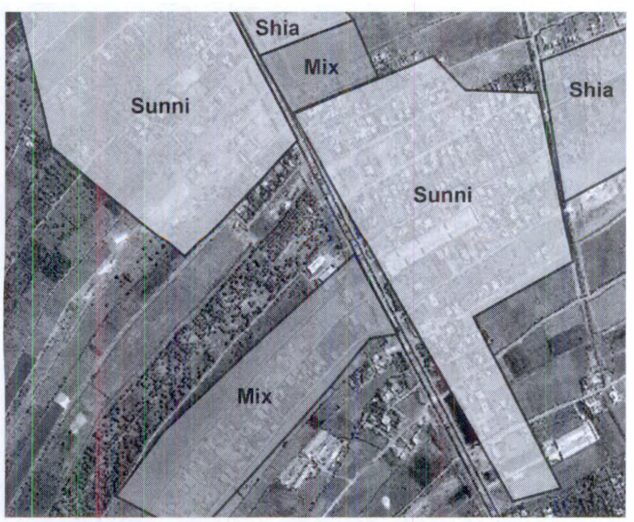
When it deployed to Iraq in mid-2007, TF Dragon inherited a heavily populated (400,000 people) area southeast of Baghdad. The AO was volatile, in part because it straddled a Sunni/Shi'a fault-line. The majority of the Sunnis lived along the Tigris River, the task force's western boundary. Shi'a tribes resided in the north (close to Baghdad) and along the eastern boundary (the Baghdad-Al Kut highway).

The requirement for new ethnographic information on its AO weighed heavily on the task force. Thus, the entire unit began focusing on systematically collecting and collating ethnographic information. Ultimately, TF Dragon worked the collection through a process the staff labeled "human-terrain mapping," or HTM.

Developing the HTM process amounted to creating a tool for understanding social conditions. As it collected and cataloged pertinent information, the task-force staff tailored its plan in order to capture a broad range of details. An important aspect of the process involved putting the data in a medium that all Soldiers could monitor and understand. Once the formatting and baseline information requirements were set, TF Dragon employed the shared situational-awareness enhancing capabilities of the Command Post of the Future (CPOF) computer system. Each company was allocated a CPOF to post the results of its mapping on a common database, a matrix that included information about religious boundaries, key economic structures, mosques, and important personalities such as sheiks.

Over time, the staff mapped the boundaries of each tribe and the demographic makeup of every village, town, and city the enemy could possibly seek refuge in. It went on to add data about personalities who were known to be supporting the insurgents, and the needs and wants of the particular populations. Mapping this political, economic, and sociological information created a common human-terrain picture that enabled more proactive initiatives and faster, much more effective responses to events. For example, as incidents occurred in specific areas, the common map enabled all companies to plot the location of the incident, then identify the proper sheiks to contact for intelligence or answers to critical questions.

Human-terrain mapping thereby allowed TF Dragon to understand the population and demonstrate its commitment to improving local communities. By addressing what the people felt were their priority needs, the task force was better able to cultivate relationships of significant trust with neighborhood leaders. In turn, these relationships led to the construction of an effective biometric database of military-age males. This information resulted in improved actionable intelligence on



Task Force Dragon's area of operations southeast of Baghdad.

Mapping...political, economic, and sociological information created a common human-terrain picture that enabled more proactive initiatives and faster...responses to events.

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insurgent activities, greatly improving security.

These positive results validated measures prescribed by Field Manual 3-24, *Counterinsurgency*, for "determining who lives in an area and what they do." In figurative terms, the human-terrain map became an outline of who the players in the current game were. Thus, the task-force commander concluded that developing a human-terrain map was crucial to simultaneously clearing out the enemy and driving a wedge between the insurgents and the population.

Defining Tactical Human-Terrain Mapping

TF Dragon executed its data-collection effort through systematic people-to-people contact. The staff planned decentralized platoon-level patrols, conducted during daylight hours, that sought answers to specific questions about the population. These specific "information requirements" (IR) about each separate village and town included—

- The boundaries of each tribal area (with specific attention to where they adjoined or overlapped).
- Location and contact information for each sheik or village mukhtar and any other important people (government officials, Iraqi Security Forces, etc.).
- Locations of mosques, schools, and markets.
- Identification of the population's daily habits (when they woke up, slept, shopped, etc.).
- Nearest locations and checkpoints of Iraqi Security Forces.
- Economic driving force (i.e., occupation and livelihood).
- Employment and unemployment levels.
- Population flow (i.e., people moving in or out of the AO).
- Anti-coalition presence and activities.
- Access to essential services (fuel, water, emergency care, fire response, etc).
- Particular local population concerns and issues.

To avoid being targeted, companies designed their terrain-mapping patrols to be "systematically unpredictable." In this way, all areas could be covered without telegraphing to the insurgents which areas might be visited next. For example, TF Dragon's Baker Company used the main road in its AO (running between Jisr Diyala and Salman Pak, near Baghdad) as a focal point and began with the villages on the east and west side of the thoroughfare. Each day patrols changed sides of the road or moved north or south of the villages they had visited previously. After two or three days of patrolling, they took a day off, further disrupting any patterns they may have been inadvertently setting.

Patrols were organized with specific objectives and purposes for each sub-element. The three major tasks were security, IR gathering, and relationship-building. As the composition of most patrols was centered on a mechanized infantry or tank platoon, some augmentation was required. Generally, the company commander was present on patrol to gain a firsthand look at his AO. The company fire support officer (FSO), acting as the company's intelligence officer, accompanied the commander on every patrol. This enabled the staff to build a framework to address the three critical tasks. The commander focused on building relationships with key individuals, his FSO (augmented by part of the platoon) sought answers to IR, and the patrol's platoon leader concentrated on security.

In addition to the three sub-element tasks, everyone within the patrol helped deliver information operations (IO) messages. These messages typically involved the rewards program (money for information about extremist activities), examples of the positive steps being taken by the local government and Iraqi Security Forces, and the benefits of cooperating with the coalition. Whenever possible, the messages took the form of pamphlets or one-page handouts given to local citizens. Prepared handouts and knowledge of current messages were considered TF Dragon's IO basic load. They were the responsibility of every Soldier on patrol.

A typical HTM patrol required a platoon to move tactically and establish a cordon around the area to be mapped. As the perimeter was being set, the commander and FSO moved to the likely center of the town and began to talk with citizens to determine where the local sheik or village leader lived. One of the specific requests the commander would make from the sheik or village elder was permission to enter the men of the village into the biometric data system (using handheld interagency identity detection equipment, HIIDE). Depending on the reaction to this request, the platoon might establish a centralized location and begin the process. If the sheik or elder demurred, the unit would earmark the village for a return visit when

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they could continue to press the issue. However, most times the local leaders had no problem with the request; they viewed the biometric census as an opportunity to show their innocence and willingness to cooperate with coalition forces.

While the commander met with these individuals and Soldiers took the census, the FSO and his platoon augmentees would talk with as many of the military-age males as possible to get answers to the IR. Other Soldiers also talked to as many people as possible to pass on the day's IO messages. On average, these patrols took about two to four hours to complete.

Oftentimes, patrols were reinforced with civil-affairs (CA) teams, human-intelligence collection teams (HCTs), psychological operations (PSYOP) teams, or additional medical personnel. These military specialists provided specific areas of expertise to assist the patrols, and the TF used their skills to enhance the perceived importance of the tactical unit. For example, having a unit medic treat a civilian with an acute problem, especially a child, provided direct evidence of the task force's goodwill and the tangible benefits to be had by cooperating with the coalition. Special-team augmentation also increased the overall number of contacts in the village, furthering the acquisition of IR answers. Additionally, it created opportunities for TF Dragon's "village teams" (elements combining CA, HCT, and PSYOP personnel) to reconnoiter and consider the kinds of effects they might want to produce on future visits.

Special care and planning was taken to ensure that augmentation teams did not interrupt or interfere with the relationship between the company and the population being mapped. TF Dragon emphasized the supremacy of the responsible company commander (the "land-owner") as the primary point of contact for each village's leaders. The task force wanted to preclude any confusion on the part of



U.S. Army, 1LT Matthew Barwick

Captain Rich Thompson, commander of Baker Company, 1-15 Infantry, talking with a local leader and his interpreter in Al Ja'ara, Iraq, August 2007.

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the local leadership as to who would make decisions regarding projects or future support. This clarity was especially critical when dealing with CA teams, whom the people often saw as "money guys." Through a deliberate effort, the task force made it clear that these teams supported the company commander, not the other way around.

After every patrol, the responsible platoon prepared a detailed analysis of the mapped area, and links were made to other villages based on sect, tribes, and terrain. The result was a census-like compilation of data collated by the task-force staff (primarily the S2, the effects/IO cell, and the CA officer). This compilation helped the staff develop and refine both its lethal and nonlethal targeting. It also produced a graphical depiction of where potential sectarian fault lines were, allowing the task force to focus its initial security efforts quickly so that all other logical lines of operation could commence early.

Task Force Dragon used this approach repeatedly to develop its human-terrain map. Balanced with other tactical missions, the overall process took about two-and-a-half months. Importantly, information contributing to the overall map was also gathered on offensive missions. During intelligence-driven raids, cordon and searches, and attacks, TF Dragon units used the same IR as on HTM patrols. Also, all military-age males found were entered into the HIIDES biometric data system, which helped the task force piece together a picture of the extremist groups operating in AO Dragon. The S2 simply checked the names of individuals taken into custody against the database built during previous HTM missions, and if someone had been in another unit's AO earlier, he became a suspect; the task force would then investigate why he was moving from area to area. This cross-reference system enabled the S2 to begin to link individuals so identified to a possible extremist cell that lived in one part of AO Dragon, but conducted missions in another. Eventually, it allowed the task force to create a link diagram of possible extremist activities.

HTM—A Necessary Process

Although the value of the map itself was obvious, in retrospect, the physical process of doing the mapping might have been even more beneficial. If the type of information gathered had been available upon arrival (in a database, for example), the task force might have accepted an abstract, and perhaps false, sense of the environment. It would have done so while depriving itself of firsthand knowledge gained from building the map. By way of analogy, having a ready-made database would have been like learning to do math problems on a calculator instead of the hard way, via reasoning. In conducting HTM, the battalion learned how to square ethnographic data the hard way, a method that provided maximum benefit via direct analysis of particulars within the situation at intimate levels. From this perspective, the advantages of having Soldiers do HTM themselves appear numerous. Besides gaining greater knowledge of the AO, some of the more salient benefits follow.

- HTM provided a practical vehicle for gathering human intelligence (HUMINT). Human-terrain mapping facilitated coalition forces getting to know the leadership of the different tribes, villages, towns, and



U.S. Army, 1LT Matthew Barwick

Sergeant Cecil Ray, B Company, 1-15 Infantry, collects biometric data by processing a citizen of the Al Ja'ara area into the HIIDES system, August 2007.

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Human-terrain mapping facilitated coalition forces getting to know the leadership of the different tribes, villages, towns, and cities...

cities of a particular AO. After earning the respect and trust of village sheiks and elders through person-to-person contact, Soldiers found the locals more willing to provide intelligence. As units moved through the various villages and towns of AO Dragon, they consistently found local citizens who had been hesitant to call the task-force tips hotline or go to its combat outposts, but were more than willing to provide information if engaged at a personal level.

- As often as possible, the task force tried to integrate its supporting human-intelligence collection teams into HTM patrols, which provided excellent opportunities to make initial intelligence contacts and develop sources. The practice also produced good inside knowledge of local citizens and a ready-made cross-reference capability, improving the task force's ability to determine the reliability and motivation of informants.
- HTM put a human, personal face on contacts with the population, abetting the task force's effort to enlist the population against the insurgents. One company used an interpreter to assist in getting to know the local citizens. Another conducted joint HTM patrols with local Iraqi policemen and concerned citizens. As one company commander put it: "I believe it was vital to the initial impression of the locals in our AO that they saw us out walking amongst them, knocking on doors, shaking hands and asking questions specific to that family [and] tribe. I feel it put a human face on our company and opened the door to many of the initial dialogues that we are [now] currently exploiting with great success."
- HTM was critical to building trusted networks. The number-one tenet of the 3d Infantry Division's COIN handbook states, "It's all about the people." Building a trusted network means creating personal relationships between coalition tactical leaders and the leaders of the population they secure. Once those relationships were built, task-force units were better able to deliver and assess the effects of IO messages and PSYOP products, better able to determine if local governments were talking to their constituents, and—when necessary—better able to minimize unrest among the population through consequence-management procedures.
- The patrolling required to map the human terrain was vital to the initial tone set by TF Dragon: it put coalition Soldiers in the streets immediately, sending a clear signal to the insurgents and the people about who was in charge. If the enemy tested U.S. force strength, Soldiers were out of their vehicles with gun barrels and eyes set in every direction, prepared to maneuver instantly. Soldiers conducted every HTM patrol as if the enemy was watching and assessing them. Thus, HTM simultaneously brought U.S. forces closer to the locals and deterred enemy contact.
- HTM provided unforeseen opportunities to demonstrate resolve to the population. While getting to know local leaders and meeting with them in their villages, the companies of TF Dragon often conducted hasty raids on weapons traffickers and IED emplacement cells pointed out by villagers. These raids showed the locals that task-force Soldiers were dedicated to making their village more secure. Furthermore, they proved to local leaders that when they gave Soldiers critical intelligence information, those Soldiers would act on it.
- HTM provided ground-level insight into local politics, motivations, and differences—and this served as the start point for reconciling Sunni with Shi'a. Understanding the differences between the two sects' areas was easy; finding a nexus for reconciliation was not. However, once a unit met and befriended leaders in both areas, those leaders had something in common: a partnership with coalition forces. In one particular area, Sunni and Shi'a families lived together with different sheiks leading each sect. Unfortunately, these sheiks were not eager to work with one another to reconcile their differences. To add to the area's problems, Al-Qaeda in Iraq often attacked both groups as a means to keep their foothold. After working numerous HTM patrols in those areas, the local company commander earned the trust of both the Sunni and Shi'a. This enabled him to initiate discussions between the two sheiks based on the common goals of security and economic development.

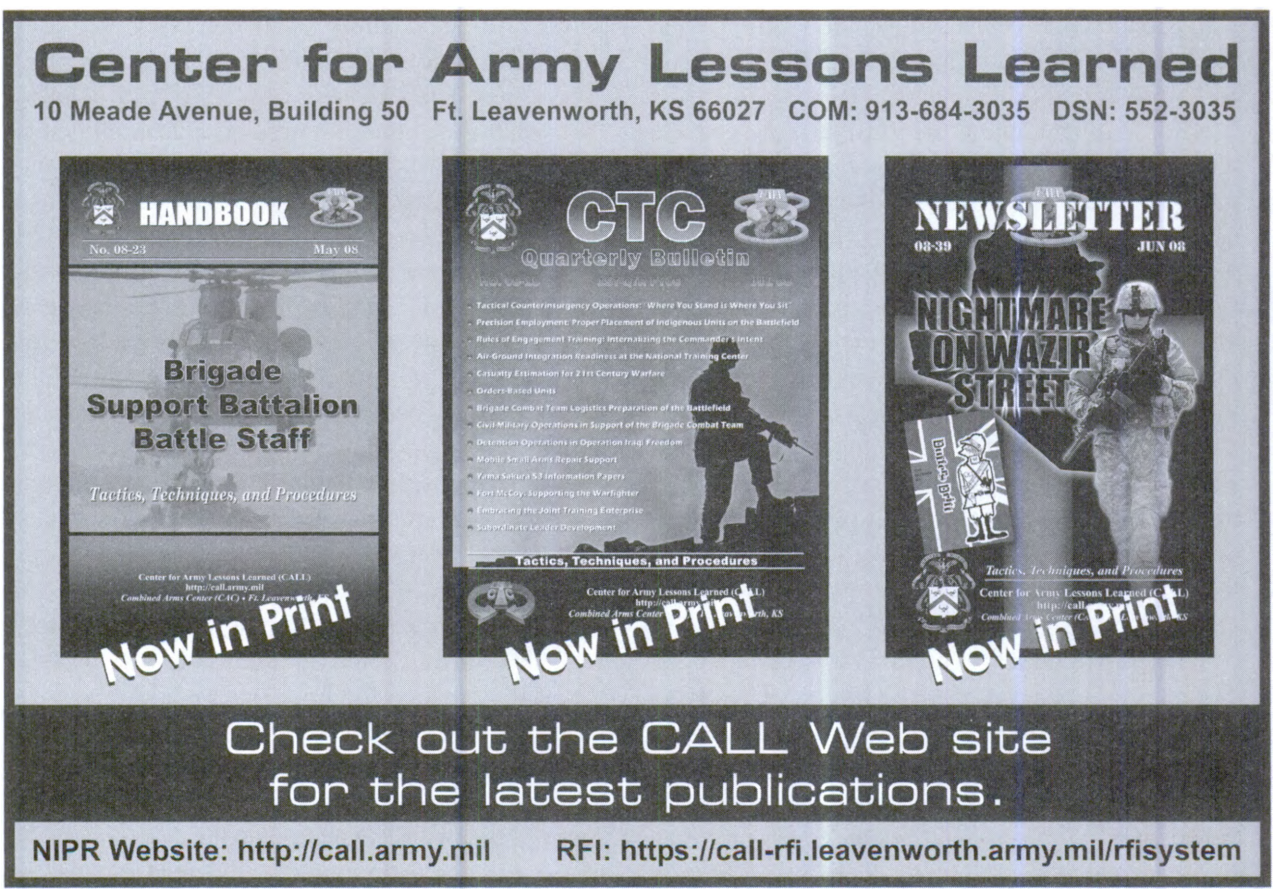
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• Nothing can replace personal reconnaissance in importance. This is a principle that has existed in U.S. Army doctrine for decades. Even though the data entered into biometric databases includes addresses and street names, this information is often difficult to include in map overlays. Furthermore, different people may refer to local areas by different names. Many roads in rural areas are difficult to travel; conducting reconnaissance during HTM operations can assist a unit in figuring this out.

As the U.S. Army continues to examine the human-terrain mapping aspect of counterinsurgency warfare, TF Dragon Soldiers would offer a caveat based on their experience: do not rely solely on a computerized, automated solution to HTM or on the creation of a singular special-staff section to provide human-terrain insight. From what TF Dragon learned, a unit would best benefit from going out and collecting this information initially on its own, or, if it inherits such information from a previous unit, by developing a process to continuously reassess that information.

Summary

Counterinsurgency is probably the most difficult form of warfare because it forces military professionals out of their comfort zones and into the complex realm of interacting with human beings, sometimes in very subtle ways. By developing a human-terrain map, a unit can acquire a greater sensitivity to and deeper understanding of its AO, enabling it to leverage the complex human relationships that make COIN succeed or fail. But the goodness of a human-terrain map lies not just in the "having"; the "doing" offers perhaps even greater dividends. Building the necessary human relations with the population you secure is not hard—it just takes time and effort. In short, TF Dragon's experience has shown that making a human-terrain map is time and energy well spent. ***MR***



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Paper and COIN: Exploiting the Enemy's Documents

Major Vernie Liebl, U.S. Marine Corps, Retired

MOST MILITARY MEMBERS, especially those with operational combat experience, understand that intelligence drives operations. Unfortunately, getting good, actionable intelligence is almost always a formidable challenge, a truth borne out in our recent experience in Iraq and Afghanistan. In these two conflicts, most of the collection methods we have used—technical means such as imagery exploitation and signals intercepts—depended on the adversary being somewhat cooperative (although that adversary might not recognize it as such). For example, if signals intelligence is to work well, the enemy must employ some type of emitting or broadcasting equipment in sufficient numbers and times for meaningful intercept and analysis to be done. Likewise with imagery: the enemy must, even if he employs sophisticated camouflage, present himself at some point as a somehow identifiable member of his side. In an insurgency, however, where the enemy imitates the seemingly innocuous traveler or nomad and restricts his communications to word of mouth or passing of notes, identifying him and collecting intelligence about him become much more difficult. In such instances, human intelligence (HUMINT) may be the only effective method of gaining needed information.

Discussion about how to do HUMINT has mainly focused on extracting information from individuals by interrogation or debriefing (the former implying hostile extractions from prisoners, the latter suggesting neutral or friendly extractions from friendly forces, civilians, etc). In such cases, much of the value of the information derived depends upon the training, knowledge, ability, and stamina of the person conducting the interrogation, as well as the cooperativeness of the person being questioned.

Human intelligence can also be collected through personal tactical observation (static) or combat patrolling, with observations and reports being submitted during or after the duty period or patrol. Again, however, we need the enemy's cooperation: he must come out of hiding and do something that we can observe.

There is one type of HUMINT, however, that does not require the enemy's cooperation. That method is media exploitation, also referred to as document exploitation, or DOCEX.

Unfortunately, despite the real potential of obtaining intelligence information simply by reading the enemy's paperwork, coalition forces all too often have ignored this means of collection. Sometimes they have simply overlooked exploitable information; other times, they have actively destroyed it before it could be examined. The following example is illustrative of such lamentable practices.

Major Vernie Liebl, U.S. Marine Corps, Retired, is currently trying his hand at writing while staying home with his family. He served in the Marine Corps as an intelligence officer and deployed to Afghanistan in 2003, 2004, and 2005. MAJ Liebl also saw duty in Iraq and the Persian Gulf in 2003, the Horn of Africa/Yemen in 2004 and 2005, and Saudi Arabia and Kuwait in 1990/1991. He holds an M.A. in national strategic security studies from the U.S. Naval War College, an M.S. in Islamic history from the University of Utah, and a B.S. in political science from the University of Oregon. His last position was as chief, Afghanistan Insurgency and Strategic Issues Section, Defense Intelligence Agency.

PHOTO: Documents and items of interest are piled together after sensitive site exploitation prior to processing, Baghdad, July 2003.

(All photos courtesy of the author)

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...one type of HUMINT... does not require the enemy's cooperation. That method is ...document exploitation, or DOCEX.

On 10 November 2003, U.S. forces conducted a raid into the mountains of Nuristan in Afghanistan. Their target was a small cluster of buildings, reportedly a Taliban administrative center, perched on the side of a mountain just south of the small town of Aranas. Information about the objective came from the highest levels, which meant it was not to be questioned, just acted on.

First the buildings were attacked by air, then they were assaulted and occupied by troops from the 10th Mountain Division (after a 2,000-foot uphill attack). Unusually, the raiding force included a follow-on multi-agency intelligence team. Its mission was to identify enemy casualties (by gathering DNA samples) and examine any documents or equipment that might be about.

Although the assault was vigorous, the results were disappointing: only three prisoners of questionable value were detained, and no Taliban casualties were confirmed. Moreover, the site didn't seem to be the Taliban ops center higher level intelligence had claimed it was; in fact, it was hard to determine just what it was.



U.S. intelligence personnel, with captured Taliban member (far left in bed of truck), confiscated documents, and computer hard drives, await helo extract from Gardez, Afghanistan.

Much of the difficulty in determining the site's nature was caused by the assault force's lack of attention to media on the objective. Between the Soldiers' occupation of the buildings and the intelligence team's arrival, there was a delay of several hours. In that time, at least a third of the media, mainly loose papers and books, was blown away by high winds or burned by the troops to keep warm. (It was November and the site was in the foothills of the Hindu Kush, more than 6,000 feet high.) In fact, none of the troops picked up any of the media except to use it as kindling. To add to the problem, once the intelligence team arrived, its media collection effort was hampered by the presence of several unexploded 500-lb. bombs and the unstable nature of the ruined buildings. Animal and human waste on some of the loose papers—a not uncommon situation on such a secluded objective—also complicated the team's exploitation effort.

The site's apparent misidentification wasn't the only deficiency in the imagery-derived intelligence sent to the Soldiers by higher. During its search for documents, the intelligence team discovered several discrepancies between the picture intel had painted of the complex and the actual complex. Extremely effective (and simple) camouflage and placement in the shadows of overhanging rock ledges had concealed some structures, while supposed buildings or potential bunkers turned out to be terraced farm fields or large rocks.

The eventual exploitation of the media remaining on the site was illuminating, although disheartening. Analysis indicated that the location was not a Taliban operations center, but a madrassa—an Islamic school. The largest area in which documents were eventually found was identified as the living quarters of the head of the madrassa. The materials turned out to be documents pertaining to education, including school rosters and a couple dozen *Qurans*. Several of the *Qurans* indicated that the flavor of Islam taught was Deobandi with influences from Saudi Arabian Wahhabist organizations and the Pakistani Ahl-e Hadithi (Lashkar-e Tayyiba), but there was no evidence of a military presence other than some Chinese-style (Mao) green uniforms, whose sizes indicated that they were to be worn by young boys roughly three feet tall. Whatever other clues may have existed linking the madrassa to the Taliban had literally disappeared in the wind or gone up in smoke.

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The "ops center" mission points to obvious problems in a coalition process that favors technological over human intelligence collection and ignores DOCEX. By way of contrast, consider the potential nuggets of information that can be gathered simply by searching clothing.

On 19 January 2004, U.S. Special Forces (SF) killed a sniper in the Bermal Valley, Paktika Province, Afghanistan. Recovered from the sniper's body were 24 pieces of paper. Unable to interpret the papers themselves, the SF unit's intelligence section requested immediate assistance, believing that any information recovered might be time sensitive. When examined by analysts with advanced linguistic and cultural skills, the bits and pieces of media indicated that the sniper had been a Taliban religious recruit from a madrassa most likely located in North Waziristan, Pakistan. He could be identified as Taliban (and not Al-Qaeda) by the presence of a religious amulet, a taweez, that indicates Sufi influence. (Al-Qaeda views Sufism as heretical.)

The bits of paper also disclosed phone numbers and instructions, in both Urdu and Pushtu, to contact certain persons in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Analysis uncovered a network that spanned from Pakistani areas within and east of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas [FATA] to locations in the Bermal Valley. Some of the phone numbers were traced to a number of front agencies in Pakistan working in the towns of Wana, Bannu, and Tank, and the city of Karachi. Other numbers were traced to the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, and South Africa, indicating the depth of support from abroad, likely Salafist at the least, Al-Qaeda at the worst, for one lone Taliban.

In another example, DOCEX was the key to exposing an enemy support network and its supply locations. On 27 December 2003, U.S. forces from the 1st Battalion, 501st Brigade, killed several insurgents in a firefight near Khost. From these individuals, the Soldiers collected 10 documents, 1 film negative, a small amount of cash, and three types of medicinal capsules. The material, which included taweez and several night letters in Pushtu from the "Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan" (the Taliban), revealed definitively that the insurgents were Taliban. It also indicated they were coming in from Pakistan, specifically from Miram Shah,



A room searched by Soldiers, with household items strewn around. Such treatment makes it more difficult to find documents and other items of interest.

and were probably headed for Ghazni to conduct propaganda missions (distribute the night letters) and possibly an assassination or an attack, referred to in the documents as a "wedding."

The capsules the insurgents carried also yielded intelligence. They contained the kind of over-the-counter medications (aspirin, antacids, and topical analgesics) that a foot soldier commonly uses in the field, and they had been manufactured in Pakistan or China. Along with the insurgent's "battle-rattle" and assorted personal items such as mirrors and combs, the capsules indicated that a particular Pakistani market supplied the Taliban, with specific foreign industrial concerns possibly benefiting directly from or contributing directly to the Taliban effort in Afghanistan.

In still another example, the translation in November 2003 of a night letter obtained by a British patrol in Faryab Province (a northwestern Afghan province populated primarily by Uzbeks with some Turkmen and scatterings of Pushtuns and Arabs) caused quite a stir within the U.S. intelligence community and the staff of Combined Joint Task Force-180. The letter itself contained nothing unusual, as it repeated rather conventional Taliban themes calling for jihad against the government and the Americans and warning against sending children, especially girls, to school. However, where the letter had been found provided proof of the Taliban's effort to reestablish itself in Afghanistan beyond the Pakistani border region and the traditional Taliban

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stronghold in south-central Afghanistan. Prior to the document's discovery, the largely Uzbek areas of northern Afghanistan had been considered relatively free of Taliban influence.

Interestingly, the letter had been handed over to the British patrol by Uzbek villagers. The Uzbeks distrusted the Pushtun villagers "down the way" who were sending out the letters. These Pushtuns were one of the numerous small pockets of Pushtuns who had been forcibly relocated into northern Afghanistan in the late 19th century in a Pushtunization effort by the government of Amir Abdur Rahman. This, too, was intelligence that had operational and perhaps strategic implications.

Captured media can be very complex and yield surprising information, such as some documents taken in Bamiyan Province in January 2004. Bamiyan was considered quiet and peaceful by the Karzai government, so almost no coalition forces, Afghan National Police, or Army forces had been assigned there. Its inhabitants, the Hazara (ethnically Mongoloid Shi'ites) favored the Karzai government and were inhospitable to the Taliban—a reasonable attitude considering the genocidal treatment meted out to them by Pushtun Sunni Taliban forces.

Exploitation of the documents taken in Bamiyan revealed that the Iranian Embassy in Kabul and the Iranian Consulate in Herat had trained and financed some of the Hazara to combat the Taliban. Ironically, the documents were Taliban investigative reports, taken from Taliban operatives. The documents also discussed Iranian efforts to penetrate the Taliban and the Karzai government, alluded to connections between Burhanuddin Rabbani's Jamiat Islami organization and Iranian-sponsored militant Shi'a organizations, and named some of the commercial covers or ventures used by the Iranians and their Hazara associates in Bamiyan, Takhar, and Herat Provinces.

Just how much information can be gained through DOCEX is apparent in one more example: the delivery of two letters by a foreign visitor to the commander of Forward Operating Base Kandahar in early 2004. The letters, in Urdu, were extremely informative.

Analysis showed the letters had been designed for a Pakistani audience, specifically for people attending mosques and madrassas. Meant to introduce the Taliban and to elicit aid and support from the Pakistanis, they lauded the Taliban as defenders of the faithful and the poor while depicting Americans, Jews, Indians, and UN personnel in the same light as communists and warlords. They called for Jihad and a return to Taliban rule that would reinstate Sharia (Islamic law), the perfection of Islamic rule, in Afghanistan. Sharia would solve all of Afghanistan's problems, just as it had before the American invasion. A list followed detailing casualties inflicted by the Soviets in the 1980s, the number of Soviets driven out in the late 1980s, and the number of deaths the populace suffered during the warlord era.

Clearly affiliating Osama bin Laden with the Taliban, the letters worked by invoking Pushtun cultural norms: sanctuary/hospitality (for Osama), honor (which demanded that Osama be defended), and antipathy for Hindus and Persians (Shi'a heretics). They also sounded several staple themes, such as the 1998 Clinton-era cruise missile attacks and calls for an Islamic revival (establishment of a Dar al-Islam) and resurrection of the Caliphate.

In addition to such propaganda, the letters contained an appeal for donations and a prioritized list of the Taliban's needs. Leading the list was cash, followed by warm clothing, food, and medical supplies. Notably, last on the list was support for the families of the dead, something usually omitted as it is assumed to occur automatically. This could have been interpreted in several ways: that Taliban casualties were heavier than had been anticipated and thus funds were inadequate; that there was less support for the Taliban than coalition intelligence assumed, and therefore families were not garnering the levels of sympathy and support expected; or that more Afghan refugee families had fled to Pakistan than was estimated, swamping the already overstressed and inadequate Pakistani refugee support services. The last supposition would account for the inclusion of educational material on the list (to restock madrassas and possibly to meet an expected influx of new, illiterate recruits to Taliban-controlled or sympathetic madrassas). The appeal for aid ended by asking the hearer to send money to a specific bank account care of the Taliban Islamic Movement Central Office (HQ), Karachi. The writers even promised to supply a receipt.

Apparently, these two letters had been circulated widely within Pakistani mosques (most likely by the Taliban-associated Jamiat-e Islamic Ulema,

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or Assembly of Islamic Clergy, a Pakistani-based Deobandist religious organization). As such, they pointed to the possible presence within Pakistan of a widespread and apparently effective Taliban logistical structure.

All of the above examples show that DOCEX can produce actionable intelligence and help commanders develop the situational awareness they must have in an insurgency environment. While the vignettes have been drawn from Afghanistan, the observations regarding DOCEX apply equally to Iraq or elsewhere. For example, information collected from various items of medical equipment at Asmara hospitals in Eritrea in 2005 indicated the extensive and unexpected presence of Cuban medical personnel.

It goes almost without saying that not all recorded media is paper; in fact, much of it is now computer hard drives, CD/DVDs, tape cassettes, and old tape recordings. The challenge sometimes is not to assess the information, but to find the correct equipment to view it. In Baghdad, one entire Iraq Survey Group mission was conducted merely to find an obsolete machine of Russian manufacture that could play what turned out to be an old Czechoslovakian Army chemical training video.

As we continue to fight the long war, such painstaking media collection and exploitation must become an integral part of all our combat efforts in Iraq, Afghanistan, and wherever else U.S. forces are deployed. Even within the HUMINT field of which it is a part, DOCEX is frequently an afterthought; it is underfunded and understaffed.

DOCEX can produce actionable intelligence and help commanders develop the situational awareness they must have in an insurgency environment.



Documents, electronic equipment, and computers processed and prepared for shipment to the Qatar facility, July 2003.

Despite the truly heroic efforts of a few within the intelligence community, media collection is rarely emphasized. This writer personally witnessed U.S. Soldiers traipsing through papers blowing around destroyed sites, never once deigning to pick up the material (Kandahar and Nuristan provinces). When confronted, the Soldiers said that investigating such stuff was not part of the package of Soldier skills they had been taught at basic training, nor had it been addressed prior to deployment. This lack of DOCEX awareness is sometimes corrected by aggressive, situationally aware commanders. The Marines and Special Operations Forces appear to be trained up, but our forces need to be universally cognizant of the importance of document recovery and exploitation.

With any kind of intelligence in any kind of war, it is rare to get the golden nugget of information that will win a battle. Clearly, however, much useful intelligence information may be out there blowing about the battlespace, waiting only to be picked up and sent to analysts who can make it talk. If we are to succeed in Afghanistan and Iraq, we need to start picking up the seemingly inconsequential media we find on battlefields. We absolutely must begin taking document exploitation seriously. ***MR***

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EVERYTHING OLD IS NEW AGAIN

Task Force Phantom in the Iraq War

Lieutenant Colonel Robert P. Whalen Jr., U.S. Army

Sometimes Army doctrine actually works when given the chance.

IT IS NO SMALL IRONY that a military intelligence (MI) brigade came to the above conclusion about infantry operations during more than 20 months of combat in 2003 and 2005. With Iraq as the laboratory and an XVIII Airborne Corps infantry long-range surveillance (LRS) company as the test animal, the Army has now produced a substantial body of evidence to show that cold war LRS doctrine is remarkably pertinent to 21st-century counterinsurgency warfare. This is a development that should not pass unnoticed by the Army's infantry and intelligence communities, and especially by the architects of the new battlefield surveillance brigade, which is designed to inherit much of the Army's responsibility for ground surveillance in combat over the next five years.

The Kindness of Strangers

Company F, 51st Infantry, returned to Iraq in late 2004 for its second tour of duty in two years. The Fort Bragg-based infantry unit—assigned, despite its provenance, to XVIII Airborne Corps' 525th MI Brigade—found itself once again in the country's northern provinces, where it had spent most of 2003. But this was the only similarity: nothing else about the return engagement was the same.

Like other corps-level LRS units, Fox Company was designed to be bigger, more mobile, and capable of operating over larger areas than the typical infantry rifle company. The Army had invented the LRS concept in the 1980s at the height of NATO's standoff with the Warsaw Pact in Europe. According to both infantry and MI doctrine, a corps-level LRS company was designed to send 18 six-man teams up to 150 kilometers behind enemy lines to observe operational- and strategic-level objectives, then guide fires on those targets. (At division level, an LRS detachment of six teams had a similar mission on a narrower, less distant strip of enemy terrain.)

To accomplish this demanding mission—almost the stuff of Hollywood thrillers—the Army had richly endowed its corps LRS companies with NCO and officer leaders trained at the Ranger, Pathfinder, and Military Free Fall courses; long-range, high-speed communications equipment and a platoon of signal troops to operate them; dozens of light vehicles and trucks; and state-of-the-art optics, individual weapons, and laser target designators. Despite this embarrassment of riches, many LRS companies struggled in the 1980s and 1990s to play the role the Army had written for them, but failed for reasons that remained depressingly consistent: they had neither the staff nor the influence to coordinate all of their support requirements.

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PHOTO: Companies E and F, 51st Infantry (Long Range Surveillance), at the handover of responsibility for Multi-National Command-Iraq's Task Force Phantom, 20 October 2005, at Al Asad airbase, Anbar province, Iraq. (USMC photo)

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[LRS units were] designed to be bigger, more mobile, and capable of operating over larger areas than the typical infantry rifle company.

Like Tennessee Williams's heroine Blanche DuBois, LRS units "have always depended on the kindness of strangers." To perform a European-style surveillance mission deep in the enemy heartland, for example, the LRS company had to look far beyond its own ranks for essential support. It required Army aviators or Air Force pilots willing to fly into a hornet's nest of enemy air defenses to drop paratroopers over denied territory; logisticians of the corps support command to figure out how to resupply the teams under the same unpromising conditions; personnel recovery experts to draw up a plan to rescue LRS troops in the event of compromise; and corps frequency managers to dedicate channels for that one company, channels that were in short supply and tightly rationed. Moreover, G2 analysts, accustomed to pondering transnational battlefields, had to switch gears to produce detailed intelligence folders on narrowly defined point targets. Meanwhile, the chief of staff, absorbed with a myriad of other concerns, had to focus his staff on tying together the many loose ends of LRS support.

Not surprisingly, many staff officers preferred to wash their hands of this burden entirely. Following an impressive debut in March 2003, when three surveillance teams moved over 400 kilometers into Iraq to support the advance of 3d Infantry Division, V Corps assigned its organic LRS unit, E Company, 51st Infantry, a series of routine tasks that required little coordination by its headquarters. Even within its own leadership chain, the LRS company was largely neglected by its parent command, 205th Military Intelligence Brigade. That summer the brigade's leadership was distracted by the task of supervising the conventional intelligence operations of eight subordinate battalions—activities that included the creation of a theater-level interrogation center at Abu Ghraib prison. In the war's first months, the 205th showed little interest in enabling its lone infantry unit to perform its intended combat role. This squandered the LRS company's unique capabilities. After March 2003, Echo Company's LRS teams functioned as little more than spare infantry in Iraq. They escorted convoys, conducted presence patrols, manned guard towers, prowled highways for homemade bombs and, for a brief period, shot feral dogs on U.S. bases. It seemed at times that the teams did almost everything *except* LRS operations.

A second LRS unit, attached to V Corps a few weeks before the invasion, fared somewhat differently. Initially, V Corps sliced Fox Company, 51st Infantry—the XVIII Airborne Corps LRS unit—into groups of free-floating teams, stripped of their organic company leadership and earmarked to individual divisions. In May, the newly-created Combined Joint Task Force 7 brought the unit back together and attached it to the 101st Airborne Division, which further subordinated the corps-level LRS unit to an infantry battalion operating in Mosul. Initially, the LRS company performed important but routine missions—delivering propane gas and guarding banks in the capital of Ninevah province.

Two months later the division commander, Major General David Petraeus, assigned Fox Company a new mission that exploited its special talents for the first time. Dispatched to the northern Kurdish occupied provinces, the unit surveyed Iraq's frontiers with Turkey and Iran and trained Peshmerga militiamen to serve as members of Iraq's new federal border police. Under the deft supervision of the division's military intelligence battalion, Fox Company teams operated with ease in remote, mountainous terrain that would have defeated the vehicles, line-of-sight radios, and back muscles of conventional infantry units. The company's operations and intelligence section came into its own, planning missions and organizing logistic support to LRS teams widely scattered across the Zagros Mountains.

Fox Company teams operated with ease in remote, mountainous terrain that would have defeated the vehicles, line-of-sight radios, and back muscles of conventional infantry units.

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Fox Company also provided intelligence reports from border areas where few Americans had ventured since the aftermath of the Gulf War. Washington paid special attention to the unit's eyewitness reports on the shadowy Kurdish PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party) guerrilla movement, a source of growing friction between the United States and its NATO ally across the Iraqi border, Turkey. Within weeks, Petraeus's economy-of-force mission turned into a showcase for LRS strengths as U.S. military operations in Iraq began to journey down new and unforeseen paths.

LRS, Version 2.0

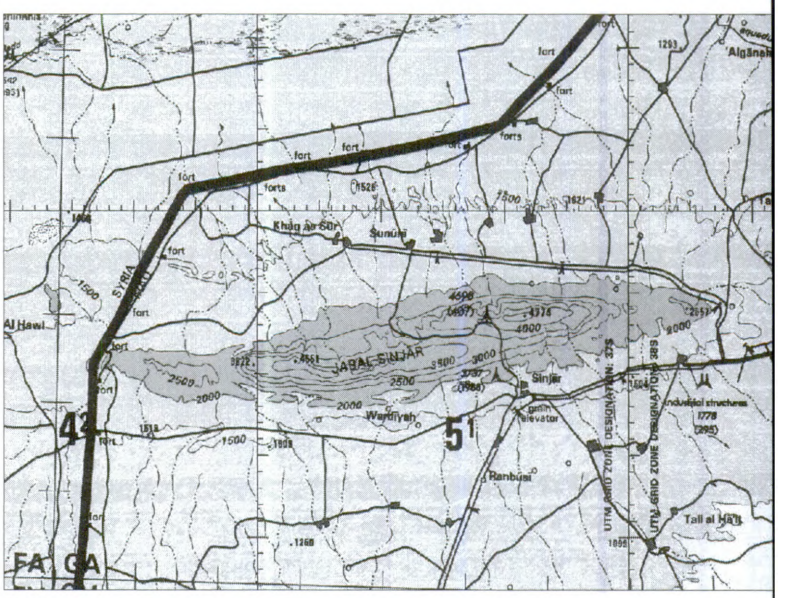
Upon their return to Fort Bragg, and armed with experiences in Kurdistan and a letter of support from Petraeus, Fox Company and its parent organization, 519th MI Battalion, spent nine months in 2004 acquiring equipment and training to prepare for genuine LRS operations in Iraq. Company and battalion leaders shuttled to the XVIII Airborne Corps headquarters to explain LRS capabilities and to plead for missions that would exploit the unit's unique skills.

These efforts came at a time when Iraq's growing insurgency was creating a demand for extended surveillance of the country's western borders. By February 2005, when the XVIII Airborne Corps staff took over leadership of Multi-National Corps–Iraq (MNC-I), coalition forces faced a growing campaign of intimidation from suicide bombers. Insurgents engineered a flow of money, men, and equipment from outside the country to create mayhem in Iraq's biggest cities. They took advantage of the long, undefended frontier with Syria to supply Iraqi fighters with the raw materials for homemade bombs and other weapons of terror. In its first two months of independent operations along the border, Fox Company sent irrefutable evidence to Baghdad of the insurgents' undocumented transit in both directions, heedless of Iraqi border police.

MNC-I resolved to gain control of Iraq's western frontier to stop this deadly flow. The 3d Armored Cavalry Regiment (ACR) was reassigned from the Baghdad region to a base outside Tal Afar, 40 miles west of Mosul, where it embarked on a counterinsurgency campaign later recognized as a model of its kind. To support the regiment's efforts, MNC-I subjected its intelligence forces in the north to an extreme makeover. At the heart of this reorganization was a new task force with Fox Company, once again in Iraq, as its anchor.

Created in April 2005, Task Force Phantom represented a rare case of the doctrinal use of an LRS company in combat. Chartered to identify and stop insurgent border crossers, Phantom's 15 LRS teams were joined by a powerful collection of additional intelligence tools taken from MNC-I's supply locker, including—

- Dozens of Omnisensors, remotely monitored automatic sentries that, when approached by vehicles or people, took digital pictures and beamed them to a satellite. Within minutes the pictures were on a secure Internet site that troops in the desert could view.
- An AirScan system consisting of a Cessna 337 with a video package similar to that found on Predator unmanned aerial vehicles. AirScan sent imagery in real time to LRS teams on the ground and to their controllers in Mosul.
- Signals intelligence from a corps eavesdropping system whose Arabic-speaking operator enjoyed immediate access to national-level agencies.
- A tactical human intelligence team of experienced, Arabic-speaking U.S. counterintelligence agents who accompanied LRS troops on their patrols.
- A Trojan Spirit communications ensemble that afforded secure connections to commanders in



Beginning in January 2005, Task Force Phantom placed teams along the Iraq-Syria frontier west of Sinjar Mountain.

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Mosul and Baghdad, plus intelligence data bases at every level.

- Additional analysts, especially in the signals and imagery disciplines, who enabled Task Force Phantom to assess and report its own intelligence, create target folders, and control all steps of the intelligence cycle.
- A U.S. Air Force joint tactical air controller qualified to call for fire support from F-16 fighters and other aircraft. This was an investment in the task force's ability to defend itself and a sign that Task Force Phantom was expected to act on its intelligence and not merely report it.

Although the task force was a corps-level entity, MNC-I placed Phantom under the day-to-day tactical control of a subordinate two-star command, Multi-National Brigade-Northwest, based in Mosul.

Because Task Force Phantom was an intelligence asset, Fox Company's parent MI battalion installed its executive officer, an MI major, as the full-time task force commander and moved him to Mosul. This step placed the responsibility for integrating the task force's diverse assets in the hands of an experienced tactical intelligence officer and freed the Fox Company commander, Captain Thomas M. Hough, to concentrate on leading his infantry troops. The task force commander also ensured that his 20-member operations and intelligence section worked together to organize much of its own support, significantly reducing the burden on its supported headquarters, a burden that had led to the previous misuse of LRS teams in Iraq.

The employment of Task Force Phantom represented both an experiment in traditional LRS doctrine and a test of tactical intelligence doctrine. MNC-I utilized Fox Company *in toto*—as an intelligence sensor, a corps-controlled asset, and a tool against an enemy threat that transcended U.S. unit boundaries. But the task force also reflected the conviction of Lieutenant General John R. Vines, MNC-I's commander for most of 2005, that sensors must be massed and focused to obtain the best results, rather than piecemealed out to divisions and brigade combat teams in a futile search for equity.

Intelligence lines of effort. Focused on the insurgents' "rat lines" into Iraq, Task Force Phantom's operations followed a four-phase cycle that made the most of MNC-I's commitment of troops and systems. The first three phases, intelligence preparation of the battlespace (IPB), situational development, and target development, typically resulted in a deliberate offensive operation conducted by Phantom's maneuver partner in northwest Iraq. As a result of this operation, Phantom teams conducted the fourth phase, battle damage assessment.

Intelligence preparation of the battlespace occurred in Mosul, where Task Force Phantom analysts plotted signals and human intelligence reports from a variety of sources to identify sectors of Iraq's western frontier for scrutiny.

Situational development consisted of locating insurgents and their sympathizers and determining their vulnerabilities and intentions. Task Force Phantom placed Omnisensors along the border to



F/51 Inf (LRS)

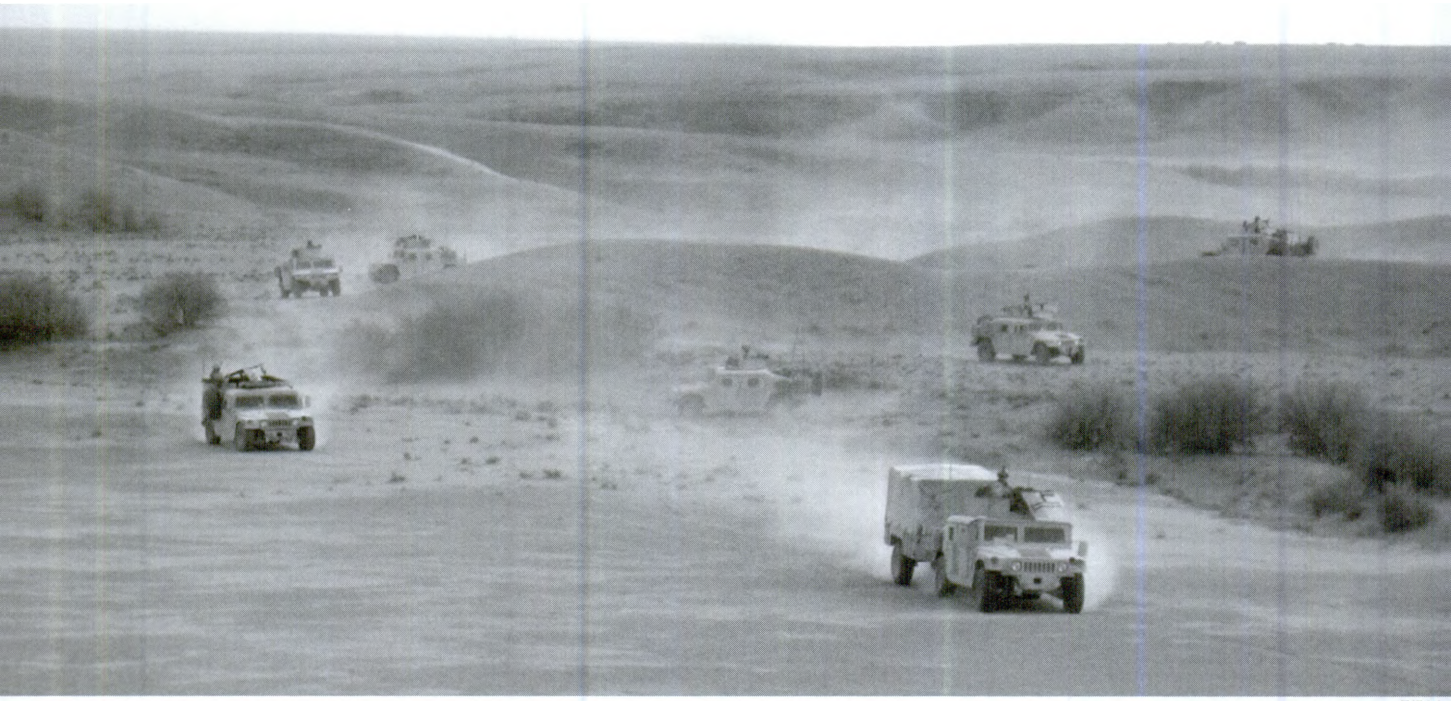
This truck was one of many vehicles LRS teams observed carrying military-aged males across the Syria-Iraq frontier in early 2005.



F/51 Inf (LRS)

The teams observed regular meetings of AIF facilitators at one illicit border-crossing point near the frontier town of Sinjar, described by the LRS company commander as a "taxi stand" for insurgents. At this crossing site, the facilitators made cell-phone calls and arranged for the transit of men and equipment into Iraq.

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F/51 In

Long-range surveillance teams of Company F, 51st Infantry, on patrol near the Syrian border, spring 2005.

detect movement in areas not easily accessed, while LRS teams, sometimes accompanied by Arabic-speaking foreign area officers and other regional experts, drove from village to village in broad daylight to ask local people about strangers in their area. In addition, AirScan flew along Syria's frontier with Iraq looking for breaks in the earthworks, and signals intelligence sensors monitored activity by insurgents and smugglers. In Mosul, analysts sifted through reports from these and other sources, drew connections between enemy personalities and activities, and selected a few for special attention.

Target development required LRS teams to locate suspected insurgent camps and to hunt down and observe suspicious individuals or groups to determine their intentions. LRS teams in their armored HMMWVs trundled hundreds of kilometers through the desert at night to reach surveillance sites identified during previous phases of the intelligence cycle. Electronic eavesdropping systems, working among the Silk Road trails used by smugglers for centuries, searched for clues to distinguish border crossers carrying cigarettes from those bearing a more sinister cargo. In some cases, LRS scouts quietly established "hides" a few hundred meters from their targets and watched them across a flat desert floor for several days and nights in the broiling summer. Depending on the situation, Task Force Phantom could pass targets either to maneuver units like 3d ACR or to the U.S. Air Force for action.

In early June, Phantom's maneuver partner in northwest Iraq, 3d Armored Cavalry Regiment, mounted an offensive operation codenamed Operation Odin. Task Force Phantom targeted twelve different residents of local villages whom its analysts had linked to cross-border trafficking of bomb-making materials. The ACR commander, Colonel H.R. McMaster, marshaled a battalion task force to pick up members of the insurgent cell. McMaster selected positive identification of eight of the twelve target personalities by Task Force Phantom as the trigger to initiate simultaneous nighttime raids on the villages. Drawing together eyewitness reports from surveillance teams, as well as real-time intelligence from national sources, Phantom delivered the intelligence that enabled McMaster's task force to execute rapid precision raids on a handful of houses. In some cases, on-scene LRS teams illuminated selected buildings with laser target designators, guiding McMaster's forces directly to targets and helping them to avoid a broad-brush clearing operation likely to anger villagers throughout the region.

Precision offensive operations like Odin would frequently overturn the chessboard of local perpetrators, enablers and their secret sharers, so intelligence gathering continued as the maneuver unit returned to its base. Task Force Phantom's assets—AirScan, LRS scouts, tactical human intelligence teams, and signals intelligence systems—swept the target area to assess immediate battle damage as well as to look for signs

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of new patterns of activity among local target personalities. Information gathered in this phase sometimes produced the seed corn for future operations.

In Orbe Terrum Non Visi

Task Force Phantom's teams typically worked in remote areas far from Iraq's big cities for five to seven days at a time. Their armored HMMWVs ventured far beyond the logistic support radius of other U.S. units based in Mosul or even Tal Afar. No Stryker brigade or other modularized unit could dwell along Iraq's borders for long, but Task Force Phantom's teams made these areas their home.

The extended distances to border surveillance areas required LRS teams to take extraordinary measures to protect themselves. With helicopter reinforcements frequently over an hour away, the LRS company had to raise ground quick-reaction forces from its own ranks. In addition, evacuation to the nearest field hospital by Black Hawk helicopter typically took at least 90 minutes, so it was vitally important that virtually every team member be a certified combat lifesaver or emergency medical technician.

To reduce the risk, LRS teams placed a proposed surveillance site under observation for a night and a day before occupying the "hide" to watch a target. Careful advance study of prospective surveillance areas by analysts in Mosul also helped the task force reduce the danger of sudden compromise, and additional insurance took the form of the JTAC seconded to Phantom, who could summon devastating fires from coalition fighter aircraft. Nonetheless, the requirement for self-protection tended to limit the number of teams that could perform surveillance at any given time to about five—a single LRS platoon.

Through the efforts of these teams, MNC-I gained specific, documentary evidence of substantial movements of men and materiel from Syria to Iraq, movements that were the subject of bitter controversy between Damascus and Washington in 2004 and 2005. Syria strengthened its own border control measures to restrict the flow, and Task Force Phantom was positioned to verify these changes as well.

Working in tandem with 3d ACR, Task Force Phantom conducted a series of platoon operations in Iraq's western desert during the spring and summer of 2005. Each time teams returned from the frontier, the task force handed its maneuver partners target packets, which they used to clear insurgents and their facilitators from border areas. As summer cycled into autumn, MNC-I funneled additional battalions into the Euphrates River valley, and Phantom shifted its surveillance activities steadily southward. When the task force reached the river, MNC-I transferred tactical control of the force to the Marines of Multi-National Division–West, who oversaw the vast western province of Anbar. Because the corps had designed Phantom to be portable, the task force quickly moved its troops and ground equipment from Mosul to Al Asad Air Base with little interruption in surveillance. (The task force has since moved to another region of Iraq.)

Task Force Phantom's reporting drew widespread praise from conventional and special operations commanders throughout northern Iraq. By the time Fox Company rotated out of the theater in November, a new LRS company, E/51st Infantry, had replaced it as the anchor of the corps task force. This handover of authority was the clearest sign yet that the LRS organization and doctrine underpinning Phantom were meeting an urgent, enduring need in MNC-I.

New Lessons from Old Doctrine

As the Army ponders the future of 21st-century human intelligence collection, Task Force Phantom's experiences in Iraq in 2005 point to the following lessons:

- The Army's original LRS doctrine works. Senior commanders get the best results from an LRS company when they employ the unit intact with its own command and control mechanisms, when it is guided at the two- or three-star level, and

Through the efforts of [LRS] teams, MNC-I gained specific, documentary evidence of substantial movements of men and materiel from Syria to Iraq...

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when it is directed against enemy targets of national significance.

- An LRS company is an intelligence-gathering unit. Using it in any other role denies the Army an appropriate return on its investment.
- Adding a handful of analysts and planners to the LRS company headquarters eliminates most of the support burden on the three-star headquarters staff and strengthens the continuity and coherence of surveillance operations to boot.
- The LRS company plays a vital strategic and operational intelligence-collection role not easily duplicated elsewhere in the Army. Neither conventional units, because of the limitations of their equipment, nor special operations forces, for which demand everywhere outstrips supply, can perform these roles.
- Massing intelligence sensors gets results; piecemealing the assets squanders them.
- LRS companies have compiled a record of proven achievements in Iraq, which makes them a natural anchor of the Army's new battlefield surveillance brigades, hybrid formations of combat arms and intelligence troops that will replace the corps MI brigades over the next five years.

Task Force Phantom's achievements in Iraq suggest that perhaps one more item should be added to the small list of 1980s artifacts that have acquired new resonance in the 21st century. Just as the spotlight of history is circling back to Steve Jobs, Live Aid, and gas-efficient automobiles, world events have made the Army's long-range surveillance doctrine suddenly interesting and relevant again. Like those 1980s icons, LRS units have commanded attention for breaking molds and defying expectations. But best of all—and unlike Duran Duran—the doctrine has the potential to save a life or two. ***MR***

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A Synchronized Approach to POPULATION CONTROL



Brigadier General Joseph Anderson, U.S. Army, and Colonel Gary Volesky, U.S. Army

MULTI-NATIONAL CORPS–IRAQ'S (MNC-I) GOAL of reducing violence, gaining the support of the Iraqi people, stabilizing Iraq, and enabling the attainment of security self-reliance by the Iraqi Government is under attack by diverse groups that have changed their tactics significantly during the past few years. We must protect and secure the population because of the threat this cycle of violence presents to both coalition forces and the people of Iraq. A critical component in securing the population from the insurgent groups is population control. Right now, population control is a key part of Operation Fardh Al-Qanoon, the Iraqi Government-led security plan for Baghdad, which calls for a number of measures specifically designed to bring stability and security to Iraqis and to protect them from the violence perpetrated by terrorists and militias.

The threats opposing our efforts in Iraq can be divided into the following categories: sectarian violence, Al Qaeda and Al Qaeda-Iraq (AQ/AQI), the Sunni insurgency (former regime members/Ba'athists), Shi'a extremists (militias), and Shi'a-on-Shi'a violence. Originally, coalition forces were the primary focus of attacks because the enemy's goal was to force us out of Iraq. The threat these groups posed directly affected our efforts to provide the security and stability that would allow the Iraqi Government to build the capacity to secure its territory, to increase its ability to provide for and meet the needs of its population, and to earn it legitimacy in the eyes of the people. While a coalition withdrawal remains the enemy's primary objective, the elements confronting us have expanded their vision to defining Iraq after we leave. Some of their most frequently mentioned objectives are to expand their power base, regain lost influence and power throughout Iraq, and establish a safe haven to facilitate the creation of a caliphate.

A key part of the groups' strategy to achieve their end state involves the Iraqi population. Some groups, such as Jaysh al-Mahdi, promote themselves as the protectors of a certain segment of the population (Sunni and Shi'a). This is a classic insurgency strategy. Other groups, such as AQI, target certain segments of the population along sectarian lines by using suicide vehicle-borne

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PHOTO: An Iraqi Soldier patrols in the Rusafa district, Baghdad, Iraq, 21 February 2007. (U.S. Army / SGT Curt Cashour, MNC-I Public Affairs)

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improvised explosive devices (SVBIEDs), suicide-vest improvised explosive devices (SVIEDs), and other means to kill as many civilians as possible. The lethal targeting of civilians is intended to terrorize the population, demonstrate the government's and Iraqi Security Forces' (ISF) inability to protect the people, and, most importantly, provoke a violent response along sectarian lines. To some extent, it has worked, creating a cycle of violence that continues to destabilize the country and prevent the government from building the capacity and setting the conditions that will eventually lead to self-reliance. This cycle of violence poses the biggest problem to the coalition as it attempts to achieve its desired goal of stability in Iraq.

The employment of population control measures to secure the populace is one effective tool the coalition can use to break the cycle of violence. Population control measures include physical activities meant to protect the population; influence operations that engage key leaders and an information operations strategy to build support for our actions; and the promotion, coordination, and facilitation of economic opportunities to reduce the pool of disenfranchised communities that enemy forces can rely on for support.

Field Manual 3-24, *Counterinsurgency*, discusses population control measures and the role they play in the overall counterinsurgency effort: "Population control includes determining who lives in an area and what they do. This task requires determining societal relationships—family, clan, tribe, interpersonal, and professional. Establishing control normally begins with conducting a census and issuing identification cards."*

Population control, however, cannot be solely focused on actions at the tactical level that center on restricting movement or acquiring data on the population. Strategic and operational-level leaders must plan, coordinate, and execute activities that set the conditions for success at the tactical level. A plan that is not synchronized at all levels may achieve isolated short-term success, but it will fail to realize the sustainable, long-term success required to reduce violence, build capacity, and establish a stable and viable environment.

Strategic Population Control

Strategic population control in Iraq requires the engagement of leaders at all levels in the coalition, the Iraqi Government, the ISF, and other influential players. For the purpose of this article, engagement is defined as leader discussion and negotiation with an appropriate counterpart in order to gain support or produce a desired effect. The purpose of such engagements is to ensure development and oversight of the critical systems needed to achieve the organization's goal. In the population control arena, the critical systems needing development and oversight at the strategic level are a national identification card system, a census collection and biometrics registration program, a weapons registration program, border points of entry control procedures, strict rule-of-law enforcement policies, a public assembly permit policy, and economic programs that facilitate long-term employment opportunities.



U.S. Army/SGT Curt Cashour

An Iraqi soldier with the 3d Battalion, 1st Brigade, 3d Iraqi Army Division, stands guard along with a trooper from the 2d Battalion, 12th Infantry Regiment, 2d Infantry Division, at a market in Baghdad's Dora neighborhood, 5 April 2007.

Operational Population Control

Operational population control in Iraq requires continued engagement with key community leaders and the synchronization and allocation of unique resources

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available to the operational commander that aid tactical-level operations. Critical actions at the operational level include senior-leader engagement with influential tribal sheiks, prominent religious leaders, and local political leaders; leveraging and allocating intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) assets to gather information on organizations targeting the population; coordinating public affairs messages between the Iraqi Government, coalition forces, and the ISF; giving up control of MNC-I enablers to subordinate units (i.e., pushing engineer and civil affairs units down to brigades) for tactical operations; and developing an integrated economic plan.

Tactical Population Control

Tactical population control in Iraq requires coalition forces and the ISF to coordinate in providing security. Key tasks are conducting combined offensive operations (cordon and searches and precision strikes) against groups attacking the population; focusing the use of ISR assets on key nodes and locations; increasing friendly visible presence in urban areas through the use of joint security stations, combat outposts, and traffic control points (TCPs); and limiting access to population centers through entry control points (ECPs) and TCPs.

One of the techniques used at the tactical level to protect the population is to create gated communities. These are built with temporary barriers, berms, and other obstacles and incorporate designated ECPs to prevent access by would-be attackers. The technique has proven effective in reducing the number of attacks on population centers and has brought a greater sense of security to many of Baghdad's people. Similar methods used to protect markets and other critical sites are showing positive results throughout Baghdad.

Population Control Risks

When implementing population control measures at the tactical level, commanders must consider how the measures and the resources used to secure the population are perceived, not only by enemy forces, but also by the populations they are intended to secure. While members of a community want security, over time they come to view the measures used to isolate their community and regulate access into it as impediments to freedom of movement. Elements that oppose our efforts will capitalize on any loss of support among the people; they will put pressure on the government through the media and other conduits to make the coalition and ISF reduce the control measures.

To mitigate any such development, the Iraqi Government and the coalition will define the conditions that must be met before the population control measures are reduced. Failure to develop such a plan may result in significant public opposition to current and future protection measures, as was seen in the Adhamiyah district of Baghdad in April 2007.

Commanders must also consider how enemy forces could take advantage of our control measures even if the community embraces those measures. For example, gating urban areas and establishing ECPs effectively clusters the inhabitants into centralized locations, making them vulnerable to indirect fire and SVBIED and SVIED attacks that may lead them to believe the control measures have made them less secure, not safer. The media will highlight successful attacks, and enemy forces will use the reports to reinforce their claims that the government and coalition forces cannot protect the people.

Regardless of potential vulnerabilities or drawbacks, protecting the population through control measures is a critical component of our strategy to help the Iraqi Government create a stable, secure Iraq. Some of our measures might restrict the freedom of movement of individuals, and we can expect the enemy to use every means available to discredit us and degrade the population's confidence in and support of our efforts. But increased security trumps inconvenience and hollow accusations almost every time. Keeping the Iraqi people safe by implementing temporary control measures will set the conditions for Iraqi self-reliance. To attain our objectives and achieve success, we must synchronize our efforts at all levels and not be deterred. ***MR***

NOTES

* Field Manual 3-24, *Counterinsurgency* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2006), 5-21.

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The Art and Aggravation of Vetting in Post-Conflict Environments

Sean McFate

ON 22 FEBRUARY 2006, insurgents posing as Iraqi police officers destroyed the Golden Mosque in Samarra, one of Iraq's holiest Shi'ite shrines. The attack set off a spasm of sectarian violence that has metastasized into what some consider an intractable civil war. Since then, the insurgent tactic of infiltrating the security forces and corrupting its personnel has become almost commonplace, with catastrophic results for Iraq. The populace distrusts Iraqi security forces, coalition forces distrust their Iraqi counterparts, the Iraqi Government is viewed as increasingly illegitimate, and the country has plunged into further chaos, delaying the safe transfer of security responsibilities to Iraqi forces.

The undermining of the Iraqi police forces occurred, in part, because of negligible *vetting*—the investigation and selection of new recruits for the police force. Creating a professional indigenous security force is a mandatory component of any exit strategy in a costly post-conflict reconstruction mission. Yet creating such a force depends utterly on the competent vetting of candidates for that force. Failure to vet recruits to ensure they possess the "proper character" can result in the infiltration of criminals, insurgents, warlords, and other undesirables into the state's security apparatus, setting up the possibility of a coup d'etat or worse.[1] This, in turn, may trigger a cycle of costly international interventions and endless peacekeeping operations. Thus, competent vetting of indigenous security forces is the linchpin of post-conflict reconstruction.

Unfortunately, no model for vetting exists, and recent efforts to establish a vetting process in Iraq and elsewhere have been ad hoc and disappointing. Nor has the situation been helped by the paucity of literature, either academic or practical, on vetting indigenous security forces: there is scant scholarship on the issue and no large-scale comparative study of vetting. That no international treaty addresses the subject reflects the relative novelty of the issue and the general lack of interest in formulating a common approach. Also, no U.S. Government, United Nations, or nongovernmental organization has written a manual on vetting, a remarkable fact given that security forces are currently being reconstituted in Iraq, Afghanistan, Liberia, Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and elsewhere.

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PHOTO: Over 300 applicants turned up for an Iraqi Police recruiting event held 11 January 2005 at the Baghdad Convention Center. (U.S. Army/SPC Erik LeDrew)

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Lessons Learned After WWII

Since the end of World War II, the international community has learned many lessons about security force vetting and *lustration* (culling an existing security force for the best individuals while dismissing the others).

The first lesson is that *the effects of vetting or lustration may be short-lived if the process is hurried or abandoned halfway through* (i.e., recruit first, vet later). The largest post-WWII lustration effort occurred immediately following the war, as the Allies judged Axis leaders. In Europe, this was known as denazification, and it is estimated that 13 million Germans underwent it, 600,000 of whom were sanctioned. Separately, France purged collaborators of the Vichy regime and Italy dismissed approximately 2,000 government employees. Despite denazification, many former Nazis eventually made their way back into public service. Similarly, Italy reinstated all lustrated personnel in 1948.

A second lesson is that *failure to respect the rights of individuals under review will delegitimize the process and open it up to external challenges*. Following the fall of the Berlin Wall, former Communist countries passed lustration laws to drastically reduce the size of their governments, including the security sectors. In Hungary, 12,000 high-level officials were subject to lustration, although only a fraction were sanctioned for their participation in the previous regime. In Czechoslovakia, out of approximately 300,000 cases considered, 15,000 individuals were removed from office. Poland also lustrated citizens alleged to have collaborated with the secret police. All the post-Communism lustration laws of the 1990s were widely criticized for insufficiently taking into account the rights of those subjected to lustration.[2]

A third lesson is that *a lack of political will, inadequate resources, or a poorly thought-out plan will result in failure*—the task is that complex. The International Police Task Force in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was initially tasked with screening all candidates for the Federation's police forces and identifying anyone previously engaged in ethnic cleansing or other crimes against ethnic minorities. Its vetting was so ineffectual that the task was eventually transferred to the Human Rights Office in Bosnia.[3]

Lesson four is that *process matters*. A 2005 Government Accountability Office (GAO) report, *Southeast Asia: Better Human Rights Reviews and Strategic Planning Needed for U.S. Assistance to Foreign Security Forces,* examined U.S. security sector reform efforts to equip and train military and police forces in the Philippines, Thailand, and Indonesia from 2001 to 2004. It found "no evidence that U.S. officials vetted an estimated 6,900 foreign security trainees" as required by U.S. law.[4] Worse, 32 Indonesians from a notorious special-forces police unit received training, even though the unit was prohibited by the U.S. Department of State (DOS) from receiving U.S. training funds because of human rights abuses. This undesirable outcome resulted from the lack of "clear policies and procedures for vetting foreign security forces."[5] The GAO found little evidence of "ground-truthing," investigating, public records checking, consultation with victims' groups, or accounting for aliases or noms de guerre. No consolidated written policy existed to establish interagency vetting standards and procedures, sources and methods, roles and responsibilities, databases, or oversight mechanisms. Conducting Internet searches and scanning newspaper clippings—the usual expedients—is simply insufficient for complex, prolonged conflicts.

The fifth and last lesson learned is that *the failure to vet recruits might help an insurgent organization penetrate state security forces*. The joint Department of Defense (DOD) and DOS inspector general (IG) report on vetting for the new Iraqi Police Service (IPS) states that "recruitment and vetting procedures [were] faulty," resulting in incompetents, criminals, and insurgents joining the IPS, a problem not easily undone.[6] The report also reveals that "the IG Team was told that, especially early in 2003, only a cursory background check, if even that, was conducted before policemen were trained or entered the force."[7] The vetting process was stymied by a lack of public records and witnesses and by cross-cultural and language difficulties. Overall, according to the report, "the Coalition's ability to conduct thorough background checks on IPS personnel [was] severely limited."[8] The report notes that inducting criminals into the IPS was a continual concern. Even more troubling was infiltration by terrorists or insurgents. Sufficient evidence was found to conclude that "such persons indeed are among the ranks of the IPS," which underscores "the need for the most rigorous possible review of each applicant's records."[9]

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Why Vetting is Difficult

One reason why no coherent vetting policy exists is because failed and weak states are, by their nature, disordered and chaotic. Typical sources and methods used in background checks (criminal records, credit history, education records, employment history, and so on) do not exist, are not credible, or are insufficient. Even establishing identity can prove daunting, as attempts to hold legitimate elections in post-conflict states have demonstrated.

Another reason why no policy exists is the high prevalence of criminal behavior during conflicts, especially during prolonged civil wars. In such environments the number of problematic candidates will be correspondingly high. Those conducting the vetting process might find themselves rejecting most of the candidates. Lustration also might not work as a security sector reform technique because, given the high rate of crimes, remaining veterans might corrupt new recruits, thus compromising the new security force. Instead, it might be better to completely demobilize the security sector and reconstitute it.

However, reconstructing a state's security sector is dangerous. Instability and violence are never far beneath the surface in post-conflict environments, and the vetting process can easily cause dangerous ripples. In weak or failed states, a security force is often the strongest institution, and, in many cases, is or was a major contributing factor to the state's demise. Attempts at reform can result in violent reprisals against staff and supporters of reform, while investigations into war crimes might dredge up painful memories for a fragile population and possibly rekindle violence over unaddressed wrongs. The vetting process must remain absolutely unconnected to instruments of post-conflict justice such as so-called truth and reconciliation commissions. Often, security and justice are at odds in post-conflict settings.

Vetting is a highly sensitive process that invites a relapse of violence and state failure. If the vetting process fails to safeguard the identities of victims who help identify perpetrators, then those victims might be intimidated, coerced, or killed in reprisal. If the vetting process accidentally overlooks a war criminal, then all vetted individuals could be discredited and a violent backlash might occur. Additionally, wrongful denunciations of innocent individuals could generate antagonism in the community. The vetting procedure must understand these risks and remain sensitive to how the process might affect a frail society. Failure to do so could result in tensions within the new security force, a lack of public confidence in the force, and the emplacement of a force more likely to reproduce patterns of abuse.



Courtesy of author

Current and former child soldiers present vetting challenges in post-conflict environments, Liberia, 2005.

A post-conflict environment is one of the most difficult operating environments in the world. It is almost uniformly characterized by extreme poverty and lack of infrastructure, law, and security. Simply moving cross-country can become a daunting expedition requiring robust security convoys, careful route reconnaissance, resupply points, spare vehicles, air medical evacuation support, river-crossing


Courtesy of author

A self-contained recruiting and vetting convoy of 14 vehicles moves into Liberia's interior for a 21-day mission, 2006.

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capabilities, a disciplined staff, and significant contingency planning. Other factors that could affect operations include institutionalized corruption, exotic diseases, prevalence of traffic accidents, a lack of logistical resupply, wild animals, and high rates of crime. One cannot assume the availability of amenities such as potable water, electricity, and shelter. A vetting staff must be prepared for a possible lack of cooperation from authorities, the novelty of the procedure for the population, the absence of precedents, and cultural misunderstandings that could prove disastrous. Consequently, the vetting program must be designed around these limitations, all of which influence morale, operations, budgeting, scheduling, and the quality of vetting.

A Vetting Model

The purpose of vetting personnel for an indigenous security force is to select individuals who will respect the rule of law and human rights norms. Vetting is often part of a larger security sector reform program to create a new force subservient to the state, not vice versa. To achieve this, the vetting staff's primary goal should be to ensure that no person of improper character is accepted into the new force. This is the raison d'etre of vetting, and it overrides all other priorities, such as an applicant's relevant experience or technical skills.

Before designing a vetting plan, practitioners must develop an end-state vision for the new force through consultations with stakeholders. Typically, the security force will be an all-volunteer force with a balanced mix of ethnicity, religion, gender, and other political categories. The goal of the recruiting, vetting, and training components of security sector reform is to achieve a force that maintains a professional ethos, respects the rule of law, cultivates public service leadership, is apolitical, and accepts civilian control with transparent oversight mechanisms. The force must be postured so that it is strong enough to defend the integrity of the nation's borders but not so strong that it threatens neighbors with its force-projection capability. Its structure, equipment, and training must be appropriate to the force's mission (for example, Liberia does not require F-16 fighter jets). Perhaps most critically, the new security force must not be so large that the government cannot pay its salaries. Such a condition is a precipitant to civil war.

In line with the end-state vision, the vetting process is not about establishing guilt or innocence, but about determining suitability for acceptance into the new security force. A vetting model must be founded on two fundamental but divergent considerations: normative issues and pragmatic concerns. The normative component concerns what to vet. In other words, what behavior, criminal or otherwise, justifies rejecting a candidate from the indigenous force? The pragmatic component examines how to vet. That is, what are the actual vetting procedures, how is a candidate's application examined, and what principles are applicable to that examination?

The grounds for disqualification are fundamentally different for each component. The normative component rejects a candidate based on credible evidence of wrongful conduct unrelated to the vetting process, such as prior crimes. For the pragmatic component, a candidate is rejected based on credible evidence of wrongful conduct related to the vetting process, such as cheating, lying, or refusing to cooperate during the vetting procedure.

Normative Component: What to Vet

What behaviors or crimes justify rejection from service in post-conflict state security forces? How do we derive these rejection standards? How do we legitimize these standards to the myriad domestic and international stakeholders?

Because each post-conflict environment is unique, we cannot decree a universal set of vetting principles. However, it is possible to develop a set of core crimes to serve as the foundation for vetting. Core crimes are wrongful acts such as genocide that justify exclusion from state security forces in most situations. Individual security sector reform programs can build on this set of core crimes to develop a tailored set of behavioral standards appropriate for each post-conflict situation. Several sources of international law exist that can inform the compilation of a set of core crimes, including international criminal law (ICL), international humanitarian law (IHL), and international human rights law (IHRL).

International criminal law. ICL is an imperfect instrument for vetting because it often requires proof of intent, which is difficult to demonstrate. As defined in the 1948 Geneva Convention on

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the Prevention and Repression of Genocide, the international crime of genocide requires proof that the crime has been pursued "with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group."[10] Such intent would be difficult to prove. The act of murder, however, is easier to prove and equally effective as a rejection criterion. In fact, any of the underlying acts enunciated by the 2002 Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court definition of crimes against humanity are sufficient for rejection from most security forces.[11]

International humanitarian law. IHL, also known as the law of war, provides a useful framework for vetting. Although IHL is designed to exculpate individuals from acts during war (such as killing) that would be considered crimes in civil society, this distinction is often complicated by the intrastate nature of most of today's conflicts. However, any grave breach of the Geneva Conventions or violation of the customs of war would warrant rejection from most security forces, especially if the country were party to the Conventions. Of particular relevance within the Conventions is the treatment of noncombatants.[12]

International human rights law. IHRL can buttress IHL, but it is too nebulous to use in developing a set of core crimes. For example, are international human rights directives or aspirations? Which human rights violations clearly justify rejection of an applicant? Some rights are too vague for a candidate's disqualification, such as violating the right "to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms . . . can be fully realized."[13] Because most current post-conflict settings are recovering from intrastate wars characterized by widespread human rights abuses over many years (Sudan, Liberia, Iraq, Somalia, Haiti, El Salvador, Cambodia, Sri Lanka, and so on), it is unrealistic to judge post-conflict populations by the same standards of reasonably functioning rule-of-law states during the same period. What would be considered a serious violation of human rights in the developed world might be overshadowed by more egregious violations committed by others during an armed conflict.

Given the ambiguities of human rights and the nature of intrastate warfare, determining what constitutes core crimes comes down to distinctions between violations that result in immediate disqualification and those that do not. Many international human rights instruments make such a distinction by differentiating between derogable and nonderogable rights. Derogable rights are rights that may be suspended by states under limited circumstances, as specified in article 4 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Nonderogable rights cannot be restricted even in cases of public emergency. They include—

- The right to life (article 6).
- The right not to endure torture and cruel or inhuman punishment (article 7).
- The right not to endure slavery and involuntary servitude [article 8(1) and (2)].
- The right not to endure imprisonment for breach of contract (article 11).
- The right not to endure retrospective criminal legislation (article 15).
- The right to be recognized before the law (article 16).
- The right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion (article 18).[14]

By analyzing international law, it is possible to derive a set of core crimes to use as a basis for most security sector reform vetting programs. These crimes constitute per se disqualifications for service in the security sector (see Table 1). In order of gravity, core crimes are unlawful killing, unlawful wounding, torturing, outrages on personal dignity, rape, and abduction or arbitrary detention.

For a vetting program to operate successfully in a post-conflict environment, the program must be perceived as legitimate. It is critical for stakeholders to find common ground on fundamental questions regarding the definitions of core crimes, the proper character for police or military candidates, and the standard of evidence necessary to reject a candidate. Although core crimes are based on international law, a country's own domestic law should be built into the edifice. Domestic penal law will generally include a number of offenses that find equivalency in core crimes, such as criminal homicide; assaults, endangering behavior, and threats; sexual offenses; and kidnapping and related offences. Combining international core crimes and domestic law will help secure legitimacy and local cooperation.

Pragmatic Component: How to Vet

Vetting candidates in post-conflict environments is extremely challenging. How should candidates

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CORE CRIME	INTERNATIONAL LAW			
	Genocide (ICL)	Crimes Against Humanity (IHL)	War Crimes (IHL)	Grave Human Rights Abuses (IHRL)
Unlawful Killing	Killing	Murder	Willfully killing or wounding a combatant who, having laid down his arms or having no longer means of defense, has surrendered at discretion; killing treacherously a combatant adversary	Violation of the right to life
Unlawful Wounding	Causing serious bodily or mental harm	Inhuman acts... intentionally causing serious injury to body or to mental or physical health	Willfully causing great suffering or serious injury to body or health; subjecting persons who are in the power of an adverse party to physical mutilation; wounding treacherously a combatant adversary	Violation of the right to be free from cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment
Torture		Torture	Torture	Violation of the right to be free from torture
Outrages Upon Personal Dignity		Inhuman acts... intentionally causing great suffering	Inhuman treatment, committing outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment	Violation of the right to be free from cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment
Rape		Rape	Committing rape; sexual slavery; enforced prostitution; forced pregnancy as it is defined in article 7, paragraph 2 (f); enforced sterilization; or any other form of sexual violence	Violation of the right to be free from torture and from cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment
Abduction, Arbitrary, Detention, and/or Hostage-Taking		Deportation, imprisonment, or other severe deprivation of physical liberty in violation of fundamental rules of international law	Unlawful deportation or transfer or unlawful confinement, taking of hostages	Violation of the right to personal liberty

Table 1. Core crimes and international law.

be selected in a country where many individuals are victims, perpetrators, or both of human rights abuses? How can the vetting staff conduct background checks in a country that has no credible public records, a dubious justice system, weak institutions, institutionalized corruption, and a distrustful public?

Currently, there is no widely accepted methodology for recruiting indigenous security forces in a post-conflict setting. Typically, vetting is embedded within the recruiting program of a larger security sector reform effort. Most recruitment efforts include—

- Conducting a nationwide public information campaign.
- Taking applications from candidates at a recruitment center.
- Giving candidates a physical-fitness test, a functional literacy and/or aptitude test, and a medical exam.
- Conducting the vetting process.
- Making a final review and judgment of a candidate's suitability for service.
- Informing rejected candidates of their limited right to review why they were rejected.
- Informing accepted candidates that they must serve the first year on a probationary status (allowing additional time for vetting, if necessary).

Recruitment begins with a national public information campaign, which serves two functions: to sensitize the populace to the reconstitution of the security force and to attract volunteers. The sensitization process helps in explaining why a new security force is needed and what its mission and

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principles will be (such as respecting the rule of law, human rights, and so on). Volunteers can be attracted by describing service benefits and eligibility standards and by informing interested persons how and where to apply. Planning and implementing such a campaign might be an onerous task given a lack of infrastructure, low literacy rate, diverse ethnic languages, conflict history, and general mistrust, especially the mistrust of security forces that is prevalent in post-conflict societies.

If the public information campaign is ably conducted, recruitment centers can expect many applicants. The prospect of a stable, honorable income in a poor country with high unemployment will appeal to many, and this should generate a sizable candidate pool for the security sector reform program. However, the legacy of violence will also mean that many candidates of dubious character will seek to join the new military or police force, owing to the historic relationship between power and force. As a result, the vetting process should not count on self-selection; rather, it must rely wholly on the rigors of the vetting procedure to uncover unqualified individuals.

Once candidates arrive at a recruitment center, they are systematically evaluated as efficiently as possible. Failure to pass the physical test, functional literacy test, or medical exam should result in an immediate exclusion from service without appeal.[15] The vetting staff should administer tests in the order of least resource-intensive to most resource-intensive, because it is cheaper and faster to evaluate candidates' physical fitness than their literacy. By combining immediate exclusions and prioritization of resource-efficient tests, recruiters can rapidly weed out unqualified candidates. This is critical because vetting is the most resource-intensive portion of the recruitment process, and the candidate pool must be culled as much as possible early on to allow a more manageable caseload for the vetting team and to ensure higher quality vetting.

Vetting in post-conflict environments involves background checks, records checks, and publication vetting. Actual vetting begins when the investigating team (one international and one local investigator) interviews the applicant. The team should ask each candidate a standard set of comprehensive questions in order to obtain and confirm basic information regarding the identity and background



Courtesy of author

Recruits for security forces take a physical training test in Liberia, 2006. This test is administered first to reduce the number of recruits before the resource-intensive vetting process takes place.

information the candidate provided on the application. Following the interview, the team should conduct a background investigation to establish the overall truthfulness of the applicant's claims and to uncover any credible evidence of wrongdoing. The background check should cover such essentials as age, citizenship, schooling, work history, claimed special skills, and any documents the applicant submitted. The investigating team should also



Each vetting team should consist of one international and one national member—equals who offer complementary skills, Liberia, 2006.

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interview people who know the candidate well: people who provided the candidate's references as well as neighbors, employers, co-workers, relatives, municipal authorities, teachers, community leaders, and local religious leaders. In many cases, it will be helpful to have an applicant draw a map to his or her home and community, since street names and numbers can be rare in post-conflict settings.

Simultaneously, the vetting team runs a public-records check on the applicant. Although weak states often have few credible records, a public-records audit can prove useful to determine document fraud, criminal activity, and allegations of human rights abuses. Sources of information include old government records, domestic and international nongovernmental organizations, the United Nations, and other government sources such as U.S. watch lists. The records audit should produce a weighted index of record veracity, breadth, depth, and applicability.

Publication vetting is a direct appeal to the population to solicit local knowledge of a candidate's past wrongdoing. Safe, anonymous channels must be established so that victims can give information without suffering reprisal. In this form of vetting, the candidate's picture, name(s), physical description, place of birth, and unique recruiting identity number are publicized nationally to afford witnesses and victims an opportunity to identify undesirable candidates. Mediums for publication vetting include radio and television stations, especially those with nationwide coverage; national and regional newspaper inserts; and posters and face-books positioned at transportation hubs, commercial districts, victim centers, refugee and internally displaced people camps, and major community centers such as churches, schools, and sports stadiums. The team might also ask select members of the public who possess special knowledge of past crimes, such as solicitors, academic researchers, civil society groups, and journalists, to submit relevant information concerning the human rights records of candidates. Because publication vetting invites false accusations, the vetting staff must allocate extra time for investigating complaints. While publication vetting is resource-intensive, the cost of not engaging the public in vetting is greater, given the limitations of background checks and public records in failed states and post-conflict environments.

After gathering relevant information and records, the vetting staff must make a final judgment about the candidate. The staff should designate a joint review board or similar entity to act as the selection approving authority. The board should include major stakeholders in order to foster local ownership, imbue the process with legitimacy, and help insulate the vetting staff from culpability should a candidate be or become an insurgent.

As aforementioned, candidates can be disqualified on either normative or pragmatic grounds. The latter refers to credible evidence of wrongdoing during the recruitment and vetting process (lying, cheating, noncooperation, or other behaviors not desirable in a security force). Normative grounds—credible evidence of wrongdoing unrelated to the vetting process—include but are not limited to—

- Credible allegations of commission of one or more core crimes.
- Discovery of a criminal background or association with or direct involvement with persons engaged in criminal activity.
- Association with any party or persons wanting to do harm to or interfere with reconstruction programs.
- Involvement in financial crimes, acts of corruption, or the accumulation of significant illegal wealth, property, or possessions as a result of intimidation, corruption, the taking of bribes, smuggling in violation of international sanctions, or other illegal acts.
- Mental instability that could be a threat to the safety and security of soldiers and civilians.
- Use of illegal narcotics or other illegal drugs.

If there are allegations against the recruit, the staff must assess the gravity of any crime and the credibility of the evidence. As is the case with determining what constitutes a human rights abuse, it is inappropriate and unpractical to apply the same legal standards for developed states to failed states when attempting to determine the credibility of an allegation. The "balance of probabilities" standard, widely accepted by the European Court of Human Rights in adjudicating human rights cases, offers the best hope for a post-conflict vetting environment. In essence, the balance-of-probabilities standard is an injunction to evaluate whether an alleged offense is more probable than not. Guidelines for assessing the credibility of evidence are:

- The general trustworthiness of allegations made against an applicant (level of detail; coherence and

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Courtesy of author

Recruits in basic training with a drill instructor, Liberia, 2006.

absence of contradiction; identification of dates, locations, and circumstances).

- The general trustworthiness of the authors of the allegations (personal circumstances, general interest or involvement, link with the applicant, link with parties to the conflict, link to other applicants).
- Whether or not there are concurring allegations, especially when the circumstances of the crime's commission indicate that multiple persons witnessed the crime or its circumstances. However, the fact that an allegation comes from only one source should not be a bar to its being considered credible, particularly if the circumstances of the alleged criminal behavior make it likely that there could be only one witness.

The final review process is critical because it corrects deficiencies in vetting, maximizes probity within the process, and instills a sense of procedural justice for disqualified applicants, thereby reducing acts of vengeance against the security sector reform staff and society in general.

A Tightrope Act

Vetting is a high-profile tightrope act in which the need for individuals of proper character must be balanced against the need for skilled individuals with scarce expertise, while the rights of victims must be weighed against the interests of applicants. Also to be considered is the ethnic mix of the new security force. Because internal conflicts and civil wars are often fought between groups of different ethnicities, religious beliefs, tribes, and other nonstate identifiers, the ethnic mix of a new security force can be a particularly sensitive issue. Generally, post-conflict reconstruction seeks diversity in government and power-sharing among divided populations. A single group should not disproportionately dominate the new security sector lest it seize control of the government.

But what happens when the principle of diversity collides with other principles necessary for a competent indigenous security force? Should a vetting program lower the standards for human rights vetting for a group with a high rate of human rights violations in order to achieve diversity in the new armed forces? Should a vetting program waive the literacy requirements for groups that were unfairly denied access to education? Having multiple standards of entry among an already polarized and unstable society can have deleterious consequences for the security forces. However, for one group or only a few people to dominate the security force could prove disastrous. Achieving balance within nascent security forces is often a Hobson's choice. It is what makes vetting as much an art as a science. ***MR***

NOTES

1. For lack of a better term, I use "proper character" to loosely convey the qualities and ethics desirable in individuals charged with providing state security and applying force. The specificities and standards of these characteristics must be negotiated among stakeholders before vetting begins.

2. See Wojcieck Sadurski, "'Decommunisation,' 'Lustration,' and Constitutional Continuity: Dilemmas of Transitional Justice in Central Europe," EUI Law Working Papers, no. 2003/15 (2003); Roman Boed, "An Evaluation of the Legality and Efficacy of Lustration as a Tool of Transitional Justice," in *Post Conflict Justice*, ed. Cherif Bassiouni, (2002); Marc S. Ellis, "Purging the Past: The Current State of Lustration Laws in the Former Communist Bloc," *Law and Contemporary Problems* 59, no. 4 (1996): 181-196; Mark Gibney, "Decommunization: Human Rights Lessons from the Past and Present, and Prospects for the Future," *Denver Journal of International Law and Policy* 87 (1994).

3. Human Rights Watch, "Bosnia and Hercegovina: Beyond Restraint; Politics and the Policing Agenda of the United Nations International Police Task Force," vol. 10, no. 5(D), June 1998, <www.hrw.org/reports98/bosnia>.

4. U.S. law restricts the provision of funds to units of foreign security forces when the U.S. Department of State (DOS) has credible evidence that the unit has committed gross violations of human rights. Commonly referred to as the Leahy Law, this restriction first appeared in the 1997 Foreign Operations Export Financing and Related Appropriations Act (P.L. 104-208) and only applied to funds appropriated to DOS's international narcotics control program. In 1998, Congress broadened the law to apply to all funds appropriated under the 1998 Foreign Operations Export Financing and Related Appropriations Act (P.L. 105-118). In 1999, a similar provision appeared in the U.S. Department of Defense (DOD) Appropriations Act (P.L. 105-262), which applied to funds appropriated under that act. The two provisions have appeared each year since in the annual Foreign Operations Appropriations Act and the DOD Appropriations Act, respectively.

5. U.S. Government Accountability Office Report-05-793, *Southeast Asia: Better Human Rights Reviews and Strategic Planning Needed for U.S. Assistance to Foreign Security Forces* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 29 July 2005), <www.gao.gov/cgi-bin/getrpt?gao-05-793>.

6. Office of the Inspector General Report, "Interagency Assessment of Iraq Police Training," 15 July 2005, 22.

7. Ibid., 23.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., 25.

10. United Nations (UN), Geneva Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, Geneva, 9 December 1948.

11. Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, 2187 UNT.S. 3, entered into force 1 July 2002, <www.un.org/law/icc/statute/contents.htm>. The United States is not a signatory to the Rome Statute.

12. UN, Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, 75 UNT.S. 287, entered into force 21 October 1950.

13. UN, A Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 38, Geneva, 1948.

14. UN, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Article 4, <www.hrweb.org/legal/cpr.html>.

15. There are exceptions to the vetting process I describe here, but a fuller explanation and analysis of post-conflict recruitment is beyond the scope of this study.

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Iraq: The Social Context of IEDs

Montgomery McFate, J.D., Ph.D.

IMPROVISED EXPLOSIVE devices (IEDs) are among the deadliest weapons coalition forces face in Iraq, and defeating their use by insurgents is both essential and extremely challenging. Thus far, U.S. defense science and technology communities have focused on developing technical solutions to the IED threat. However, IEDs are a product of human ingenuity and human social organization. If we understand the social context in which they are invented, built, and used we will have an additional avenue for defeating them. As U.S. Army Brigadier General Joseph Votel, head of the Pentagon's Joint IED Task Force, noted, commanders should focus less on the "bomb than the bombmaker."[1]

A shift in focus from IED technology to IED makers requires examining the social environment in which bombs are invented, manufactured, distributed, and used. Focusing on the bombmaker requires understanding the four elements that make IED use possible in Iraq: knowledge, organization, material, and the surrounding population.

Knowledge

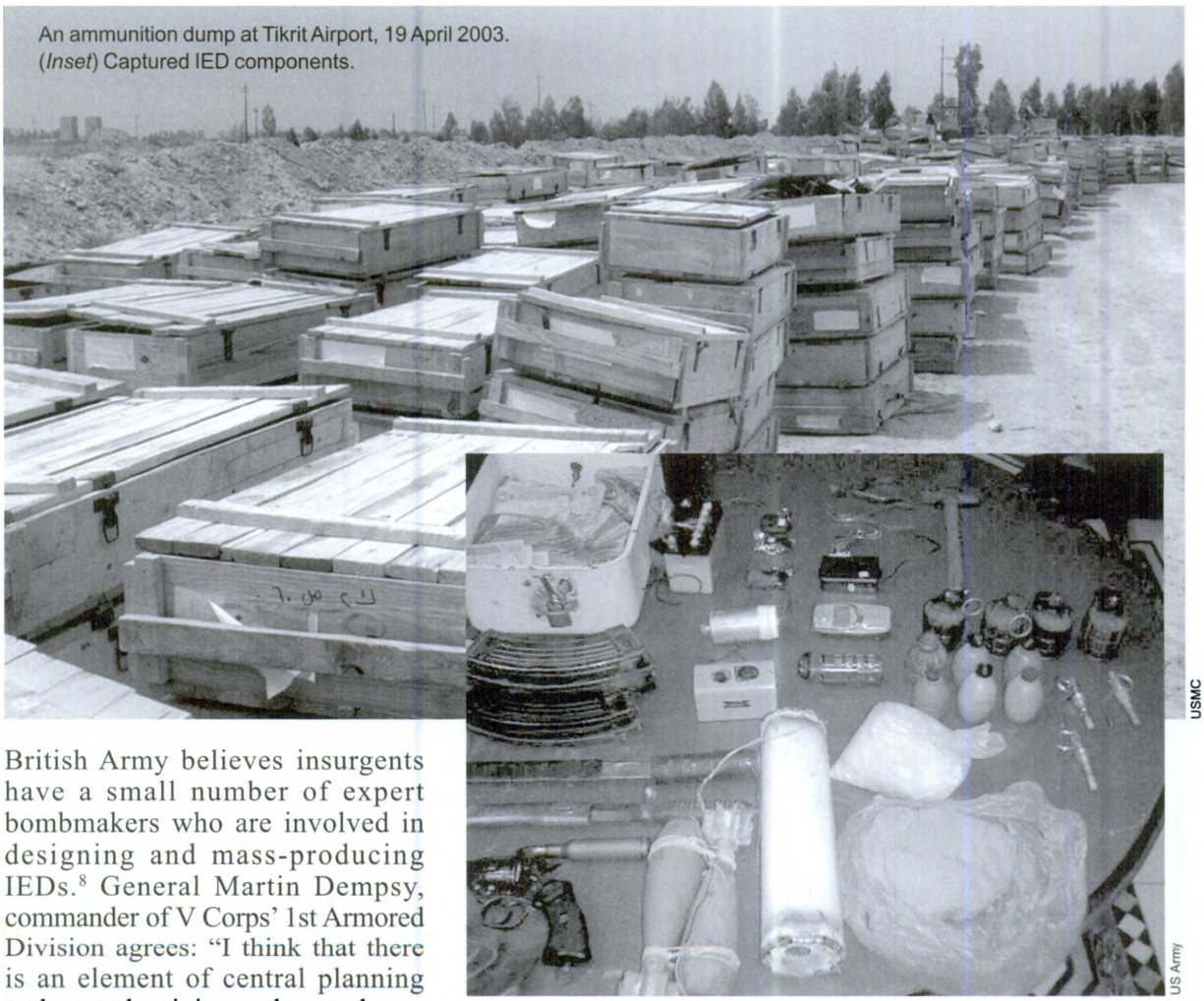
The IEDs that are killing Americans in Iraq were not imported from abroad. Saddam Hussein's regime designed them. The insurgency's expert bombmakers are mostly former members of the Iraqi Intelligence Service (IIS), the Mukhabarat.[2]

The IIS unit called M-21 (also known as the Al Ghafiqi Project) operated a laboratory that designed IEDs. Bomb manufacturing at M-21 was a collaborative enterprise: "No one person constructed an entire explosive device alone. . . . An improvised explosive device began in the chemistry department which developed the explosive materials for the device. The electronics department prepared the timers and wiring of the IED and the mechanical department produced the igniters and designed the IED."[3] M-21 designed a number of clever ways to conceal explosives, including in books, briefcases, belts, vests, drink containers, car seats, floor mats, and facial tissue boxes.[4] M-21 also produced manuals on how to conduct roadside ambushes using IEDs; how to construct IEDs from conventional high explosives and military munitions; and how to most effectively take out a convoy by disguising an IED.[5] The IIS M-21 unit is a key reason the Iraqi insurgency is so adept at constructing IEDs. They provided "the blueprints of the postwar insurgency that the U.S. now faces in Iraq."[6]

Beginning in September 2003, IEDs became more sophisticated, evolving from simple suicide attacks to more complex remote-control, vehicle-borne IEDs and daisy-chained IEDs using tripwires.[7] Such a rapid increase in technological sophistication indicates the infusion of "expert" knowledge into the process of building and deploying IEDs. The increased sophistication of IEDs over time also indicates that their design and construction has become a specialized function within the insurgency, rather than a dispersed function.

Functional specialization of IED manufacturing and emplacement suggests there are relatively few expert bombmakers. Indeed, the

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An ammunition dump at Tikrit Airport, 19 April 2003. (*Inset*) Captured IED components.

USMC

US Army

British Army believes insurgents have a small number of expert bombmakers who are involved in designing and mass-producing IEDs.[8] General Martin Dempsy, commander of V Corps' 1st Armored Division agrees: "I think that there is an element of central planning and central training and central supplying for improvised explosive devices."[9]

If bombmaking is a specialized function, coalition forces can take advantage of this in two major ways. First, if bombmakers are captured or killed, their expert knowledge dies with them. Although manuals can be instructive, knowledge gained through years of experience is not easy to reproduce through written instructions. Thus, removing the bombmakers would weaken the insurgents' ability to mass-produce bombs. Second, specialization of function makes those who plan, transport, and detonate bombs dependent on those who build them. Although the insurgency is organized in cells, multiple members of each cell must know the identity of the bombmaker in order to retain access if cell members are killed. Thus, multiple "customers" within the network know the bombmaker's identity.

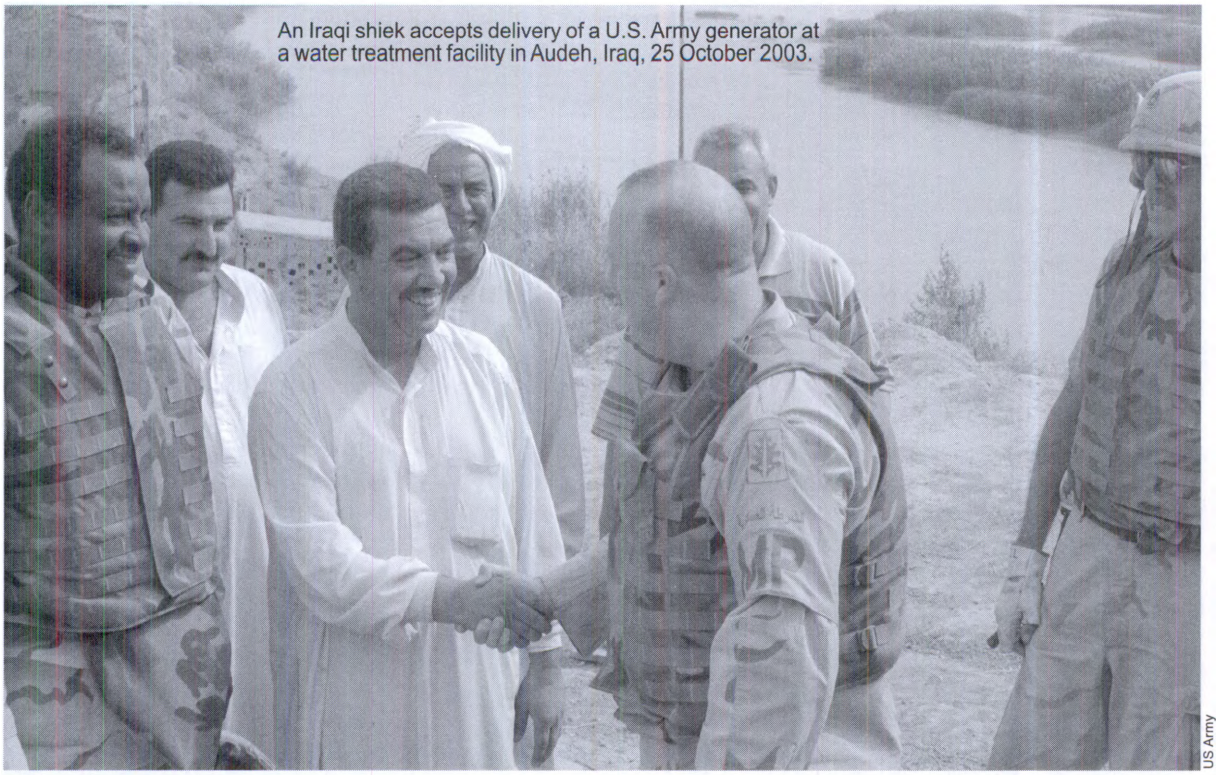
Identifying the bombmakers should be an absolute priority, and the best way to identify them is through intelligence provided by the bombmaker's customers. Thus, where possible, cell members should be captured rather than killed.

Organization

IED deployment also depends on the existence of an organization dedicated to this task. According to a Joint Intelligence Task Force analysis, Iraqi officers of the Special Operations and Antiterrorism Branch (also known as M-14) are responsible for planning IED attacks.[10] While major combat operations in Iraq were still occurring, members of M-14 scattered across Iraq to lead an insurgency. The operation was designed with little central control so cells would remain viable even if commanders were captured or killed.

British military sources have confirmed that the insurgency is composed of highly organized cells operating in small numbers.[11] Typically, each cell has a variety of members who specialize in different tasks. For example, one group of insurgents consisted of two leaders, four subleaders, and 30

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An Iraqi shiek accepts delivery of a U.S. Army generator at a water treatment facility in Audeh, Iraq, 25 October 2003.

US Army

members. Broken down by activity, there was a pair of financiers; two cells of car-bomb builders; an assassin; mortar and rocket launching teams; and others in charge of roadside bombs and ambushes.[12] Members of insurgent cells operate part-time and blend back into the civilian population when operations are complete.

While some foreign fighters might be present, the majority of insurgents are native Iraqis connected to each other and to the general population by social networks and relationships. The most important social network in Iraq is the tribe. Most Iraqis are members of one of 150 major tribes, which are subdivided into about 2,000 smaller clans. The largest clans contain more than one million people; the smallest, a few thousand.[13]

After Iraq's economic collapse following the Persian Gulf War, the Sunni tribal network became the backbone of Saddam Hussein's regime, with tribe members performing everything from security functions to garbage collection.[14] Humiliated during Operation Iraqi Freedom, frozen out of positions of power by "de-Ba'athification," and having lost their prestigious jobs in the armed forces and internal security apparatus, Sunni tribal members have become the backbone of the insurgency.[15] The tribes provide money, manpower, intelligence, and assistance in escape and evasion after an attack.[16]

How do you locate insurgents within a tribal network? Social network analysis (SNA) provides valuable tools for understanding tribal organization and charting the links between tribes and insurgents. Social network analysis is the mapping and measuring of relationships and flows between people, groups, organizations, and computers or other knowledge-processing entities. These methods proved highly successful in capturing Saddam Hussein. The 104th Military Intelligence Battalion developed a social network program called "Mongo Link" to chart personal relationships using data from Iraqi informants, military patrols, electronic intercepts, and a range of other sources. One of the 62,500 connections led directly to Saddam.[17]

SNA resources, such as those under development at the Office of Naval Research, identify how to maximally disrupt a network by intervening with the key players and how to maximally spread ideas, misinformation, and materials by seeding key players. By using data about IIS members and their personal relationships within the Iraqi tribal network, SNA can describe terrorist networks, anticipate their actions, predict their targets, and deny the insurgents the ability to act.

Material

The insurgency's ability to construct IEDs depends on the availability of bombmaking materials, particularly explosives. The widespread availability of explosives in Iraq means the insurgency

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will have the material resources to build IEDs for many years to come. Currently, approximately 80 tons of powerful conventional explosives (mainly HMX and RDX) are missing from the former Iraqi military base at Al Qaqaa. These explosives could produce bombs strong enough to shatter airplanes or tear apart buildings and are probably already in the hands of the insurgency.[18] The director of the Iraqi police unit that defuses and investigates IEDs notes: "One of the coalition's fatal mistakes was to allow the terrorists into army storerooms. . . . The terrorists took all the explosives they would ever need."[19]

Because the insurgency is connected to the Sunni tribal system, certain sheiks probably know exactly where these explosives are stored. The sheiks are vulnerable in two ways: through their love of honor and through their love of money. Although they cannot be pressured to divulge the whereabouts of explosives through appeals to honor, because they see us as infidel adversaries, they are vulnerable to financial rewards. In Iraq, there is an old saying that you cannot buy a tribe, but you can certainly hire one.[20]

The ability to hire tribal loyalty is an aspect of the patronage system in Iraq. Patrons at the top dispense riches and rewards downward. Sheiks, who stand at the penultimate point in the patronage system, have a social responsibility to distribute funds downward to subsheiks, who in turn distribute resources to tribal members. Thus, the sheiks always need money to keep subsheiks loyal to them. Coalition forces should use this patronage system to buy temporary tribal loyalty. In so doing, they should be careful not to offer money as a "reward" for divulging the whereabouts of explosives, but as a show of goodwill to the sheik, combined with a humble request for assistance.

Surrounding Population

The insurgency seeks two kinds of support from the civilian population: active and passive. Civilians provide active support when they transport, emplace, and detonate bombs. Insurgents gain civilian cooperation through coercion, threats, and financial remuneration. Civilians provide passive support by allowing insurgents to escape and "disappear" among the general population. In this, the insurgency has an advantage, because officials from the remnants of Saddam's intelligence and security services know who is loyal, where they live, and with whom they associate.[21]

Even when Iraqis are not sympathetic to the insurgency's aims or methods, the fear that the insurgents might retaliate against them deters them from supporting the interim Iraqi government. The key to winning the war against the insurgency is to separate the insurgents from the surrounding population. As Mao Tse-tung said, "The people are water, the Red Army are fish; without water, the fish will die."[22] Separation of the insurgents from the supporting population requires provisioning economic, social, and police security to the civilian population; establishing trust, especially through long-term relationships; and removing incentives for joining or supporting the insurgency. ***MR***

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TRIBAL ENGAGEMENT LESSONS LEARNED

Lieutenant Colonel Michael Eisenstadt, U.S. Army Reserve

ENGAGEMENT ACTIVITIES—overt interactions between coalition military and foreign civilian personnel for the purpose of obtaining information, influencing behavior, or building an indigenous base of support for coalition objectives—have played a central role in Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF). They have involved efforts to reach out to village headmen (*mukhtars*), tribal sheikhs, Muslim clerics, elected officials and representatives, urban professionals, businessmen, retired military officers, and women.

Tribal engagement has played a particularly prominent role in OIF. This reflects the enduring strength of the tribes in many of Iraq's rural areas and some of its urban neighborhoods. And tribal engagement has been key to recent efforts to drive a wedge between tribally based Sunni Arab insurgents and Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) in Anbar province and elsewhere, as well as efforts to undermine popular support for the Mahdi Army in largely Shi'ite neighborhoods and regions of the country.[1]

Because of the growing importance of tribal engagement for coalition strategy in Iraq, its potential role in future contingency operations, and its potential contribution to future phases of the War on Terrorism, it is vitally important for Army leaders at all levels to understand what history and the social sciences suggest, and what coalition forces in Iraq have learned, about how to engage and leverage tribes and tribal networks.

Anthropology 101 for Soldiers: What is a Tribe?

A tribe is a form of political identity based on common *claimed* descent.[2] It is not necessarily a lineage group, as tribal subunits (sections or subsections) may manufacture fictive kinship ties or alter their tribal identity or affiliations for political, economic, or security-related reasons.[3] Tribes may also be of mixed sectarian or ethnic composition. Thus, Iraq's Shammar and Jubur tribes have Sunni and Shi'ite branches, while Qashqa'i tribesmen in Iran are of Turkish, Persian, Arab, Kurdish, Lak, Luri, and Gypsy origin.[4]

There is no such thing as a "typical" tribe. Tribes may embody diverse kinship rules, structures, types of political authority, and lifestyles (sedentary, semi-nomadic, nomadic),[5] which may be influenced by security and economic conditions and government policies.[6] Thus, for instance, the Arab tribes of the Arabian Peninsula, Levant, and North Africa tended, at least traditionally, to be relatively egalitarian and non-hierarchical organizations lacking a well-developed leadership structure, while the Turkic tribes of the Central Asian steppes tended to be hierarchical, highly centralized organizations ruled by powerful chieftains.[7]

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PHOTO: An Iraqi tribal elder at a transfer of authority ceremony in Mosul, Iraq, 18 December 2006. (U.S. Army, SFC Robert Brogan)

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Although Arab tribal ideology is relatively egalitarian, in reality, major disparities in status, power, and wealth exist within and between tribes.[8] Among settled tribes, sheikhly families and clans tend to form dominant lineages that are better off and more influential than other families and clans in the tribe.[9] Bedouin tribes of "common" origin are looked down on by those of "noble" origin, while smaller ("weak") settled tribes are often looked down on by larger ("strong") settled tribes.[10]

Tribal Values, Processes, and Organization[11]

Tribal values remain deeply ingrained in Iraqi society and have had a profound influence on Iraqi social mores and political culture. (This observation holds for much of the rest of the Arab world as well.) These values include the high premium put on in-group solidarity (*'asabiyya*), which finds expression in loyalty to the family, clan, and tribe,[12] coupled with a powerful desire to preserve the autonomy of the tribe vis-à-vis other tribes, non-tribal groups, and the authorities;[13] personal and group honor (*sharaf*); sexual honor (*'ird*), which pertains to the chastity of the family's female members; manliness (*muruwwa*), which finds expression in personal traits such as courage, loyalty, generosity, and hospitality; and pride in ancestry (*nasb*).[14]

Tribal processes include traditional forms of interpersonal and group conflict such as the blood feud, as well as mechanisms for regulating and resolving such conflicts: the cease-fire (*atwa*), blood money (*fasl*), and peace agreement (*sulha*).[15] These processes are conducted in accordance with tribal law (*'urf*), as opposed to *Sharia* (Islamic) or civil law, and are applied mainly in rural towns and villages and some urban areas, though the precise extent to which tribal law is applied in Iraq today is not clear.[16]

Organizationally, the tribes of Iraq consist of nested (vice hierarchically organized) kinship groups (see Table 1). There are thousands of clans, hundreds of tribes, and about two dozen tribal confederations in Iraq today, each with its own sheikh. (Saddam Hussein's regime officially recognized some 7,380 tribal sheikhs.)[17] The terms used to describe these kinship groups and the meanings ascribed to them may differ by tribe or region, however, and tribesmen frequently disagree about

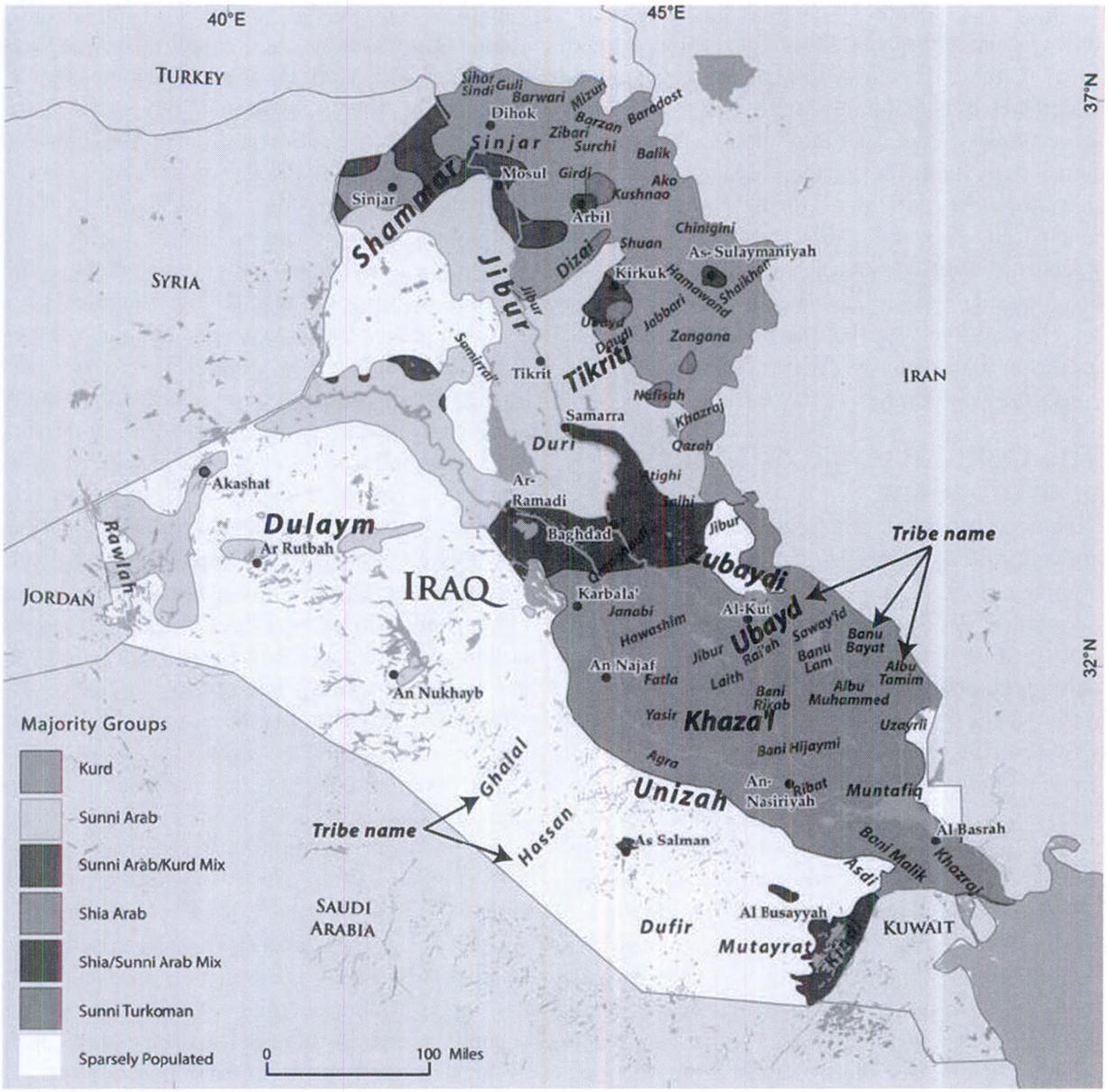
Tribal Segment	Number of Adult Males	Residence Patterns	Kinship
Asha'ir/Qabila/Sillif (Tribal Confederation)	Thousands–hundreds of thousands	Local areas, provinces, or large regions, sometimes crossing international boundaries	No traceable kinship
Ashira (Tribe)	Several hundred–many thousands	Neighboring villages or local areas	Descent from a common claimed ancestor, or an ancestor who came to be associated with the tribe
Shabba/Hamula (Clan/Tribal Section)	Several score–several hundred	Same or nearby villages	Descent from common ancestor
Fakhdh (Lineage/Tribal Subsection)	Several tens–several hundred	Same village	Three-five generations or more; may be coterminous with or encompass the *khams*, the five-generation group that acts as a unit for purposes of avenging blood and honor
Bayt (Family/Household)	One or more	Same house	Nuclear/extended family

Source: Adapted from Robert A. Fernea. *Shaykh and Effendi: Changing Patterns of Authority Among the El Shabana of Southern Iraq* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), 82-83, supplemented by information from Shakir Moustafa Salim, *Marsh Dwellers of the Euphrates Delta* (New York: The Humanities Press, 1962), 43-54.

NOTES: 1) The terms *fasila* and *hamula* are sometimes used in Iraq to refer to a subsection of a fakhdh, consisting of an extended family of several adult males, often living in the same housing cluster or compound; 2) Alternative designations for a hamula include *lahama* or *kishba*; 3) Other terms used in Iraq to refer to various types of tribal sections or subsections include *batn*, *fenda*, *firqa*, *'imara*, *sadr*, *sha'b*, and *'unuq*.

Table 1. The Arab tribal system in Iraq.

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Sources: CIA Iraq Country Profile, Map: Congressional Cartography, Library of Congress, 2007.

Distribution of ethnoreligious groups and tribes in Iraq.

tribal lineages, relationships, and nomenclature.[18] This complicates efforts by outsiders to understand tribal relationships, dynamics, and politics.

The collapse of central-government authority and the rise in political and sectarian violence in the wake of OIF has caused many Iraqis to fall back on the family, tribe, sect, or ethnic group for support in confronting the daily challenges of living in post-Saddam Iraq. As a result, tribal identities have assumed greater salience in Iraq in recent years. It would, however, be a mistake to overemphasize the role of the tribes or to regard the tribe as the central organizing principle of Iraqi society today. Large parts of Iraq are inhabited by detribalized or non-tribal populations, and tribal identity often competes with and is overshadowed by other forms of identity (sect, ethnicity, class, or ideological orientation). Moreover, the demise of the old regime has led to the rise of new social forces and actors in Iraq—particularly Islamist movements, militias, and parties, which are playing an increasingly important role in Iraqi politics. Recent events in Anbar province, however, demonstrate that under certain conditions, the tribes can still be decisive actors.

A detailed, up-to-date picture of the tribal system in Iraq does not exist—at least in the open literature. Much of what is known about it is based on a very

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small number of studies done more than half a century ago, and information gaps frequently have to be filled by inferences drawn from more recent studies undertaken in neighboring Arab states. While there are a number of useful compendiums on the tribes of Iraq done by Iraqi scholars, these are largely catalogs of tribes, tribal sections, and their sheikhs that are in much need of updating.[19] Finally, there has been no systematic effort to assess the impact of violence and coalition and Iraqi Government policies on the tribes and the state of relations between tribal and non-tribal groups in Iraqi society.[20] This article will hopefully constitute a modest first step in this direction.

The Cultural Logic of Tribes and Tribalism

How do tribal values express themselves in the conduct of Iraqi tribesmen and tribes? Tribesmen are intensely jealous of their honor and status vis-à-vis others[21]—to the extent that honor has been described as the "tribal center of gravity."[22] The culture of honor and the implicit threat of sanction or violence if one's honor is impugned may be a vestige of the Arabs' Bedouin past—a means of ensuring individual and group survival when there is no higher authority around to keep the peace.

As a result, social relations between individuals and groups are characterized by a high degree of competition and conflict (usually nonviolent) over honor, status, and access to resources.[23] A well-known Bedouin Arab proverb expresses this tendency: "Me and my brothers against my cousins; me, my brothers, and my cousins against the stranger." Some see the extraordinary politeness, generosity, and hospitality that characterize social relations in Arab society as a means of curbing this propensity for competition and conflict.[24]

What accounts for this tendency? One explanation is that it is a consequence of endogamy (marriage within the lineage group), which may have started as a functional adaptation to desert life, but which remains a powerful factor in Arab society today. (In the desert, endogamy reinforced group cohesion, enabling the group to better counter external threats.)[25] Another explanation is that it is a characteristic feature of segmentary lineage groups, which tend to divide into fractious, competing lineages (families, households, and clans).[26]

In tribal society, family, clan, and tribal affiliations define one's identity and status. Consequently, all personal interactions potentially have a collective dimension. Marriage is not a personal choice, but a family affair, with implications for the status and standing of the entire family. Conflicts between individuals always have the potential to become conflicts between groups.

Relationships are central to tribal life. In an environment marked by competition and potential conflict, building and maintaining relationships is a way to reduce the circle of potential adversaries or enemies. This is why feuds, when not resolved by the payment of blood money, were traditionally resolved by the gifting of brides—to create ties that bind between formerly aggrieved parties.[27]

In Iraq, as elsewhere in the Arab world, tribes rarely provide the basis for sustained collective action. Tribal solidarity has been undermined by the dramatic socioeconomic changes of the past century. (The last tribal rebellion in Iraq was in 1936.) And even in the distant past, when inter-tribal wars occurred, it was unusual for all sections of a tribe to participate; subsections of warring tribes often remained on friendly terms or opted to sit the war out.[28]

The household (*bayt*) is the fundamental unit of social, economic, and political action in tribal society, while the tribal subsection (the *fakhdh* or its equivalent)—the lowest level of tribal organization at which individuals are still bound by blood and marriage—is normally the highest level at which sustained social action occurs, usually as a result of a blood feud.[29] On the rare occasion when tribe-wide cooperation does occur, it is generally in response to an extraordinary event, such as an outside threat or attack.[30]

Thus, normally contentious tribesmen will band together to fend off an external threat, then return to a state of competition and conflict once the threat subsides.[31] This may be the dynamic driving the "Anbar Awakening," wherein disparate tribes have coalesced to confront the growing influence and strength of AQI.

Another pattern that has repeated itself throughout Arab and Muslim history is that of the marginal man or transplanted outsider who unites otherwise fractious tribesmen under the banner of religion.[32] Examples include the Prophet Muhammad in Arabia in the 7th century; the Sanusis in Libya and the Sudanese Mahdi in the 19th century; and the Hashemites in the Hejaz, Jordan, and Iraq and

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the Saudis in Arabia in the 20th century.[33] Today, this pattern is repeating itself in parts of Iraq with the emergence of religiously based movements and parties led by formerly obscure charismatic clerics (Muqtada al-Sadr and the Mahdi Army), former exiles ('Abd al-'Aziz al-Hakim and the Supreme Islamic Iraqi Council), or foreigners (the late Abu Musab al-Zarqawi and AQI). However, many of the rank and file of these groups are neither of tribal origin nor particularly religious, consisting, to some extent, of opportunistic and criminal elements.[34]

Tribal identity has a territorial dimension as well.[35] Tribes are often identified with specific localities or regions: pastoral nomads with particular grazing areas, settled tribesmen with lands located near a particular village or town or in a particular region.[36] Thus, a description of tribal affiliation generally conveys information about both an individual's family and his geographic origins.[37]

For settled tribesmen, the tribal domain usually consists of a compact territory owned exclusively by members of the tribe. It is divided into plots owned by the various sections of the tribe, and surrounded by a belt of land partly owned by neighboring tribes or townsmen.[38] It is not clear how the tribal relocation and resettlement policies selectively pursued by Saddam Hussein's regime affected traditional tribal residential patterns.[39]

Among settled tribesmen, there is strong pressure not to alienate ancestral lands by marrying outside the tribe (lest land pass to another tribe through inheritance) or by selling land to a "foreigner" (i.e., a non-tribesman).[40] Infringement of a tribe's territorial domain by outsiders is often a cause for conflict. This has led to inter-tribal strife in post-Saddam Iraq, when the coalition has paid some tribes to secure oil pipelines in territory traditionally claimed by other tribes.[41]

Some tribes take the form of geographically dispersed networks. Tribes belonging to a large confederation may be spread over a vast area, even across international boundaries. Tribal ties are sometimes reinforced by marriage alliances and personal or business relationships, and may be mobilized in the pursuit of shared interests. Saddam Hussein's regime was particularly adept at mobilizing tribal networks and forging tribal alliances, which accounted in part for its durability.[42]

Sheikhs, Tribes, and Power

Historically, states and empires have dealt with sheikhs as local power brokers to help rule or administer their territories or overseas possessions, and they have often attempted to co-opt tribes as part of a strategy of "divide and rule." Coalition forces have likewise attempted to engage the sheikhs and their tribes as part of their effort to stabilize Iraq and defeat AQI. It is therefore important to understand the sources—and limits—of sheikhly authority and tribal influence.

Sheikhly authority. The sheikh traditionally performs a number of functions related to the inner life of the tribe and its relations with the non-tribal world and the authorities. The role of the sheikh has not changed all that much over the last century and a half, and sheikhs still fulfill a number of important functions. These may include—

- Ensuring security throughout the tribe's domain.
- Mediating and resolving internal disputes.
- Trying cases and imposing punishments in accordance with tribal law.
- Representing the tribe to the non-tribal world and the ruling authorities.
- Extending hospitality to guests of the tribe.
- Providing conscripts or tribal levies for the security forces.
- Preserving the autonomy of the tribe vis-à-vis other tribes and the authorities.
- Organizing and regulating smuggling, to the extent that the tribe engages in such activities.[43]

An individual may become a tribal sheikh in several ways. Sheikly status may be bestowed on the basis of an individual's character traits (e.g., generosity, wisdom, courage); inherited within "sheikhly families" (usually by the most capable son); wrested from others by force of personality, subterfuge, or even force of arms; and conferred by the state or the ruling authorities. Today, most sheikhs in Iraq belong to sheikhly families and have inherited their position.[44]

Among Bedouins, sheikhs traditionally led by consensus, functioning as a first among equals; their exercise of authority was generally based on their reading of popular sentiment in their tribe.[45] This is probably because Bedouin tribesmen could simply pick up and leave (taking all their worldly possessions with them) and join another section or tribe if they were unhappy with their sheikh.[46]

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Among settled tribesmen, matters are more complicated. Various Iraqi governments (including Saddam Hussein's) cultivated the sheikhs as allies, contributing to their emergence as a privileged stratum of landowners and businessmen, whose fortunes have waxed and waned, depending on government policies and general economic conditions. This development, however, often transformed the relationship between sheikh and tribesman from one of formal equality to one marked by tension and resentment over the sheikh's status as a landowner, employer, or agent of the state. Nevertheless, elements of the traditional leadership model still apply: sheikhs cannot impose their will on their tribe and generally are constrained to act within the bounds of popular opinion. Conversely, their standing in the eyes of their tribesmen depends on their ability to secure the tribe's interests.

Tribal influence. In the distant past, tribal influence was reckoned in terms of the number of tribesmen under arms. Size mattered. Small ("weak") tribes were considered less powerful than large ("strong") tribes. Reputation also mattered. Some tribes were considered more warlike than others. Moreover, the influence of the tribes generally varied inversely with that of the state: the tribes were strong when the state was weak, and vice versa.

Today, as mentioned above, the tribal subsection is generally the highest level at which sustained social action occurs; tribes are no longer effective units of action. And the influence of a tribe is generally measured in terms of its sheikh's prestige among his own and other tribesmen, his ability to secure the interests of his tribe, and the willingness of a clan or tribe to exact retribution for slights to its honor or for harm visited upon its members.[47]

The tribal system today. The authority of Iraq's sheikhs and the influence of Iraq's tribes have varied greatly from place to place and over time, during the past century and a half.[48] Despite occasionally supportive government policies (e.g., during the Mandate, under the Monarchy, and during Saddam Hussein's rule), the impact of certain long-term socioeconomic trends such as urbanization, the decline of agriculture, the rise of the modern economy, and the emergence of alternative non-tribal forms of identity, have undermined sheikhly authority and tribal cohesion and influence. This is part of a broader trend also evident in other tribal societies (e.g., Somalia, Afghanistan) where socioeconomic change, war, and resurgent Islamist movements have undermined tribal influence.[49]

The tribes experienced something of a comeback under Saddam Hussein. To strengthen central-government control, Hussein bought the loyalty and bolstered the authority of the sheikhs with cars, land, money, and arms, and he replaced sheikhs whose loyalties were suspect with more compliant ones.[50] (Because of this latter policy, identifying "authentic" sheikhs who enjoy legitimacy in the eyes of their tribesmen has been a challenge for coalition forces in post-Saddam Iraq.)[51]

Today, like most Iraqis, the sheikhs are consumed by the daily struggle to survive and to preserve what remains of their status and privileges. In some rural areas, they remain the dominant force. In this regard, former Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) official Rory Stewart's assessment of the sheikhs of Maysan province in southeastern Iraq, where he served from 2003-2004, is worth quoting at length.

> Most urban Iraqis perceived the sheikhs as illiterate, embarrassing, criminal, powerless anachronisms who should be given no official recognition. The sheikhs could no longer, despite their claims, raise ten thousand armed men—perhaps they never could. I never observed them raise more than a couple hundred. Their daily visits to our office to request building contracts, clinics, and the chance to form militias proved how short they were of money and patronage power . . . . They were [however] still the most powerful men in the rural areas, where about half the population remained; they owned much of the land, and agriculture was the only half-functioning element of the shattered economy. Almost every crime in the villages was tried and settled by the sheikhs . . . ."[52]

In other areas, the sheikhs find themselves jostling for power with the various Islamist militias and parties that are playing a growing role in the life of the country, and many are hard pressed to compete in an arena in which local political power increasingly comes from the barrel of a gun. Anthony Shadid of *The Washington Post* described this dynamic in a 2006 article about a visit with Sheikh Adnan Aidani in the village of Yusufan, near Basra. According to Shadid—

> There is a saying in southern Iraq today, "No one pays respect to the saint who won't mete out punishment." Violence is the cadence of the

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country. To navigate the chaos, Aidani tries to draw on century-old traditions honed by Bedouins in the desert, rules built on honor, respect, and reciprocity. He relies on the intimacy of a village where every neighbor knows the other. But in the end, the threat of punishment secures respect for Aidani. That same threat gives power to militias, gangs, and criminals who now hold sway even in the streets of a village like Yusufan.

The sheikh has his authority, backed by what he says are the hundreds of armed men he can cull from the tribe's 12,000 members. But in a sign of his curtailed reach, he twice failed to get elected to parliament, and villagers sometimes treat him as just another player…When trouble arises, villagers say, they try to settle it themselves, then go to the sheik, representatives of the Islamic parties or the town's part-time cleric…Usually, they keep to themselves. With violence endemic, it is often heard that if it's not your neighbor, friend or family killed, you keep quiet.[53]

Still, other sheikhs have adjusted well to the new rules of the game, participating in Iraq's conflict economy and transforming themselves, for all practical purposes, into local warlords. Perhaps the best example of this new type of leader is Sheikh 'Abd al-Sattar Biza'i al-Rishawi of the Albu Risha tribe, leader of the Anbar Awakening. According to published reports, after the fall of Saddam Hussein, Sheikh 'Abd al-Sattar led a band of highwaymen who operated near Ramadi and worked as a facilitator for AQI on the side, providing its operatives with cars, safe houses, and local guides. But when the AQI operatives he was helping started working as highwaymen too—encroaching on his 'turf,' cutting into his profits, and then killing his father and several brothers—the relationship soured, prompting the sheikh to turn on AQI and to ally himself with coalition forces.[54]

Based on these few examples, the most that can be said with confidence is that sheikhly authority and tribal influence in Iraq today vary in accordance with local circumstances and conditions, and that sheikh and tribesman are increasingly subject to conflicting pressures. There are strong incentives for people to seek refuge in tribal identities as protection against pervasive violence and economic insecurity, and for sheikhs and tribesmen to hang together for purposes of survival.

At the same time, the sons of Iraq's tribes are well-represented in the many insurgent groups and sectarian militias that are driving the violence that is tearing Iraqi society apart; consequently, sheikhs who are not involved with insurgent groups or militias must tread lightly vis-à-vis their tribesmen who are, lest they run afoul of the masked armed men who wield ultimate authority in Iraq today.



U.S. Army, SGT Curt Cashour

Sheikh 'Abd al-Sattar Biza'i al-Rishawi during a meeting with Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., and LTG Ray Odierno, commander of Multi-National Corps-Iraq, at Camp Ramadi, Iraq, 2 April 2007. Sittar helped spark the Anbar Awakening, a widespread rejection of Al-Qaeda by leaders of the province.

The Unfulfilled Promise of Tribal Alliances in Iraq

Some analysts and practitioners have argued that tribal alliances are key to defeating the Sunni Arab insurgency in Iraq.[55] While efforts to engage and leverage Iraq's tribes have yielded some successes, particularly in Anbar province, the overall effort has fallen short of expectations. It is not clear whether this is due to flaws in the coalition's tribal engagement policy, the security environment—which often makes engagement difficult and dangerous—or unrealistic assumptions about the influence of the sheikhs and the tribes.

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Clearly, at various times the coalition has harbored unrealistic expectations regarding the influence of the sheikhs and the tribes. Early coalition engagement activities reflected this misconception—for instance, in the run-up to the battle for Fallujah, when coalition military officers met with sheikhs in the expectation that they would be able to tamp down insurgent violence racking the town. In *No True Glory: A Frontline Account of the Battle for Fallujah*, Bing West describes a number of such episodes:

> General Abizaid...met with the sheikhs, demanding that they show leadership and stop the violence. There were as many attacks on the outskirts of Fallujah, where the sheikhs had power, as inside the city, where the clerics dominated.... In a separate meeting with the sheikhs, Major General Charles H. Swannack, commander of the 82nd [Airborne Division], was equally forceful. "I am not going to tolerate these attacks anymore," he said. "I know the sheikhs have the ability to control their tribes." The sheikhs protested that the 82nd didn't appreciate the limits of their power. Threatening them would do no good. Improvement projects made no difference to the men with the guns. In the eyes of the sheikhs, power had shifted from them to the young clerics in Fallujah preaching that America was waging a war against Islam and was bringing in Jews to rule Iraq.[56]

This tension between tribal elements and Islamists was also evident in largely Shi'ite areas, where newly empowered Sadrists challenged the established power of the tribes. According to Mark Etherington, a former CPA official who served in Wasit Province in south-central Iraq in 2003-2004:

> As the threat from Moqtada al-Sadr's followers increased and the death threats were made against CPA employees, the tribes increasingly instructed "their" interpreters to leave our employ, which many of them did immediately. This might seem a curious moral retreat, given the tribes' much-vaunted resistance to external interference in their affairs; actually it merely shows the power that Sadr's followers were able to wield over ordinary Iraqis in combining Islam with nationalism. If one concluded from this phenomenon that the tribes were actually weaker than they appeared, a recent CPA poll appeared to buttress the idea; of 1,531 people in five Iraqi cities only 1 per cent of respondents said that they would vote for a tribal party; 4.8 per cent that they would vote for a party of the same tribe but 95.2 per cent that they would not; and 98.6 per cent that they would not comply if ordered to vote in a particular manner by a tribal chief. Conversely, one might as well say that the cities were not the best of places to canvass tribal loyalty given their overwhelmingly rural roots.[57]

Nevertheless, the coalition's engagement efforts have yielded a number of modest but important benefits. Because the sheikhs are generally well connected and plugged into various tribal and non-tribal networks (essential if they are to look after the interests of their tribe), they have generally proven useful as sources of information and advice and as vectors of influence among their tribesmen. Sheikhs have assisted, too, in the pursuit and apprehension of insurgents and former regime officials, the screening of detainees for insurgent ties, and the recovery of kidnapping victims (such as journalist Jill Carroll).[58] Moreover, efforts to work with tribal sheikhs to reduce insurgent activity in their tribal areas of influence, in return for various *quid pro quos* (e.g., construction contracts, reconstruction projects, the freeing of detainees), have often yielded impressive results—most notably a significant reduction in the lethality and number of attacks on coalition forces (frequently by 50 percent or more).

On the down side, tribal engagement has not brought about a total halt in attacks in tribal areas of influence.[59] It is not clear whether this is due to the sheikhs' inability to influence younger fighters—who are heavily represented in the ranks of the insurgents, or certain sections or subsections of their tribe.[60]

Furthermore, efforts to employ tribes to protect strategic infrastructure such as oil pipelines and electrical power lines have failed. (See inset, "Freakonomics on the Tigris.") And until recently, sheikhs have rarely delivered on promises to provide tribal levies for anti-AQI militias such as the "Desert Protectors" in Husaybah and the Albu Nimr police force in al-Furat or to provide large numbers of conscripts for the Iraqi Security Forces.[61] This is particularly telling, given the high rates of unemployment in Iraq today.

The success of the tribally based Anbar Awakening, which has reportedly recruited some 12,000 volunteers for local police forces this year, represents a sea change in coalition engagement efforts.[62] It has revived hopes that tribal engagement can turn the tide against the Sunni Arab insurgency and

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Freakonomics on the Tigris:
The Hidden (Tribal) Dimension of Infrastructure Protection

In their best-selling book *Freakonomics: A Rogue Economist Investigates the Hidden Side of Everything*, Steven D. Levitt and Stephen J. Dubner argue that understanding the role of incentives "is the key to solving just about any riddle" pertaining to human behavior and to understanding that very often "things aren't quite what they seem."[63] Might Freakonomics help answer why the coalition has been unsuccessful at using Iraqi tribes to secure oil pipelines and electrical power lines running through their tribal domains?

Some background: due to the CPA's decision to dissolve the Iraqi Army and the subsequent lack of trained Iraqi security personnel, the coalition has on a number of occasions paid tribes to secure strategic infrastructure in parts of Iraq, particularly oil pipelines and electrical power lines. However, attacks on the pipelines and power lines have continued, to the point that the vital Baiji-Kirkuk oil pipeline and sections of the national electrical grid have been shut down for extended periods. What is going on?

U.S. Government assessments have tended to focus on flaws in the incentive structure—an answer that could have been lifted straight from the pages of *Freakonomics*. According to the Government Accountability Office (GAO), "the Ministry of Electricity contracts with tribal chiefs, paying them about $60-$100 per kilometer to protect transmission lines running through their areas. However, IRMO [Iraq Reconstruction Management Office] officials reported that the protection system is flawed and encourages corruption. According to U.S. and UN Development Program officials, some tribes that are paid to protect transmission lines are also selling materials from downed lines and extracting tariffs for access to repair the lines. IRMO officials stated that they want the Ministry of Electricity to change the system so that tribes are only paid when the lines remain operational for a reasonable period of time."[64]

The congressionally mandated Iraq Study Group (ISG) report echoed these findings, recommending that coalition forces improve pipeline security "by paying local tribes solely on the basis of throughput (rather than fixed amounts)."[65]

One problem with the GAO and ISG model for incentivizing the tribes is that it fails to explain how to prevent the tribes from maximizing their profits by taking money from both the insurgents and the coalition (tolerating a certain level of violence against the pipelines or power lines, though not enough to greatly reduce throughput). Clearly, a more complex model is called for here, one that recognizes that the tribes stand to make money by playing both sides of the game, and that they might not be the only relevant actors.

Moreover, the GAO/ISG solution fails to account for intra- and inter-tribal dynamics and politics and relations between tribal and non-tribal groups. There is good reason to believe that some, if not many, of the attacks on oil pipelines and electrical power lines have been undertaken by the same groups being paid to protect them. Why would they do this? Perhaps to—

- Justify their jobs.
- Extort more money from the coalition.
- Maximize profits and hedge their bets by working with both the insurgents and the coalition.
- Protest possible inequities in the distribution of funds within the tribe by their sheikh.

It is also possible that tribes not on the payroll are involved in some attacks, either to drum up business for themselves by creating a security problem that they then offer to solve, or to protest infringement of their traditional tribal domains by tribes on the coalition payroll.

In fact, it is likely that all of these factors have been in play at one time or another, and that a variety of actors—smugglers, insurgents, criminal gangs, and corrupt security officials—have also been involved. Interestingly, those Iraqis and coalition personnel who deal with this issue on a daily basis understand the complexity of the problem, even if some in Washington do not.[66] The solution to the challenge of employing tribes for infrastructure protection is not simply a matter of proper incentives; it is also a matter of understanding tribal dynamics and politics in the areas of concern. Indeed, things are *not* always what they seem.

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perhaps undermine popular support for the Mahdi Army.[67] As part of this effort, the coalition has brokered a number of informal cease-fire agreements with local Sunni insurgent groups, freed detainees after extracting good-conduct pledges from tribal sheikhs, and hired tribal militias and their sheikhs as "security contractors."[68]

Several factors likely account for the Anbar Awakening, including popular revulsion against the ideology and methods of AQI, the threat that AQI poses to the autonomy of the tribes and their way of life, and the damage that AQI has done to the local economy. As General David Petraeus recently noted—perhaps half facetiously—the sheikhs in Anbar province "all have a truck company, they all have a construction company and they all have an import-export business," and the havoc that AQI has wreaked was bad for business.[69]

It remains to be seen, however, whether the Anbar Awakening can hold together, whether it will continue to work with coalition forces or eventually turn on them, whether successes in Anbar can be replicated elsewhere, or whether coalition efforts to work with the tribes and arm tribal militias are in fact paving the way for an even more violent civil war.[70]

Lessons Learned

A recent study of 1st Cavalry Division operations in Baghdad during its OIF II rotation (April 2004-February 2005) concluded that—

- Nonlethal means were the most effective method to defeat the enemy.
- Spending time with local leaders and conducting information operations and civil-military operations were the most effective ways to influence the battle.
- Successful commanders used military operations to shape the environment, but engaged the civilian population to achieve success.[71]

Despite such acknowledgements of the importance of engagement and the fact that engagement activities in Iraq frequently consume between 20 to 50 percent of a commander's time, it is remarkable how little attention has been devoted to this subject in the military professional literature.[72] Hopefully, this article will spur greater interest in what is probably the most important coalition line of operation in Iraq today.

The following engagement lessons learned—with particular emphasis on the special challenges of tribal engagement—are drawn from a review of the military professional literature, journalistic dispatches, individual and group interviews with civilian and military personnel who have served in Iraq, and the author's own experiences.[73]

Cultural sensitivity, "hearts and minds," and shared interests. Because of the complexity of the operational environment in Iraq, particularly in tribal areas, missteps are inevitable—even by experienced individuals.[74] The local population will usually forgive such missteps if they have a vital interest in cooperating with the coalition and believe coalition personnel have fundamentally good intentions. Moreover, while winning "hearts and minds" may not be achievable in much of Iraq, neither is it necessary for success. What is important is for coalition forces to convince Iraqis that they have a shared interest in working together to achieve common goals.[75]

Building relationships. In Iraq, as elsewhere in the Arab world, persons are more trusted than institutions.[76] Personal relationships are the basis of effective professional partnerships, and a *sine qua non* for effective counterinsurgency operations.[77] These relationships, however, can only be established and maintained by engaging the civilian population.

Relationships take time to build and need constant tending.[78] "Face time" with locals is critical, even if nothing tangible comes of some meetings, since time together is an investment in a relationship whose benefits may not be immediately evident. In addition, such meetings might discourage fence sitters from going over to the insurgents.

A little knowledge of Arabic and Islam pays huge dividends, for it demonstrates the kind of respect for the local population and their traditions that helps establish rapport and build relationships. And contrary to the conventional wisdom, discussions about politics and religion need not be off-limits, although judgment and discretion are advised when dealing with such matters.[79]

Credibility is priceless; once destroyed, it is very hard to reestablish. Accordingly, it is vital to make good on promises and to avoid making commitments that cannot be kept. Broken promises undermine efforts to establish rapport and build the relationships that are essential to success.[80]

For these reasons, coalition forces should, to the extent possible, avoid practices that disrupt relationships with the local population, such as mid-tour realignments of unit boundaries or areas of operation

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MILITARY IMPLICATIONS of Tribal Land Tenure Practices

While a detailed discussion of how land is owned and inherited among tribal groups in rural Iraq is beyond the scope of this article, it is important to recognize the military value of such cultural knowledge. This point was driven home in a recent email from 1st Lieutenant Brendan Hagan of the 82d Airborne Division to an Army buddy, in which he described how, after stumbling across a weapons cache, his unit used knowledge of tribal land ownership patterns to discover additional weapons caches:

> One way we've used simple info to get great results was with a [weapons] cache we found in an unused orchard. We stumbled onto the largest cache ever found in our division's history, by accident. But we used simple reasoning to lead us to another of equal size. When we found the first one we grabbed the local sub-sheik and showed him what was within his area of influence, then used him to tell us who owned every piece of land from the river to a major road in the region. It turned out that the land the cache was on and numerous other tracks [sic] of land were owned by a father and series of brothers. We used this info to search other orchards owned by the brothers and found a second large cache. Seems simple, but most people would not have asked who owned all the adjacent land and put the family connections together. This allowed us to refine our searches to specific fields and orchards.[81]

The details of this account are consistent with what is known about land ownership in lineage-based (clan- or tribe-based) communities in Iraq and the Levant. Among the practical consequences of Islamic inheritance rules is that individuals frequently own multiple parcels of land scattered throughout the tribal domain. Moreover, land is often owned jointly by siblings (usually brothers), paternal cousins, or entire tribal subsections, to prevent the division of heritable land holdings into ever smaller, economically non-viable parcels among an ever-growing number of heirs.[82]

Another feature of the Iraqi rural landscape that may be militarily significant concerns the relationship between patterns of field cultivation and social relations among cultivators. Agricultural land in many parts of Iraq is divided into strip parcels (parallel strips of land worked by different cultivators). This is a widespread practice in the developing world.[83] A "virtual tour" of Iraq using Google Earth reveals that strip parcels are found in many villages around the country.[84]

Research of field patterns in iron-age Northern Europe and in contemporary East Africa has shown that strip parcels are generally associated with lineage-based communities. In such communities, the allocation of the strips often mirrors the family tree of the land-owning group and reflects the genealogical ranking of its members: older sons own strips of land (or sections of the family's strip of land) that are closer to the family dwelling than those owned by younger sons, while owners of strips on the right, when viewed from the dwelling, are senior to owners of strips on the left. Adjacent strips of land are generally owned by brothers, and adjacent plots of land are often owned by cousins (unless sold to an outsider).[85] Further investigation is required to determine whether such practices are followed in Iraq. If so, it may prove to be yet another bit of cultural knowledge that can help coalition forces locate insurgent weapons caches, and aid coalition military operations in Iraq.



A recent aerial view of strip fields in a village near Yusufiya, central Iraq.

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and gaps during unit rotations that preclude incumbent coalition personnel from introducing their successors to their Iraqi partners.

Engagement as a military activity. Engagement planning at the lower tactical echelons—which are the echelons that interact most intensively with the civilian population—is often *ad hoc,* highly informal, and done "on the fly" by the commander with little if any formal staff input. Engagement, however, is too important to be done in such a manner, and should be approached like any other essential military activity.

There should be a formal engagement planning process, with input from all relevant staff elements, to identify engagement targets, assess their motivations and interests, determine engagement goals, schedule meetings, and set agendas. Commanders and staff should hold after-action reviews to evaluate the outcomes of meetings and plan for and prepare follow-on activities.

Engagement planning would probably benefit from the creation of small, dedicated engagement cells at the battalion and brigade combat team levels, to organize and oversee the aforementioned activities. The Army's new human terrain teams and the Department of State's new embedded provincial reconstruction teams will likely bring additional assets to bear on the problem as well.[86]

Cultivating "native informants." Very few nonnatives have the knowledge and expertise needed to navigate Iraqi tribal politics. While book knowledge is extremely valuable, it only goes so far. Thus, it is essential to cultivate a cadre of "native informants" who are intimately familiar with local history, personalities, and tribal politics. Translators generally serve in this role, although it is important to know how the local population perceives these individuals. A translator whom the locals look upon with suspicion because of his family or tribal background can be more of a hindrance than a help.

A top-down, interagency-led process. Because tribes often span unit boundaries and international borders, and because tribal leaders may interact with tactical as well as operational-level commanders, coalition military and civilian organizations could inadvertently find themselves working at cross-purposes.[87] Accordingly, tribal engagement should be a top-down, interagency-led process. Such an approach would help to—

- Develop a single, synchronized tribal engagement strategy that spans unit boundaries, military echelons, and international borders.
- Deconflict, and ensure synergies among, multiple engagement efforts.
- Develop a unified IO message for engagement inside and outside of Iraq.
- Coordinate kinetic targeting of high-value individuals and planned or ongoing tribal engagement efforts to ensure that former efforts do not hinder or harm the latter.

A top-down approach would also ensure that tribal engagement receives the attention and emphasis it merits, and that tactical units receive the support required to succeed in this important mission.

Understanding limitations in sheikhly authority and tribal influence. Power relationships are in flux in post-Saddam Iraq, and sheikhly authority and tribal influence may vary from place to place, depending on local conditions. Coalition forces have sometimes had unrealistic expectations concerning the authority of the sheikhs and the influence of the tribes. Nonetheless, tribal engagement has yielded important successes in places such as Anbar province, and it remains a key part of coalition strategy in Iraq.

Because of their connections, sheikhs are useful sources of information, insight, and advice. They can also influence their tribesmen, although their ability to do so often depends on their ability to dispense patronage (i.e., money, jobs, and contracts), and to otherwise secure the interests of their tribe. They generally have the greatest influence among members of their own subsection or section and their own generational cohort; thus, while they may be able to influence many of their tribesmen, they usually cannot influence them all, nor do they "control" their tribe. Additionally, just as a sheikh who agrees to work with the coalition may not be able to bring around all his tribesmen, the presence of insurgents among his tribe does not necessarily mean that he surreptitiously supports the insurgent cause—although he may hedge his bets by turning a blind eye toward insurgent activities he is aware of.

Given these limitations, while it is not unreasonable to demand 100-percent effort from the sheikhs in return for patronage and assistance, it is unrealistic to expect 100-percent results. Most sheikhs are just as vulnerable to intimidation and terror as any other Iraqi; scores, if not hundreds of sheikhs have been killed by insurgents and terrorists.

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Tailored engagement strategies. Tribal engagement strategies should account for local variations in sheikhly authority and tribal influence. And because there are thousands of clans, hundreds of tribes, and about two dozen tribal confederations in Iraq, each with its own sheikh, tribal engagement is a potentially time-consuming activity. Mass meetings and "sheikhfests" may help, but these are not always appropriate—the more prominent sheikhs at these meetings will often overshadow lower- and mid-level sheikhs, who may feel slighted. On the other hand, it might not be realistic to engage all the sheikhs in a particular area of operations; here, the commander's engagement plan will determine who gets special attention.[88]

Because all tribal power is local, there is no substitute for engaging lower- and mid-level sheikhs who head tribal subsections and sections. However, engaging more prominent tribal or paramount sheikhs (of tribal confederations) may sometimes aid this effort, and may be useful for both symbolic and substantive reasons. Each tribe will require a different approach based on a detailed understanding of local conditions and the tribe's history and politics. And that kind of knowledge can only be obtained by spending time on the ground with Iraqis.

Avoiding the pitfalls of tribal politics. Working with tribes poses special challenges. Tribesmen are intensely status conscious and competitive, and rivalry and intrigue often characterize tribal politics. Thus, tribal engagement often requires a careful balancing act among sheikhs, tribes, and non-tribal groups to avoid creating or aggravating rivalries or conflicts.

There are a number of specific pitfalls associated with tribal politics:

- *Errors of ignorance.* It is easy to err due to a lack of knowledge of local and tribal history and politics. Coalition forces initially dealt with a number of sheikhs who had been appointed to their positions by the former regime and therefore lacked legitimacy in the eyes of their tribesmen. Likewise, the coalition initially appointed an unpopular sheikh as governor of Basra, a large city with a largely non-tribal population. These actions created resentment and undermined coalition credibility.[89] It is therefore essential to become intimately familiar with the history and politics of the tribes in one's area of operations and their relationships with other tribes, non-tribal elements, and the authorities, in order to avoid such missteps.

- *Rivalries and feuds.* Establishing a close relationship with a particular sheikh or tribe may often be necessary, but it may entail the risk of entanglement in their rivalries and feuds.[90] While it is usually best to stay above such frays, such situations can offer coalition personnel the opportunity to mediate local conflicts, thereby enhancing local security and the coalition's standing in the eyes of the local population.[91] Furthermore, in some circumstances it may be possible to use a relationship with one sheikh or tribe to entice a rival sheikh or tribe to work more closely with coalition forces or the local government.

- *Corruption and nepotism.* Funneling money to tribes through their sheikhs is one way to leverage tribal networks, but it can sometimes cause as many problems as it solves. Sheikhs may not disseminate funds among their tribesmen in an equitable manner, thus engendering resentment against the sheikh and the coalition. Intervening to ensure a more equitable distribution of funds—if the issue has become a problem—is risky, and requires an intimate knowledge of the politics of the tribe and a deft diplomatic touch. But if done right, intervention can help coalition commanders deepen their base of support among the tribesmen.[92]

- *Tribal vendettas.* Humiliating, injuring, or killing a tribesman can embroil the coalition in a vendetta with his family or relatives, thereby widening the circle of violence. There are many anecdotal reports about former fence sitters in Iraq opting to join the insurgency because of incidents involving coalition forces and family members or relatives. This only underscores the especially high cost of not strictly adhering to the rules of engagement in tribal areas or in societies founded on tribal values.

Tribal engagement and long-term U.S.interests. For a time after the fall of the Saddam Hussein regime in 2003, there was an ongoing debate among coalition officials about the desirability of working with the tribes. Some argued that wherever possible, the tribes should be leveraged to defeat the insurgency and create stability. Others argued that the tribes are an anachronism and an obstacle to the long-term goal of building democracy in Iraq.[93]

With the coalition now engaging the tribes as a matter of necessity, the debate has been overtaken by events. The concerns that drove the original debate, however, remain salient. The coalition cannot afford to forego the potential benefits of tribal engagement:

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a modicum of stability and the weakening of AQI in large parts of Iraq. But neither can it afford to ignore the possible long-term costs of this policy: the strengthening of the tribes and tribal militias (many of which include former insurgents) at the expense of the eventual development of broad-based civil society and governmental institutions.

The challenge is to strike a balance between these two competing objectives. Tribal engagement should be part of a broader effort to engage multiple sectors of Iraqi society in order to support and strengthen not just the tribes, but civil society and governmental institutions that bring Iraqis of varied backgrounds together to work toward common goals.

Conclusions

Engagement is probably the most important coalition line of operation in Iraq today. If coalition forces eventually achieve some degree of success in stabilizing Iraq, it will be in large part because they succeeded in engaging the civilian population and leveraging Iraq's tribes and tribal networks.

Tribal engagement, however, poses unique challenges deriving from the special demands of interacting with tribal communities whose norms, values, and forms of social organization diverge, in many ways, from those of non-tribal society. To succeed in this environment, it helps to have more than just a passing familiarity with the historical and social sciences literature on tribes and tribalism in Iraq and the Arab world. But ultimately there is no substitute for time on the ground with Iraqis, learning through dialog and observation about the history, inner life, and politics of the tribes of Iraq, and establishing through trial and error what engagement techniques do and do not work.

Finally, while tribal engagement lessons learned in Iraq may apply elsewhere, this should not be assumed to be the case. Every tribal society is unique in its history, its internal dynamics and politics, and its relations with the outside world. Further research is required in Iraq and elsewhere in order to better understand the nature of this human diversity and its implications for future tribal engagement efforts. ***MR***

CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE: "A Greater Security Than Firearms"

Czech explorer and Orientalist Alois Musil (1868-1944) is famous for his books about his travels in the Arabian Peninsula during the first decades of the 20th century. Musil faced many dangers on his journeys, not least from Bedouin raiders bent on booty and plunder who would not have thought twice about taking the life of a foreigner in the vast, empty expanses of the desert.

To defend against this threat, Musil made sure to ingratiate himself with the sheikhs of key tribes along his route of travel, and to procure from them the services of a local guide and a written pledge of safe passage through their tribal domains, which he could invoke when threatened.[94]

The guides were often able to distinguish "friendly" from hostile raiding parties at a distance through their knowledge of local personalities and customs, enabling Musil to quickly determine what kind of approach was appropriate for dealing with the raiders.[95]

When attacked by a raiding party from a "friendly" tribe (that of a sheikh who had promised him safe passage or of an allied tribe), Musil would invoke the local sheikh's name and remind the raiders that violation of a sheikh's pledge of safe passage would dishonor the sheikh and could lead to the violator's expulsion from the tribe.[96] If this did not work or if the raiding party was from a hostile tribe, Musil would warn them that his sponsor would be honor-bound to seek revenge if any members of his party were harmed, or stolen property was not returned.[97]

Nonetheless, travel in the desert remained dangerous, even for as savvy a traveler as Musil, for as he was once warned by a friendly sheikh, there were always brigands and outlaw tribes that would not honor a pledge of safe passage.[98]

Musil's experience demonstrates the importance of knowing the cultural "rules of the road," of seeking out knowledgeable and dependable locals as guides, and of surviving by one's wits rather than by force of arms.

Musil's ability to talk his way out of many difficult situations led the anthropologist Louise Sweet to observe that, when confronted with a Bedouin raiding party, Musil's "shrewd use of the rules of intertribal relations was a greater security than firearms."[99] Or to put it in the modern Soldier's vernacular: cultural knowledge is the ultimate in force protection.

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NOTES

1. LTC Kurt Wheeler, "Good News in Al Anbar?" *Marine Corps Gazette*, April 2007, 36-40; Sean D. Naylor, "Jumping the Fence: Tribal 'Awakening' Brings Troops—and Hurdles," *Army Times*, 4 June 2007, 8-11.

2. Dale F. Eickelman, *The Middle East: An Anthropological Approach* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989), 126-150; Charles F. Swagman, "Tribe and Politics: An Example from Highland Yemen," *Journal of Anthropological Research*, Vol. 44, No. 3, Autumn 1988, 251-261. In the Middle East, Arab, Kurdish, and Turkmen tribes are organized along claimed patrilineal (male) lines of descent; tribes elsewhere may be organized along claimed patrilineal, matrilineal (female), or cognatic (male and female) lines of descent. Marshall D. Sahlins, *Tribesmen* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1968), 49.

3. In late 18th- and early 19th-century Iraq, townsmen often joined the nearest tribe for purposes of protection. Hanna Batatu, *The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978), 73. Likewise, a study of the Beni Isad tribe in the early 1950s found that many lineages and clans were of "foreign" origin (i.e., they were not original members of the tribe). The usual reasons given for leaving one tribe for another were disputes over land or compensation or a desire for better protection. Shakir Moustafa Salim, *Marsh Dwellers of the Euphrates Delta* (New York: The Humanities Press, 1962), 45.

4. Batatu, 41; Lois Beck, *The Qashqa'i of Iran* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 11, 23, 204.

5. Sahlins, 20-27, 48-55.

6. Samira Haj, "The Problems of Tribalism: The Case of Nineteenth-Century Iraqi History," *Social History* 16, no. 1 (January 1991): 49-52.

7. Charles Lindholm, "Kinship Structure and Political Authority: The Middle East and Central Asia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 28, no. 2 (April 1986): 334-355.

8. Salim, 44; Robert A. Fernea, *Shaykh and Effendi: Changing Patterns of Authority Among the El Shabana of Southern Iraq* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), 103-105.

9. Fernea, 101-104, 105-110; Salim, 14-15, 27-29.

10. The traditional tribal status hierarchy among the Bedouin is, in descending order of rank: camel herders, sheep herders, farmers, marsh dwellers, tinkers/smiths, and gypsy tribes. Batatu, 68-70; John Glubb, *Arabian Adventures: Ten Years of Joyful Service* (London: Cassell, 1978), 37, 51.

11. For the distinctions between tribal values, processes, and organization, see Richard T. Antoun, "Civil Society, Tribal Process, And Change in Jordan: An Anthropological View," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, No. 32 (2000), 441-463.

12. As a former cavalry squadron commander who served in Iraq observed, "First and foremost, tribes will protect their own. Individuals willing to provide information about insurgents or criminals would do so about members of other tribes, but never about members of their own." Lieutenant Colonel Ross A. Brown, "Commander's Assessment: South Baghdad," *Military Review* (January-February 2007): 29.

13. William Lancaster, *The Rwala Bedouin Today* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 128-131.

14. Fernea, *Sheikh and Effendi*, 77; Amatzia Baram, "Victory in Iraq, One Tribe at a Time," *New York Times*, 28 October 2003, A25.

15. For more on the institution of the blood feud and mechanisms for regulating and resolving such conflicts, see Joseph Ginat, *Blood Disputes Among Bedouin and Rural Arabs in Israel: Revenge, Mediation, Outcasting and Family Honor* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1987). For more on tribal warfare, see Montgomery McFate, "The 'Memory of War': Tribes and the Legitimate Use of Force in Iraq," in Jeffrey H. Norwitz (ed.) *Armed Groups: Studies in National Security, Counterterrorism, and Counterinsurgency*, forthcoming.

16. Former deputy director of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) Office of Provincial Outreach LTC Alan King claims that "the Iraqi people spoke often of tribal law, but I only witnessed its application in the most remote and rural areas of the country." By contrast, former British CPA official Rory Stewart noted, "Almost every crime in the villages [in southern Iraq] was tried and settled by the sheikhs." R. Alan King, *Twice Armed: An American Soldier's Battle for Hearts and Minds in Iraq* (St. Paul, MN: Zenith Press, 2006), 178; Rory Stewart, *The Prince of the Marshes* (Orlando: Harcourt Books, 2006), 219-220.

17. King, 17.

18. This is true for both Arab and Kurdish tribes in Iraq. Fernea, 14; Salim, 44; Hosham Dawood, "The 'State-ization' of the Tribe and the Tribalization of the State: the Case of Iraq," in Faleh A. Jabar and Hosham Dawood, *Tribes and Power: Nationalism and Ethnicity in the Middle East* (London: Saqi, 2003), 115-116, 133-134; and Martin van Bruinessen, *Agha, Shaikh and State: The Social and Political Structures of Kurdistan* (London: Zed Books, 1992), 59-64.

19. See, for instance: 'Abbas al-'Azzawi, *'Asha'ir al-'Iraq* (The Tribes of Iraq) (Baghdad, 1937), three volumes; 'Abd al-Jalil al-Tahir, *al-Asha'ir al-'Iraqiyya* (The Tribes of Iraq) (Baghdad, 1972); 'Ali al-Wardi, *Lamahat Ijtima'iyya min Tarikh al-Iraq al-Hadith* (Social Aspects of the Modern History of Iraq), (Baghdad, 1972), six volumes; Thamir 'Abd al-Hassan al-'Amiri, *Mawsu'at al-'Asha'ir al-'Iraqiyya* (The Encyclopedia of Iraqi Tribes) (Baghdad, 1992-1995), nine volumes; and 'Abed 'Awn al-Rawdan, *Mawsu'at 'Asha'ir al-'Iraq: Tarikh, Ansab, Rijalat, Ma'athir* (Encyclopedia of the Tribes of Iraq: History, Lineage, Personalities, and Exploits) (Amman: Al-Ahliyya Publishing, 2003), two volumes.

20. It is interesting to note that during the occupation and Mandate (1914-1932), the British never conducted a detailed survey of the land and peoples of the area that was to become the state of Iraq. The resultant lack of empirical data was a major hindrance to the effective administration of these territories and to the formulation of effective tribal policies by the British, and it led to policies based on culturally grounded preconceptions and stereotypes about the nature of Iraqi society. Toby Dodge, *Inventing Iraq: The Failure of Nation Building and a History Denied* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), xi, 43, 63.

21. King, 182-183. King relates an episode in which he was made an "honorary sheikh" by one of the larger tribes of Iraq. He states that "when word spread among the sheiks that I had accepted this honor, many expressed their animosity. One prominent sheik bluntly said to me, 'You are like a sheik-of-sheiks in this country. Why would you accept to be identified with one specific tribe over the rest?'"

22. SGT Christopher Alexander, CPT Charles Kyle, MAJ William S. McCallister, "The Iraqi Insurgent Movement," Unpublished Paper, 14 November 2003, 19-20. In one recent episode, the sheikh of the Albu Alwan tribe near Ramadi complained to a U.S. commander about a rival tribe's domination of the local council, exclaiming, "We are a bigger tribe than they are, so how can a majority be ruled by a minority? Where is democracy?" Yaroslav Trofimov, "To Find Peace in Sunni Triangle, Talk to the Sheiks," *The Wall Street Journal*, 5 November 2003, A1.

23. Lawrence noted this tendency among the tribal warriors of the Arab Revolt: "We could not mix or combine tribes, because of their distrusts; nor could we use one in the territory of another." T. E. Lawrence, *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom: A Triumph* (New York: Doubleday, 1926), 338.

24. Dawn Chatty, *From Camel to Truck: The Bedouin in the Modern World* (New York: Vantage Press, 1986), 52. According to Chatty, "Arab life is filled with interpersonal rivalry, tribal feuds...family and village quarrels...and intergroup hostility.... Politeness is a means of maintaining enough distance to prevent aggressive tendencies from becoming actual. Hospitality and generosity are means of demonstrating friendliness while warding off expected aggression. Such measures as excessive politeness (a form of avoidance) or hospitality (a form of ingratiation in a situation where intimacy cannot be avoided) appears at times to be absolutely necessary if social life is to be maintained."

25. Michael M. Ripinsky, "Middle Eastern Kinship as an Expression of a Culture-Environment System," *The Muslim World* 58 (1968), 225-241. The Arabs—and Iraqis in particular—have among the highest rates of endogamy in the world (though rates vary by country, socioeconomic class, and religion). While reliable data is hard to come by, rates of endogamy for the entire region are believed to be between 10 to 15 percent, while in some tribal groups, they may exceed 70 percent. Eickelman, 175-178; Fernea, 181-182; Salim, 48-49; A. H. Bittles, "A Background Summary of Consanguineous Marriage," <http://consang.net/images/d/dd/01AHBWeb3.pdf>.

26. McFate, *Memory of War,* forthcoming.

27. Fernea, 88-89, 112; Salim, 51-54. In some parts of the Arab world, the payment of blood money was prolonged interminably to create an open debt, thereby perpetuating the relationship and ensuring the maintenance of peace between formerly aggrieved parties. Immediate payment of the debt would have signified the end of the relationship and the resumption of hostilities. Emrys L. Peters, "Some Structural Aspects of the Feud Among the Camel-Herding Bedouin of Cyrenaica," *Africa* 37, no. 3 (July 1967): 266-267.

28. Fernea, 90; Peters, 277-279. Not always, however. Salim reports that the entire Beni Isad tribe "rose up as one man" to participate in a war against a neighboring tribe in 1945. Salim, 43.

29. Fernea, 110-111, 119; Amatzia Baram, *Building Toward Crisis: Saddam Hussein's Strategy for Survival* (Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1998), 28-29.

30. Fernea, 110-111; Salim, 43.

31. McFate, *Memory of War,* forthcoming.

32. This pattern was first noted by the medieval Arab thinker Ibn Khaldun: "The Bedouins are the least willing of the nations to subordinate themselves to each other, as they are rude, proud, ambitious, and eager to be the leaders. Their individual aspirations rarely coincide. But when there is religion (among them) through prophethood or sainthood, then they have some restraining influence in themselves. The qualities of haughtiness and jealousy leave them. It is, then, easy for them to subordinate themselves and unite." Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), 120.

33. Andrew J. Shryock, "Popular Genealogical Nationalism: History Writing and Identity among the Balqa Tribes of Jordan," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37, no. 2 (April 1995), 346.

34. David Kilcullen, "Religion and Insurgency," *Small Wars Journal: SWJ Blog*, 12 May 2007, <www.smallwarsjournal.com/blog/2007/05/religion-and-insurgency/>.

35. The author would like to thank Montgomery McFate for this insight.

36. Batatu, 71-72; Fernea, 101. As an expression of this territoriality, Bedouins in times past would often extract tribute (*khawa*—literally 'brotherhood' money) from travelers and caravans passing through their tribal domain. Glubb, 60.

37. Chatty, 44.

38. Lars Wahlin, "Inheritance of Land in the Jordanian Hill Country," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 21, no. 1 (1994): 77-78.

39. Amatzia Baram, "Neo-Tribalism in Iraq: Saddam Hussein's Tribal Policies 1991-96," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29 (1997): 4-6.

40. Wahlin, 80.

41. Agence France Presse (AFP), "Competition for Iraq Oil Contracts Spurs Tribal Clashes," 22 January 2004.

42. Baram, "Neo-Tribalism," 1-31.

43. In the past, sheikhs were also responsible for collecting taxes, registering births and deaths, and arresting military deserters. Batatu, 63-152; Fernea, 105-117, 131, 133-136, 143-145; and Lancaster, 80-84, 87-90, 92-94, 114-115, 127-131. See also Gabriel Baer, "The Village Shaykh, 1800-1950," in *Studies in the Social History of Modern Egypt* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969), 30-61, and Paul Dresch, "The Position of Shaykhs Among the Northern Tribes of Yemen, *Man* (N.S.) 19, 31-49.

44. Batatu, 63-152; Fernea, 105-117, 133-135; Lancaster, 80-96; Baram, "Neo-Tribalism in Iraq," 3-4.

45. Lancaster, 96; Chatty, 55.

46. Glubb, 159.

47. Anthony Shadid, "In a Land Without Order, Punishment is Power," *Washington Post*, 22 October 2006, A1.

48. See, for instance, Peter Sluglett, *Britain in Iraq: Contriving King and Country* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 161-181.

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49. Ken Menkhaus, *Somalia: State Collapse and the Threat of Terrorism,* London: IISS, 2004, Adelphi Paper 364, 28-31; Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil & Fundamentalism in Central Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 207-208.

50. Baram, "Neo-Tribalism in Iraq," 6-7, 12-13.

51. CPT Travis Patriquin, "The Ba'ath Party and the Insurgency in Tal Afar," *Military Review* (January-February 2007): 22-24.

52. Rory Stewart, *The Prince of the Marshes* (Orlando: Harcourt Books, 2006), 219-220. For many sheikhs, coalition contracts are their lifeblood. In the words of Sheikh Hamid Rashid Mahenna of the Albu Alwan tribe from Ramadi, "A sheik has no power without contracts. If I do not provide for my people, they will not cooperate with me." Rajiv Chandrasekaran, "In a Hostile Land, Try Whatever Works," *Washington Post*, 23 December 2003, A1.

53. Shadid, A1.

54. Mark Kukis, "Turning Iraq's Tribes Against Al-Qaeda," *Time*, 26 December 2006.

55. See, for instance: Amatzia Baram, "Victory in Iraq," A25; Andrew Krepinevich, "How to Win in Iraq," *Foreign Affairs* (September-October 2005): 87-104; Kenneth Pollack, "Five Ways to Win Back Iraq," *New York Times*, 1 July 2005, A17; Montgomery McFate, "The Military Utility of Understanding Adversary Culture," *Joint Forces Quarterly*, Issue 38, 42-48; King, 178; Lieutenant Colonel Richard D. Welch, "Building Cultural Bridges: A Year in Iraq with the First Cavalry Division," Personal Experience Monograph, U.S. Army War College, 23 March 2006; McCallister et al., "The Iraqi Insurgent Movement," unpublished paper.

56. Bing West, *No True Glory: A Frontline Account of the Battle for Fallujah* (New York: Bantam Books, 2005), 33.

57. Mark Etherington, *Revolt on the Tigris: The Al-Sadr Uprising and the Governing of Iraq* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 104. Published polls are consistent with Etherington's CPA polling data. See: International Republican Institute, *Survey of Iraqi Public Opinion*, July 24-August 2, 2004, 27, 33; IRI, *Survey of Iraqi Public Opinion*, September 24-October 4, 2004, 42; IRI, *Survey of Iraqi Public Opinion*, November 24-December 5, 2004, 37, 38; IRI, *Survey of Iraqi Public Opinion*, December 26-January 7, 2005, 40, <www.iri.org/mena/iraq.asp>.

58. King, 161-166, 180; Operational Leadership Experiences Interview with LTC Paul Yingling, Combat Studies Institute, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, 22 September 2006, and; Tulin Daloglu, "Freeing Jill Carroll: Iraqi Sheik Negotiated Behind the Scenes," *Washington Times*, 5 April 2006, 19.

59. Martin Rodriguez, Andrew Farnster, and John Bott, *Constructive Engagement: A Proven Method for Conducting Stability and Support Operations*, Association of the United States Army Institute of Land Warfare, Landpower Essay No. 07-1, February 2007, 2-3, 5; MAJ Morgan Mann, "The Power Equation: Using Tribal Politics in Counterinsurgency," *Military Review* (May-June 2007): 104, 106; Sudarsan Raghavan, "In Iraq, A Perilous Alliance with Former Enemies," *Washington Post*, 4 August 2007, A1, A12.

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62. Elaine M. Grossman, "'Tribal Engagement' Has Mixed Record of Ups and Downs in Iraq," *Inside the Pentagon*, 7 June 2007.

63. Steven D. Levitt and Stephen J. Dubner, *Freakonomics: A Rogue Economist Investigates the Hidden Side of Everything* (New York: HarperCollins, 2005), xi, 13, 205.

64. Congressional testimony of David M. Walker, *Rebuilding Iraq: Governance, Security, Reconstruction, and Financing Challenges*, Government Accountability Office Report No. 06-697T, 25 April 2006, 12-13. See also *Report to Congress of the Special Inspector General for Iraq*, 30 July 2006, 27.

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66. AFP, "The Fight for Oil Pipelines in Iraq," 12 September 2003; AFP, "Competition for Iraq Oil Contracts Spurs Tribal Clashes," 22 January 2004; Robert Collier, "Ethnically Diverse Oil Zone a Tinderbox," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 25 June 2004; Adam Handelsman, "BlastGard International, Inc. Completes Successful Oil Pipeline Test," BlastGard International Press Release, 6 December 2004, <www.blastgardintl.com/pdfs/pipeline_test_results.pdf>; Roger Brown, "Iraq's Pipeline War," *World Pipelines* 5, no. 5, (May 2005): 28-31; Samah Samad, "Tribes Accused of Iraq Oil Protection Racket," *Environment News Service*, 10 June 2005; Radio Free Iraq, "Judge Describes Corruption Case Against Lawmaker," RFE/RL Interview, 8 February 2006; and Philip Shishkin, "Pipeline Thefts Cripple Iraqi Oil Production," *Wall Street Journal*, 25 May 2007, A1, A13.

67. Naylor, 8-11.

68. William H. McMichael, "Odierno: Negotiations with Insurgents Underway," *Army Times*, 11 June 2007, 10; Thomas E. Ricks, "Deals in Iraq Make Friends of Enemies," *Washington Post*, 20 July 2007, A1; Raghavan, A12.

69. Naylor, 9-10.

70. Joshua Partlow and John Ward Anderson, "Tribal Coalition in Anbar Said to Be Crumbling," *Washington Post*, 11 June 2007, A11.

71. Rodriguez et al., 1, 6. Similarly, SGT Mounir Elkhamri noted, based on observations during his time in Iraq, that "the most effective [units] were always the ones with close ties to the local community." "Dealing with the Iraqi Populace: An Arab-American Soldier's Perspective," *Military Review* (January-February 2007): 113.

72. This estimate is based on the author's interviews with several dozen Soldiers and Marines who have served in Iraq.

73. The author was responsible for engagement in a Kurdish refugee camp along the border of Turkey and Iraq during Operation Provide Comfort (1991), and it was this experience that prompted his interest in tribal engagement.

74. See, for instance, late CPA senior advisor Ambassador Hume Horan's affirmation during a meeting with a large group of sheikhs in 2003 that U.S. forces came to Iraq as "occupiers," which provoked an angry response from the audience. King, 108-109. Horan was one of the U.S. foreign service's most knowledgeable and experienced Middle East hands, and while his statement may have been an accurate characterization of the status of coalition forces under international law, he probably should have known better than to have used a term so fraught with negative associations in the Arab world.

75. Michael Eisenstadt and Jeffrey White, "Fighting the War to Win the Peace in a Post-Saddam Iraq, Washington Institute for Near East Policy," *PolicyWatch* No. 739, 2 April 2003, <www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC05.php?CID=1617>.

76. Lawrence, 275.

77. According to a Special Forces team sergeant in Iraq: "These insurgencies are defeated by personal relationships." Ann Scott Tyson, "In a Volatile Region of Iraq, U.S. Military Takes Two Paths," *Washington Post*, 15 September 2006, A1.

78. Elkhamri, 111.

79. King, 82-83, 90-91, 121-123; Rodriguez, et al., 5.

80. Rodriguez, et al., 2.

81. Thomas E. Ricks, "Tom Ricks's Inbox," *Washington Post*, 29 April 2007, B03.

82. Ferrea, 80-81, 97-104, 192-193; Wahlin, 57-84; Lars Wahlin, "How Long has Land Been Privately Held in Northern Al-Balqa', Jordan?" *Geografiska Annaler*, 76 B:1 (1994), 33-49; and A. Granott, *The Land System in Palestine: History and Structure* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1952), 185-212.

83. The strip parcel system should not be confused with strip farming, which is an anti-erosion measure. See Granott, 208-212.

84. See, for instance, the hamlet north of Yusufiya in north Babil province at 33° 00' 41.52" N by 44° 22 ' 24.47" E; the village outside of Rumaytha in al-Muthanna province at 31°28' 20.42" N by 45°19' 07.90" E; the community on the outskirts of Habbaniyah in al-Anbar province at 33°25' 37.72" N by 43°31' 33.52" E; the community just outside of Taji in Salah al-Din province at 33°38' 14.70" N by 44°21' 20.56" E; and the village just north of Balad in Salah al-Din province at 34°04' 50.98" N by 44°05' 22.28" E.

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86. Jacob Kipp, Lester Grau, Karl Prinslow, and CPT Don Smith, "The Human Terrain System: A CORDS for the 21st Century," *Military Review* (September-October 2006): 8-15; Robert M. Perito, *Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Iraq*, United States Institute of Peace, Special Report 185, March 2007.

87. COL Christopher Costa, "Phoenix Rises Again: HUMINT Lessons for Counter-insurgency Operations," *Defense Intelligence Journal* 15, no. 1 (2006): 137.

88. King, 110.

89. See, for instance, Patriquin, 22-24; and Susan B. Glasser, "Sheik's Appointment by British Triggers Protests and Accusations," *Washington Post*, 11 April 2003, A29.

90. See, for instance, Ann Scott Tyson, "In a Volatile Region of Iraq, U.S. Military Takes Two Paths," *Washington Post*, 15 September 2006, A1.

91. In Arab society, trusted and respected outsiders—even non-Arabs—may be called upon to mediate and resolve feuds. See, for instance, Ginat, 10-12, 32-37, 126-127; Wilfred Thesiger, *The Marsh Arabs* (London: Penguin, 1967), 213-219.

92. The author of an article offering guidelines for hiring Bedouin tribesmen for government conservation and development projects cautions that "it should not be assumed that an intertribal legal structure exits [sic] for allocating [jobs] fairly, or that tribal or clan leaders will decide in a just fashion which people within the kinship group should get those jobs. Indigenous leaders may not always act appropriately on behalf of their constituents, and may choose their own sons or other people to whom they owe favors. Ironically, the best arbitrator may sometimes come from outside, with project personnel in the best position to make fair decisions. This process requires careful diplomacy and explanation, especially to indigenous leaders, to ensure that local sensibilities are acknowledged. In [the case in question] a park ranger, specifically hired for the task because he had anthropological training, conducted interviews with community guard candidates, selected them, and had tribal leaders approve the choices. This process worked with few complications and had the locals' approval because they acknowledged that their own institutions could not deal fairly with the problem." Joseph J. Hobbs, "Guidelines for the Involvement of Nomadic Pastoralists in Conservation and Development Efforts," in Dawn Chatty, ed., *Nomadic Societies in the Middle East and North Africa: Entering the 21st Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 796-797.

93. For a fascinating discussion of the debate among British administrators regarding the role of the sheikhs and the tribes in Mandatory Iraq, which in many ways prefigured the contemporary debate, see Dodge, *Inventing Iraq*, 101-129. See also Sluglett, *Britain in Iraq*, 161-181.

94. Alois Musil, *Arabia Deserta* (New York: American Geographical Soiety, 1927), 22.

95. Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 77; and Alois Musil, *The Northern Hegaz* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1926), 73-74.

96. Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 26-29.

97. Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 275, 299-300; Musil, *The Northern Hegaz,* 117-118.

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Money as a Force Multiplier in COIN

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BEFORE OPERATION AL FAJR, the second battle of Fallujah (in November-December 2004), an estimated 4,000 insurgents roamed the streets of Fallujah, Iraq, killing government soldiers and policemen and essentially turning the city into a rebel stronghold. They could do so not just because of their numbers and ruthlessness, but because they derived significant strength from the local population. In essence, the people provided the insurgents with the recruits and support necessary to thrive and move freely within the battlespace.

To attack this strength, the Marine Corps' Regimental Combat Team 1 (RCT-1) would use a powerful weapon—money—to drive a wedge between the insurgents and the people and help win the second battle of Fallujah. In particular, the combat team's civil affairs units influenced the people by providing money to alleviate their immediate needs, settle grievances, and reduce frustration arising during the course of the battle. At the same time, the units developed long-term reconstruction efforts to help local Iraqi leaders gain control of the area. In this way, RCT-1 built legitimacy for coalition forces and further increased rifts between insurgents and their much-needed popular support. These actions reduced the enemy's base of operations and ability to maneuver.[1] As this article will show, RCT-1 civil affairs units wielded financial power as a combat multiplier and reduced the enemy's overall combat potential.[2]

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PHOTO: U.S. Marine Corps Scout Platoon, Regimental Combat Team 1 (RCT-1) Marines load their high-mobility multipurpose wheeled vehicles (HMMWVs) at the civil military operations center in preparation for a patrol through the city of Fallujah, Al Anbar Province, Iraq, on 26 December 2004, during Operation Iraqi Freedom. (U.S. Marine Corps, LCPL Ryan B. Busse)

The author would like to thank team leaders Major Henegar and CWO3 Reese for contributing pictures.

Setting Conditions for Success

The initial program to provide money for Iraqi relief and reconstruction was strategically oriented and designed for deliberately planned, long-term reconstruction projects. A modification to the program was needed to allow the use of money in a tactical mode as a mechanism to act on the immediate needs of civilians and to respond to grievances. The change would set the conditions for operational success

Building capability. For Operation Al Fajr, RCT-1 designed a system to allow the immediate payment of money to Iraqis. The system was built around civil affairs elements that contained all the pieces necessary to approve and make on-the-spot payments in a field environment. RCT-1 civil affairs designated one Marine as a paying agent with $50,000 in cash on hand and a second Marine to execute contracts of up to $3,000 without having to use normal project-approval procedures.[3] This gave the Marines a mechanism similar to a petty cash system to make immediate, discretionary payments as the need arose.

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Previously, securing funds required approval at division level or higher and, once approved, cash payments had to be made by a paying agent from the disbursing office. Redundant checks and balances and centralized fiduciary oversight at the division level had created a cumbersome, bottlenecked approval system. The process required submission of electronic documents to 1st Marine Division headquarters in Ramadi for approval and often took several days to complete.[4] This time lag between identifying a need and disbursing money was an unacceptable operational delay that made outcomes far less effective. If one views the delivery of such funds as analogous to force targeting, then identification-to-execution delays caused Marines to miss a high-profile target while they waited for permission to engage it. Such delays often nullified the money option, especially for fleeting targets of opportunity.[5]

Designated financial officers and comptrollers understandably sought tight accountability of money because of the potential for the misuse of funds in Iraq's chaotic environment. Thus, they built the funding process around centralized financial control, which included earmarking money for projects in Al Anbar province (where Fallujah is located) prior to authorizing its use. For Al Fajr, however, effective disbursement required delegating control to Marines in contact who were in the best position to influence events as they unfolded. Decentralizing control improved disbursement timeliness and allowed Marines to make immediate transactions to influence events. This streamlined execution proved pivotal.

Delegation of authority was limited to a maximum of $3,000 per use, a sum that paid for most high-impact projects requiring rapid execution. By design, the $3,000 limit excluded long-term reconstruction programs—for such undertakings, Marines used normal approval procedures.[6] This limited approach struck a good balance between responsiveness and control; it decentralized approval for high-impact ventures needing quick execution, yet maintained centralized approval for more costly deliberate reconstruction.

Despite decentralizing controls, RCT-1 preserved accountability by having two Marines in the payment process, one letting contracts and the other dispensing money. Submitting all payment vouchers and contract records to the division on a regular basis provided additional accountability. In the end, the integrity of Marines in money-handling positions ensured the money was used properly.

Funding pipelines. In a report to the U.S. Congress, the Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction (SIGIR) grouped funding sources that supported Iraq relief and reconstruction into three categories: U.S.-appropriated funds, international donor funds, and Iraqi funds. As of 30 June 2006, the combined funds totaled over $85.4 billion.[7] Each category contained subcategories of funds that were received through different means, including seized assets from the old Saddam Hussein regime, Iraqi national government budgets or grants, and pledges or accounts from coalition partners, the world community, and international governments. The various funds' sources and intended uses determined how they could be spent.

For example, in the international donor funds category, multiple non-U.S. donors pledged money for Iraq relief



USMC, CWO3 Reese

Civilian contractors set up of water tanks during Operation Al Fajr, January 2005.

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and reconstruction. This money went into a trust under the auspices of the World Bank, and funds went to projects through a local staff of 800 UN representatives.[8]

In the Iraqi funds category, the money in the subcategory of development funds for Iraq (DFI) was "drawn primarily from [Iraqi] oil proceeds and repatriated funds."[9] The "CPA [Coalition Provisional Authority] established DFI with UN concurrence to serve as the primary financial vehicle for channeling revenue from Iraqi oil sales . . . and repatriated Iraqi assets to the relief and reconstruction efforts of Iraq."[10]

In the U.S.-appropriated funds category, the subcategory Commander's Emergency Response Program (CERP) served as a funding channel specifically for military commanders. CERP is "a program that [allows] coalition military commanders to respond rapidly to urgent humanitarian, relief, and reconstruction needs in their geographic areas of responsibility."[11] According to the SIGIR, "The aim of CERP... [is] highly visible projects that yield immediate benefits and nurture positive relations with the local populace."[12] CERP gives the coalition flexibility and accessibility to funds and so has become an important tool for the commander. Also in the U.S.-appropriated funds category is the subcategory of Iraq security force funds (ISFF), which allocates money to establish Iraqi security forces. Accordingly, the rules for ISFF limit the money's use to that purpose.



USMC, Capt Henegar

Iraqis unload humanitarian goods during Operation Al Fajr, January 2005.

The funding lines described above have supported relief and reconstruction efforts, each with its own purpose and guidelines for use. Relief and reconstruction funding involves the UN, the U.S. Agency for International Development, and the U.S. Departments of State, Defense, Treasury, and Health and Human Services.[13] In the fall of 2004, the array of funding lines and agencies involved, each with a different objective, created a challenging environment. Maximizing financial power required understanding what funds were available and how to obtain them. For instance, CERP funds often dried up quickly because of their popularity and ease of use. Thus, a command that relied only on CERP ran the risk of an interrupted money flow. Establishing multiple resource lines and creating a financing cell within the command helped RCT-1 maintain a steady funding stream. RCT-1 civil affairs teams understood the system and worked multiple funding lines to avoid interruptions. The steady flow of money was essential for the unit's success on the battlefield.

Using money on the battlefield. Drawing civilian support away from insurgents was the goal, but it was a tricky endeavor. Cultural and language barriers made progress difficult. Success came slowly and required persistent, time-consuming, resource-heavy efforts, but frequently resulted in small gains, or even setbacks. Commanders had to balance the effort with competing priorities, specifically, the desire to eliminate enemy forces through kinetic means. Moreover, insurgents placed a high value on civilian support for their operations, and they did their best to undermine coalition efforts with the local population. But in the battle for legitimacy, money employed effectively against the insurgency provided RCT-1 with an economy of force measure—a cheap yet effective method for pulling community support away from the insurgents.

Selecting effective targets. RCT-1 sought targets that offered the best opportunities for financial leverage. Careful target selection proved as important as combat power. Civil affairs teams preferred to have a large number of lower-cost projects. More projects

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meant wider coverage and more people involved. These projects also had better completion rates, and they got money to people quicker to attend to needs faster. Larger-scale projects were vulnerable to insurgent sabotage because they were complex, took much longer, and were more visible.

This small-project approach also created more opportunities to engage civilians constructively and promote positive perceptions. More frequent opportunities to talk with civilians under good circumstances helped build relationships that often yielded actionable intelligence.[14] Sometimes, the financial targeting's real objective was to bolster local leaders' prestige, help them build credibility, and enable them to better control their areas and constituents.[15] Local leaders were often powerful allies who were crucial to attracting people to the coalition. With their positions and status, they influenced broad audiences. Projects aimed at civil, religious, business, and tribal leaders and at town elders, technocrats, and medical and legal representatives were critical in settling intractable grievances.

The high unemployment in Al Anbar province was another target, particularly in areas the insurgents hit heaviest. Insurgents recruited those who were most disaffected by the economy: unemployed military-aged males. Short-term, labor-intensive projects were the best way to counter such recruiting.[16] When Marines evaluated project proposals, they usually chose the one that offered the most local jobs because it would have the greatest impact on reducing the insurgent recruiting pool.

Unfortunately, most reconstruction projects only generate employment that lasts for the duration of the project, after which the jobs expire. Programs that created long-term jobs would have been ideal in Al Anbar, but they were difficult to initiate due to restrictions on the use of CERP funds. (CERP cannot fund projects that enhance an individual's personal gain, e.g., funds cannot be used to help a private business).[17]

To promote the growth of long-term jobs, RCT-1 civil affairs proposed offering business grants tied to job creation. This program would have provided money to businesses that planned to grow in a way that directly added jobs. Providing assets to assist or create new businesses was also part of the proposal. For example, it would have given a welding machine or a bread-baking oven to an Iraqi to enable him to start a new business that employed others. This approach could have had a significant benefit. By giving away equipment, not money, it would have been easy to account for its use. Unfortunately, restrictions on CERP funds remained, and Marines in the field could not act on these proposals.

Throughput of Projects and Reach of Force

Throughput was the constraining factor for the "more projects, low-cost" scheme. A civil affairs team could only manage a limited number of projects effectively at one time. RCT-1's civil affairs detachment added two additional teams, which enabled it to execute more projects and cover a larger geographical area.[18] However, only civil affairs Marines and a few Seabees were permitted to disburse money in Fallujah.[19] Allowing Marines who had daily contact with civilians to pay out money might have worked better, but doing so would have required an even more decentralized control structure—a tough sell to the comptrollers.

RCT-1 built important connections to civilians, and effective throughput over a wider area reinforced those relationships via quick responses to local needs. When the Marines made things happen, civilians saw that Americans kept their promises. The ability to resolve problems better than the insurgents gave the Marines an advantage in building legitimacy and public support.[20] Establishing relationships with civilians dovetailed with the 1st Marine Division commanding general's mantra, "Marines, no better friend, no worse enemy."[21]

Shaping the battlefield and assisting civilians. In Al Fajr, Marines gave money to displaced Iraqis to ease their hardship. This helped to expedite evacuation and shape the environment.[22] The money enabled displaced persons to purchase items from the local economy while away from Fallujah, reducing the coalition's requirement to provide humanitarian assistance at a later point. In the short term, removing civilians from contested areas helped Marines identify insurgents and limit their mobility, and it reduced the chances of unintended civilian casualties. Furthermore, dislocated civilians helped spread the coalition's message by word of mouth to other areas, adding value to the information operations (IO) campaign.

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A civil affairs unit evacuates civilians from Fallujah during Operation Al Fajr, November 2004.

Humanitarian crises tie up military resources and force immediate responses, often with a minimal return on investment.[23] Avoiding them is also critical because insurgents exploit crises to their advantage. These situations promote instability, create fertile ground for enemy recruiting, demonstrate the local government's inability to care for its people, and bring the people closer to the insurgents by estranging them from a government unable to ensure their well-being.

Money not only helped prevent the development of humanitarian assistance problems in Fallujah, but it also provided flexible response options to contain problems. Marines used local resources to solve problems when they occurred instead of doing it themselves. During the battle, for instance, a civil affairs team purchased supplies locally, and Iraqi merchants delivered them. Marines on patrol also distributed supplies when they saw needy people in the city and in Saqlawiyah, a neighboring town.[24] In this case, money directly built goodwill with significant economy of effort.

Reconstruction. Given the extent of the damage to Fallujah, it was surprising how fast the city was rebuilt after the assault. Key infrastructure was restored within weeks, and stopgap measures to provide essential services in lieu of repaired infrastructure were established prior to the city's repopulation.[25] Reconstruction money, especially with quick project throughput, was critical to success because it fostered positive public opinion for the Marines and the Iraqi Interim Government.[26]

Much of the success with reconstruction can be attributed to the Marines' decision to rebuild while they fought. In phase III of the battle (seize and secure the city), sewer-water pumping stations stopped functioning, contributing to significant citywide flooding.[27] Marine civil affairs teams paid Iraqi municipal workers to identify the stations' locations, which required the workers to enter the city. Initially, the workers were reluctant to go while combat operations were underway; however, money provided the necessary incentive. Afterwards, these workers were proud to say they had worked with the Marines. Indeed, they told other Iraqis that they had teamed up with the Marines to save infrastructure and houses—thereby delivering a powerful IO message from Iraqis to Iraqis.[28]

In this operation, civil affairs teams used on-hand reconstruction funds to hire Fallujan work parties to do a variety of tasks.[29] These parties helped clean up the city, alleviating the burden on the Marines to perform such activities, but more important, they provided employment and money for the economy during a critical time.



courtesy of author

Iraqi municipal workers work on a generator in a sewer water lift station during Operation Al Fajr, November 2004.

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USMC, Capt Henegar

Iraqi work-party morning formation in Fallujah.

Marines also provided each Iraqi head of household in the city with a $200 *solatia* (compensation) payment.[30] Over 33,000 Iraqis received this payment, which amounted to a total distribution of more than $6.6 million dollars in a one-week period.[31] The payment recalled a Marine experience in Vietnam at the Battle of Hue.[32] Such disbursements helped foster goodwill, jump-started the economy and the rebuilding effort, and focused the people's energy on reconstruction instead of trouble.[33]

During raids, civil affairs teams followed the assault elements to provide immediate payment to noncombatants who had incurred battle damage.[34] This proactive effort eliminated the requirement for civilians to make a claim at the civil military operations center (CMOC).[35] The CMOC often had long lines of claimants, and settling a solatia claim usually required multiple trips, creating delays and frustration. Immediate payment for damage after a raid eliminated grievances before the insurgents could exploit them.



DOD

Marines and Iraqi soldiers provide $200 solatia payments to all heads of household during Operation Al Fajr.

The guiding principle for civil affairs during phase IV (transition) was to focus on the people, not solely on reconstruction. Using money to eliminate grievances disarmed the enemy and stifled his initiative because insurgents particularly exploited the aggrieved segments of

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the population to build support for their cause. Information operations highlighted the insurgency's destructive nature by contrasting the coalition's efforts with the insurgents' propensity to destroy.

RCT-1 civil affairs knew that to win over civilians in the end, the coalition would have to help them see the situation improving as the insurgents were eliminated. While Marines aggressively sought out insurgents, they also monetarily assisted neutral parties caught up in the conflict. By doing this, Marines helped maintain popular support for the coalition and government forces.

Do's and Don'ts

When selecting projects or spending money in Fallujah, the civil affairs teams considered it important to—

- *Avoid larger, more expensive projects involving only a few people.* Many Iraqis saw such undertakings as favoritism, because the project benefitted only a small number of people.
- *Align projects with the people's needs to achieve a desired effect.* Those who selected projects for a far-removed area rarely knew what the people there needed. In fact, enterprises that seemed like a good idea from afar were often counterproductive. For example, Baghdad officials discussed building a high-cost, state-of-the-art sewer treatment plant in Fallujah. However, the Fallujans cared little about such a project, and it would not have added value to the effort to stabilize the area or win hearts and minds. In addition, the Fallujans lacked the technical expertise to run such a facility.
- *Use the local contractors, even if they are more expensive or do lower quality work.* In Fallujah, some contractors had worked in Baghdad, and so they tended to use workers from Baghdad as well. This did not sit well with the Fallujans.
- *Watch for undue corruption or graft.* Having to deal with a certain level of graft is always a cost of doing business in Iraq, but if it is excessive, a high percentage of it probably includes pay-offs to insurgents.
- *Attempt to gain local buy-in of projects with the city council and keep them informed of progress.* The city council can either facilitate or hinder the execution of a project, and the council gains credibility with the public for implementing it.
- *Spread-load contracts to promote fairness and expand reach.* Executing contracts in the CMOC or at a central location often leads to repeated use of the same contractors and employment of the same people, and it increases the chances of such criminal activity as stealing from contractors or intimidating them.[36]

Conclusion

In Fallujah, civil affairs achieved results with money by shaping public opinion and promoting legitimacy. Money provided options to solve local problems, resolve grievances, and reduce frustration. This financial leverage shored up support for the coalition and Iraqi officials by enhancing their credibility and their capability to respond to the local population's needs. It set favorable conditions to draw civilians away from the insurgency and kept "fence-sitters on the fence." Money also exposed the insurgents by stripping away their local support and stimulating dialogue that led to usable information about the enemy. Used wisely, money weakened the insurgency by countering its ability to promote its cause or exploit a situation.

In Iraq, units must be able to spend money in a timely manner. This is especially important when many relief organizations are not willing to enter an area due to security concerns or because they do not understand the local dynamics well enough to operate successfully in the region.[37]

Commanders asked much of their junior leaders in Fallujah, so arming them properly was important. These "strategic corporals" interacting with civilians on a daily basis needed more constructive and decisive methods to build relationships and engage the local population effectively. Passing out soccer balls and sunglasses was good, but making something useful happen that created a real difference in the life of Iraqis was a far better approach to winning hearts and minds. Money provided that ability. ***MR***

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NOTES

1. The author commanded Detachment 4-4, 4th Civil Affairs Group. Detachment 4-4 was assigned to Regimental Combat Team 1 (RCT-1) from August 2004 to March 2005, a period that included Operation Al Fajr, the second battle of Fallujah. Al Fajr, or "New Dawn," was the name of the November 2004 offensive to seize control of Fallujah. Originally, the name was Operation Phantom Fury, but it was changed early in the operation. The first battle to rid Fallujah of insurgents occurred as part of Operation Vigilant Resolve, in April 2004.

2. In a nonpermissive environment, civil affairs teams were usually the link between the "pots of money" designated for relief and reconstruction and the actual on-the-ground spending of money in a combat environment. This was especially important because most relief organizations outside the military, including nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), did not operate in nonpermissive environments.

3. First Marine Division promulgated this policy through Fragmentary Order 0364-04 during Operation Al Fajr. The order authorized civil affairs teams to conduct rapid funding of projects. After spending $50,000, the civil affairs team received a new allocation of money. This ensured that a steady flow of money was available and accessible in a field environment.

4. 1st Marine Division was located at Camp Blue Diamond in Ramadi, the capital of Al Anbar province.

5. The supporting arms field commonly used "targets of opportunity" to refer to lucrative opportunities that present themselves on the battlefield, usually unexpectedly, and which were typically perishable if not acted on quickly. As an example of using money in an unplanned but effective way, the RCT-1 commander gave $20.00 to an old Iraqi woman carrying groceries down the street of Fallujah, and he hailed a cab for her. He stated at the daily operations and intelligence brief that he had won a friend for life that day.

6. Marines used the normal funding approval process for long-term reconstruction projects not requiring immediate implementation, such as building a school.

7. Special Inspector General for Iraqi Reconstruction (SIGIR), *July 2006 Quarterly and Semiannual Report to Congress* (30 July 2006), 90. Congress created SIGIR to provide independent oversight of the Iraq Relief and Reconstruction Fund, one of the major U.S.-appropriated funds for Iraqi relief and reconstruction. The $85.4 billion included $36.2 billion of U.S. appropriated funds, $14.6 billion of international donor funds, and $34.6 billion of Iraqi funds.

8. Ibid., 93.

9. Ibid., 90.

10. Ibid., E2. Established shortly after the fall of Saddam Hussein's regime, the Coalition Provisional Authority served as an interim governing body for Iraq during the early stages of Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF).

11. Ibid., C4.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., C1, 22.

14. The reasons for this are beyond the scope of this paper. However, civil affairs teams operating in Fallujah repeatedly noticed a direct correlation between money exchanged with civilians and information received. Actionable intelligence included information about the location of improvised explosive devices, weapons caches, or persons intimidating others that led to the commander taking action based on information.

15. Civil affairs teams and unit commanders who were familiar with the local area and understood the atmospherics (see note below) knew which leaders to empower: the ones capable of swaying the people away from the insurgency and most likely to promote stability and local control. Marines felt that using civilian leaders became particularly important when trying to maintain an Iraqi "face" (message delivered by an Iraqi) in an area with respect to civil administration, public safety, and law enforcement. In the long run, this was consistent with the overall objective of gaining local support and the desired end state of transferring local control to the Iraqis. Note: "atmospherics" was a popular term used in OIF to describe the general, collective feel in an area in terms of civilian sentiment towards coalition forces or any issue involving the Iraqi national government. It was critical for the unit commanders to understand the atmospherics in their assigned zones. Indeed, it was often a matter of life and death to understand how the civilians felt about the coalition in a particular area and to know the degree of support that local Fallujans provided to the insurgents.

16. This does not include rebuilding critical infrastructure or improving force protection. These projects had priority and were based on other factors, such as quality of work and time to complete.

17. The inability to use Commander's Emergency Response Program (CERP) funds for assisting businesses was a major complaint of the civil affairs teams in Fallujah and limitations on CERP severely hampered economic development.

18. RCT-1's civil affairs detachment had five teams in the city of Fallujah and two in the surrounding areas. A civil affairs team in Fallujah consisted of four to eight Marines specially trained in civil affairs activities, with additional personnel attached or supporting. All teams were HMMWV-mobile, except for one at the civil-military operations center. The number of projects or initiatives a civil affairs team could effectively manage depended on both the operating environment (permissive/nonpermissive) and the size and complexity of the projects. Generally, a nonpermissive environment greatly limited the civil affairs teams' ability to manage projects. Indeed, the environment had much more of an impact on project management than project size or complexity.

19. Other than civil affairs Marines and a contracting cell from the Seabees of the Marine Expeditionary Force (MEF) Engineering Group, few Marines spent money on relief and reconstruction in Fallujah. Select senior Marines (battalion commanders and higher) were authorized to make on-the-spot payments. Staff judge advocates made *solatia* payments (see note 30 below for a description of solatia). In addition, a few Marines spent money to establish police, but the civil affairs teams generally let even these contracts.

20. Distributing projects to other units allowed for civil affairs assets to support other projects in an area. In a counterinsurgency, civil affairs assets are a high-demand, low-density force. The tight schedule in Al Fajr meant civil affairs forces often cut short valuable dialogue and relationship-building with civilians associated with a particular project. The demands of supporting numerous other projects left them limited time. This was unfortunate, since positive interaction with civilians can be more important than a project itself.

21. Major General James N. Mattis promulgated the slogan "Marines, no better friend, no worse enemy" in "1st Marine Division Standard Operating Procedures for Stability and Support Operations," dated 15 November 2003.

22. Because it provided the ability to obtain commercial transportation and a place to stay in another area, money made it easier for civilians to leave an area. During Al Fajr, many Fallujans went to the neighboring town of Saqlawiyah.

23. In OIF, humanitarian crises have significantly affected the planning factors of time, force, and space in operations; thus, a commander is well justified in taking preventive measures to avoid such situations.

24. Team 4, Detachment 4, 4th Civil Affairs Group, Command Chronology for January 2005 (Camp Baharia, Iraq, 11 February 2005), 4; and Team 4, Detachment 4, 4th Civil Affairs Group, Command Chronology for February 2005 (Camp Baharia, Iraq, 8 March 2005), 5.

25. 4th Civil Affairs Group, Command Chronology 2005 (Washington, DC, 15 July 2006), 9-10. The speed at which Fallujah restored itself became a powerful theater-wide information operations message that focused on the Iraqi Interim Government's and the coalition's concern for the local population.

26. The Iraqi Interim Government governed Iraq prior to the official elections in January 2005.

27. A number of causes led to massive flooding in Fallujah, including an inoperative sewer system, broken water lines, and high water from a nearly closed sluice gate on a dam on the Euphrates River.

28. Prior to the battle, RCT-1 civil affairs did not know that there was a sewer system for rainwater with nine powered lift stations in Fallujah. Continuous de-flooding became important because many parts of Fallujah were below the Euphrates River water table. The main purpose of the sewer system was to pump water from the Euphrates out of Fallujah, particularly when the river ran high. Employees from the water treatment plant outside the city provided the information and guides to find all nine lift stations. The flooding in the streets created a natural obstacle and caused major problems for the RCT-1 commander to maneuver his forces. It became a major focus and significant issue to resolve for the division commander. Standing water also created a health issue because of dead bodies and the black-water sewage that washed up from septic tanks located throughout the city. The flooding also caused additional damage to civilian homes.

29. Each civil affairs team managed work parties of from 10 to 200 Fallujans. An Iraqi foreman paid these parties daily and served as a point of contact for paying the other workers. Because the work parties consisted of all military-aged males, the Marines jokingly referred to them as "Muj working parties" ("Muj" was short for Mujahideen).

30. During OIF, military commanders used *solatia* to compensate a neutral party (a civilian not affiliated with the enemy) whose house or business had sustained collateral damage or whose family member had been killed or seriously injured. However, providing a solatia payment was not an admission of guilt by the U.S. Government.

31. 4th Civil Affairs Group, Command Chronology 2005, 12.

32. Jack Shulimson et al., *U.S. Marines in Vietnam: The Defining Year, 1968*, Marine Corps History and Museums Division (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1997), 604. After the Battle for Hue, the South Vietnamese government launched Operation Recovery, where "each displaced person was entitled to . . . $85.00 [and rebuilding materials] . . . More then 830 families received reconstruction material and all the displaced received a temporary relief payment."

33. The author of this paper was in Fallujah and saw the repairs to the city begin and the local economy come back to life. Shulimson et al. note that some early improvements were seen in and around Hue during Operation Recovery after the "[South Vietnamese government] had begun reconstruction, resettlement, and economic revival programs" (605).

34. Visiting an area immediately after a raid or other coalition action to pay for battle damage or initiate a contract to fix damage affecting neutral parties became standard operating procedure (SOP) for RCT-1 civil affairs. The SOP called for the civil affairs team to follow "in trace" or directly behind the assault element. Any houses harboring insurgents or weapons caches were not eligible for battle damage remuneration.

35. Fallujah had a civil-military operations center, or CMOC, called the Fallujah Liaison Team about one kilometer to the east of the city. It established another CMOC in late November 2004 during Operation Al Fajr. This second CMOC was called the "Fallujah Help Center," and it was located in the center of the city at the "mayor's complex" or governmental center. Among their numerous functions, CMOCs were places where civilians went to broach issues or get assistance (such as with a battle damage claim.) The CMOCs were often busy places with long lines.

36. In Fallujah, insurgents and thieves monitored activity in the CMOC. Marines at the CMOC frequently distributed large sums of cash to the locals.

37. Relief organizations outside the military included NGOs and IGOs, such as the International Committee of the Red Crescent and the UN World Food Program.

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DePuy Writing Competition

Stabilizing Influence: Micro-Financial Services Capability

James E. Shircliffe Jr.

AN ORGANIC MICRO-FINANCIAL SERVICES (MFS) capability in U.S. military units should be formally established as a key mission enhancer or "force multiplier" to support stability and reconstruction operations (SRO). Both FM 3-24, *Counterinsurgency,* and the Marine Corps manual *Countering Irregular Threats: A Comprehensive Approach* specifically note the need for MFS. However, neither manual goes into any detail on what MFS actually involves or how commanders in SRO environments should use them. This article aims to fill that gap.

Prior to the recent update of U.S. Army counterinsurgency doctrine, veterans of SROs and humanitarian interventions recognized that stability ultimately hinges on the restoration and promotion of economic viability. The recent update of Army and Marine Corps counterinsurgency doctrine has since acknowledged economic development as a key component of stability operations.

At the heart of current counterinsurgency doctrine is the notion that the people are the key "terrain" in SRO. Thus, Soldiers must influence the indigenous people favorably to win their approbation. To do this, they have to understand how to affect "the social, ethnographic, cultural, economic, and political elements of the people among whom a force is operating" and apply specific tailored measures derived from that understanding.[1] Consequently, in operating environments where non-coercive skills are at least as important as coercive ones, Soldiers must bring more than mere force into play.

Close analysis of how to succeed within an insurgency framework suggests that providing immediate economic opportunities to the population is second only to providing physical security; thus, among the tools needed to cope with insurgencies is a bottom-up economic strategy linked to security measures. Such a strategy has to create the conditions for economic opportunity while also encouraging the population to participate in generating overall economic recovery.[2]

Unfortunately, all too often these efforts to encourage economic opportunity and participation focus on large-scale economic activities such as building power or manufacturing plants. Such projects require detailed planning, take time, and often are hampered by politics and bureaucracy. Meanwhile, as the projects move ponderously along, insurgents exploit the perceived lack of economic opportunity and progress. They feed off the unmet and perhaps unrealistic expectations of the populace.

Given the above, it seems that a more effective means of dealing with the close-in economic fight is with time-sensitive, small loans to micro-businesses.

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PHOTO: An interpreter helps an Iraqi businessman understand the application process for micro-grants at the governance center in Arab Jabour, Iraq, 24 January 2008. (U.S. Army, SGT Kevin Stabinsky)

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Delivery of micro-financial services to small-scale entrepreneurs during SRO can quickly stimulate economic activity, serving to undercut insurgent exploitation of economic instability. Quick, tangible results at low levels of commerce can create local buy-in and commitment from the populace. Such community investment can then serve to help garner support for government efforts to reestablish sovereignty and governance. Often underutilized or misunderstood by military forces, MFS is actually a simple but sophisticated tool that, when used properly, can deliver economic benefits to a target population at a comparatively cheap cost. Compared to grander projects that may take months and years to develop, small businesses realize economic benefit fast enough to improve stability.

Financial Problems

Challenges facing countries during SRO campaigns are similar to the problems non-governmental organizations (NGO) have handled for decades when working with large, poor populations in stressed environments. Consequently, NGO experiences provide many lessons. Among the more important that the intervening organization must understand is the limitations indigenous financial institutions may have in straitened conditions. For example, many unstable countries have long established banking institutions, such as those that currently exist in Iraq and Afghanistan. However, experience has shown that many such institutions have neither the infrastructure nor capital to meet extensive borrower needs broadly across society. They cannot handle the administrative costs of dealing with the vast numbers of small-scale borrowers upon whom economic stability actually depends. Interest returns on small-scale loans don't cover the time and resources required to process them

This is especially true in conflict or post-conflict zones, when a bank's survival can depend on high-yield clients. Granting loans to large numbers of small-scale entrepreneurs becomes economically unfeasible when continuing violence is a constant threat looming over both the entrepreneur's business and the bank's investment. Thus, a nagging shortage of capital, combined with great insurgency-related risk, often results in banks choosing to deal with only well-connected clients in safe areas where returns on investment are likely. This unfortunate set of circumstances stunts overall economic development and usually precludes investment in areas and among populations that may be most in need of the stabilizing influence economic opportunity and development provides.

Consequently, small-scale borrowers—usually from the poorer classes—often have no other recourse but to turn to pawnshops and neighborhood moneylenders to acquire needed finances. Such lenders often lend money only as long as borrowers have a commodity to leverage. Moreover, they usually charge crippling interest fees for their services, especially in times of shortage and risk like those prevailing during insurgency conflicts. The above combination of factors compounds the economic damage that an insurgency causes by quickly depleting the cash reserves of the most underprivileged segment of a population. Disaffection, stemming from a loss of economic security compounded by insecurity and a declining quality of life, often increases sympathy for insurgent activities.

At the same time, such conditions undermine support for or confidence in the government. Straitened conditions nullify any attempts at broader SRO civic and security efforts as local populations frequently come to see SRO forces, rather than insurgents, as the source of social instability and personal misfortune and misery. The problem is complicated when insurgent groups position themselves as alternate sources of services, becoming in effect shadow governments. Such services often include economic relief for a population living in desperate circumstances. Insurgents' perceived economic successes increase popular estrangement from the government by undermining its legitimacy. This estrangement also helps to create an insurgent recruiting pool that may potentially encompass an entire local population.

For the above reasons, establishing economic opportunity must be a key component to any SRO

...populations frequently come to see SRO forces, rather than insurgents, as the source of social instability and personal misfortune and misery.

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strategy. As entrepreneurs establish small businesses and create jobs, economic opportunity spreads and leads to viable, self-sustaining stability. Micro-financial services is one tool commanders at all levels can use to promote the essential economic development and opportunity at the local level.

History of MFS

The concept of MFS is not new. It can trace its roots to activities by medieval guilds and village social clubs, which provided low- or no-interest loans to their members in ways we would view today as micro-credit. Societies whose membership was reserved for those practicing similar occupations, or groups having an interest in promoting a specific trade for the common good of local communities, would pool their resources to help individual members establish themselves as viable businesspersons. Larger, more formal institutions developed in Ireland in the 1700s and Germany in the 1800s as altruistic organizations to help their poor escape abject poverty and the crushing debt of moneylenders. Similarly, in the 1900s, government-led institutions began providing targeted loans to protect small agricultural interests.[3]



U.S. Navy, Mass Communication Specialist 3rd Class David R. Quillen

Iraqi National Police provide security and other assistance to U.S. Army Soldiers holding a financial-grant signing for business members in Baghdad, Iraq, 20 October 2007.

The modern incarnation of such micro-credit practices began in the 1970s via pioneering work by ACCION International, Self-Employed Women's Association Bank, and Grameen Bank, the last of which became the model for modern micro-financial institutions. Grameen Bank's founder, Dr. Muhammad Yunus, won the Nobel Prize in 2006 for his work there. Yunus, a classically trained economist who taught in Bangladesh in the 1970s, confronted poverty as he commuted to and from work and decided to investigate why economic practices were not dealing with it. He and his students interviewed 42 local women and discovered that the women relied on frequent loans from moneylenders to meet their supply needs to run their businesses. After paying off the interest on their loans, they had little profit left to reinvest into their businesses. Yunus found that with as little as $27 each, business owners could bypass the moneylenders and deal directly with their suppliers. He supplied $27 to each of the 42 women, and they repaid him in several weeks with each owner having enough left over to do business without the moneylenders. Yunus sought government support to establish the first Grameen Bank, which still operates today. It serves 5 million customers with a loan recovery rate of 98.9 percent.[4] Grameen was unique because it created a sense of collective responsibility among its borrowers. Each member's loan repayment increased available credit for the remaining borrowers, which created a powerful incentive for all of them to make prompt loan payments.

After the success of the micro-financial institutions of the 1970s, many NGOs have developed similar MFS capabilities and practices. Over the past three decades, the success of these efforts has demonstrated MFS effectiveness in dealing with the economic needs of disadvantaged populations. However, an understanding of the various dynamics associated with poverty, the obstacles to economic development, and how micro-credit could be best applied has taken years to develop and adjust.

In the 1980s, it became evident that micro-credit was inadequate to deal with all of the poor's problems because it did not address the complex

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situations they faced. Aid agencies recognized that the poor needed a full-service financial approach. With proliferation of micro-credit services in the mid-1990s, a shift occurred from solely focusing on micro-credit to providing MFS more broadly. This led modern micro-financial institutions to become full-service banks.[5] Institutions providing loans and savings services advanced to other basic financial services. In concept and practice, they now offer the same services provided by banks in developed nations. The difference lies in the amount of funds in play. Micro-financial institutions address financial needs in a given locality, and loans that some might regard as miniscule are common.

Micro-Financial Expertise

Military planners should study the lessons of NGOs and adopt their methods for coping with similar economic situations in financially unstable countries. U.S. military units have two organizations that deal directly with the economic conditions in unstable areas where micro-financial institutions might be effective: the civil-military operations center (CMOC) and the specialized civil affairs team (CAT).

Civil-military operations centers are ad hoc organizations that coordinate and unify the capabilities of military and civilian agencies in an area to address SRO's human dimension. Specialized CATs work out of the CMOC and provide physical security, humanitarian help, civil administration, public institution development assistance, and economic rehabilitation and development to meet the needs of the local population.

Each CMOC has an economics officer, but CATs often outsource the delivery of financial services. Partly because of reliance on outsourcing, the military has not leveraged the benefits of providing financial services to their maximum potential.

The outsourcing habit grew from a decision the U.S. military made in the 1990s when it faced increasing SRO missions and the constraints of a shrinking budget. Consequently, the military developed doctrine calling for extensive use of outside support and expertise in a joint task force structure. Such support came from agencies both



U.S. Army, SPC Gabriel Reza

A Soldier from the civil-military operations center meets with a local business owner to discuss a micro-grant program and distribute applications in Diwaniyah, Iraq, 4 November 2007.

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inside and outside of government.[6] However, the doctrine neither addressed the method and extent of military-civilian integration nor defined specific local economic-development approaches (such as MFS).[7] This nebulous doctrine remains in effect today. Government agencies outside the military have extensive experience with MFS; the military just needs to figure out how to leverage it.

The U.S. government's primary knowledge base for MFS expertise is in the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), which has 30 years of experience serving micro-enterprises around the world.[8] It normally funds local micro-financial institutes run by NGOs or charity. But there are problems with this approach. According to retired colonel Joseph J. Collins, former deputy assistant secretary of defense for stability operations—

> While there have been significant exceptions, State and USAID personnel have generally been restricted to relatively secure compounds in Afghanistan and Iraq. This fact is often attributed to the 'tyranny' of the local regional security officers (RSOs), who appear determined to apply peacetime rules to conflict situations. RSOs will likely blame the rules that come down from Washington. In any case, too few Foreign Service officers and USAID professionals [work] in field locations. The personnel strength of State and USAID is clearly inadequate to meet their expanded roles in the War on Terror.[9]

Consequently, MFS does not currently reach effectively out to areas where it might actually have the greatest impact on stabilization.

For example, USAID channels its MFS activities in Iraq through the Izdihar (Prosperity) Organization, which is responsible for a wide variety of financial-development activities. Izdihar issues grants to local micro-financial institutions and conducts training seminars.[10] However, because of the RSO limitations on USAID, only a handful of such institutions have been established in Iraq. These have the capability of disbursing loans of $3,000 to $5,000.[11]

While Izdihar's work benefits the Iraqi people, several problems plague the current situation:

- Distance between the local micro-financial institution distributing Izdihar funds and the local Soldier on patrol helps cause a huge synchronization gap that no CMOC can surmount. The distance makes it difficult for Soldiers to target and coordinate needed funds effectively.
- No mechanism exists to guarantee that funds are distributed in a way that will help improve the local economy and to ensure that they are not misappropriated.
- The $3,000 to $5,000 range limit denies services to the entrepreneurs most in need of help and the most susceptible to insurgent influence.
- The goodwill created by MFS is not associated with the stabilization forces (which is related to the synchronization gap).

Building an MFS Team

A better approach would be to build and enable a military MFS team that could operate in outlying areas and extend the reach of USAID efforts. As charity groups and NGOs have shown, with MFS the poor can build an asset base and decrease their vulnerability to economic stress. A military tailor-made team would allow commanders to build a plan that fits the specific situation and environment and use MFS to mitigate certain situations. Such a plan would complement a CMOC vision by requiring a statement of how the team expected to deliver their services in coordination with the CMOC.

Thus empowered, the military commander could identify the work force and resources necessary to make the plan work and bring them to bear on the situation immediately if needed. Determining what specific services the local community needs, and in what priority, would be the most important factor in developing such a plan. This identification would come to depend upon military planners who clearly understood who needs MFS and how they would use economic support. For example, needs vary greatly among farmers, shopkeepers, and mechanics; as a result, MFS plans would vary accordingly. In addition, since start-ups as opposed to mature businesses looking for capital have different needs and goals, a nuanced understanding of the area would be necessary.

A better approach would be to build and enable a military MFS team...

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Three Key MFS Services

The three most important services an MFS could provide are micro-credit, micro-savings, and micro-insurance. Each service can help a local population obtain a measure of financial stability in the face of a physically threatening environment.

- **Micro-credit.** Micro-sized loans are the premier offering of a standard micro-financial institution. Loan sizes can vary from $5 to $25,000. Though the lower amount may sound miniscule, such seemingly small amounts of money can be life-altering fortunes in underdeveloped countries. The simple fact is that many businesses in countries like Iraq do not actually need the large amounts of capital that Americans might expect.
- **Micro-savings institutions.** Many poor people in unstable and developing countries have no way to store their currency safely. They often hide their savings in their dwellings, sometimes converting their cash to something regarded as a stable commodity, such as jewelry. Such situations are not conducive to economic growth and are often dangerous. Unfortunately, in such cases, the poor are more likely to become victims of looting by criminal and terrorist gangs. Moreover, the victims of theft will often turn their anger against the security force they expected to protect them.

By offering a secure place for citizens to store money safely, and even potentially earn interest on it, a micro-financial institution team can give residents a chance to safely accumulate wealth. Such conditions create goodwill for the stabilization force.

- **Micro-insurance.** In an unstable environment, insurance has utility. Terrorist attacks and criminal violence common to insurgencies, such as bombings in community markets, increase the difficulty of normalizing everyday life. Uncertainty drains the willpower of a local population. Insurance at any level works not only as a hedge against risk, but also helps the policyholder feel protected from the effects of possible unfortunate incidents. With property insurance, a policyholder can at least create a plan, knowing that if a valuable possession (e.g., house, car, donkey) is destroyed, he will be able to replace it. Life insurance can also help the policyholder take greater risks by giving him the peace of mind that family members will be taken care of. Offering any kind of insurance, however, would be risky and should involve trained professionals with enough capital to cover the expenses of a worst-case scenario.

Shaping MFS Teams

Often commanders in destabilized areas will not have the resources to build a large MFS team, but a well-targeted effort can go a long way to help in the reconstruction effort. Whatever service a team offers, the scope of the plan and customer base will dictate the resource and labor requirements the team needs. Military units ranging from battalion to division size can create and use MFS teams. A team can consist of a single reservist (perhaps a bank teller in civilian life) armed only with $250, a lockbox, a calculator, a pen, and some paper. On the other hand, a team can be a group of Soldiers with banking and financial service training operating a bricks-and-mortar bank with a vault, an information technology system, and millions in currency. It depends on the situation.

For example, an applicable model for Iraq might be the "mobile banker" prototype developed in West Africa. To meet marketplace vendor needs in West African towns, bankers travel to the vendors' sites, often daily, to collect deposits or deliver loans. This practice provides the vendor convenient access to financial services and allows the MFS team to monitor the vendor's business and develop personal contacts with the community.[12]

Similarly, Soldiers on patrol might be tasked to engage with local vendors or needy inhabitants on the street and identify them for the mobile MFS team. The goodwill generated by the initiative of military forces in helping to provide financial hope can feed the recipient's pride as well as his stomach and those of his family members.

The Way Ahead

Micro-financial services are not a panacea for dealing with the poor's economic needs. These services require at least a rudimentary level of economic activity.[13] In situations where the local economy has been completely destroyed, food relief, grants, employment and training programs, and infrastructure improvements will be necessary before MFS can be effective. An MFS team works best in an environment where economic activity is already taking place and is capable of expanding. Electricity projects can make power available to a micro-loan customer's storefront. Healthcare

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An MFS team works best in an environment where economic activity is already taking place and is capable of expanding.

services can help prevent depletion of one's cash reserves during illnesses.[14] Soldiers who hire locals to work on forward operating bases or public works projects can indirectly increase micro-loan recipients' businesses, and MFS can produce synergies in economic development activities.

Nevertheless, the increasing potential for U.S. forces to be involved in insurgencies should provide impetus to make an MFS capability organic to CATs and available to area commanders. This organic structural capability should be possible. Funds for economic reconstruction already exist for MFS use. A reach-back capability for advice from USAID specialists is also available, and a body of free online literature already provides education on how to make MFS work. Together, these resources provide military forces a great deal of guidance on what they might need to integrate MFS successfully into their stabilization and reconstruction plan.

For the foreseeable future, U.S. forces will be conducting SRO in unstable nations. Military units should have an organic MFS capability so that they have the most effective tools available to develop financial stability in these countries. ***MR***

NOTES

1. Jacob Kipp, Lester Grau, Karl Prinslow, and Don Smith, "The Human Terrain System: A CORDs for the 21st Century," *Military Review* (September-October 2006): 8.

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5. "The History of Microfinance."

6. Joint Publication 3-57, *Joint Doctrine for Civil-Military Operations* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office (GPO), 2001) and Presidential Decision Directive-56, "Managing Complex Contingency Operations."

7. See Karl Rohr, "Progressive Reconstruction: A Methodology for Stabilization and Reconstruction Operations," (Graduate diss., Naval Post Graduate School, 2006) <www.smallwarsjournal.com/documents/rohr.pdf>. The first actual mention of these services did not come until the publication of *Countering Irregular Threats* (Quantico, VA: Marine Corps Combat Development Command, 2006) and FM 3-24, *Counterinsurgency* (Washington, DC: GPO, 2006).

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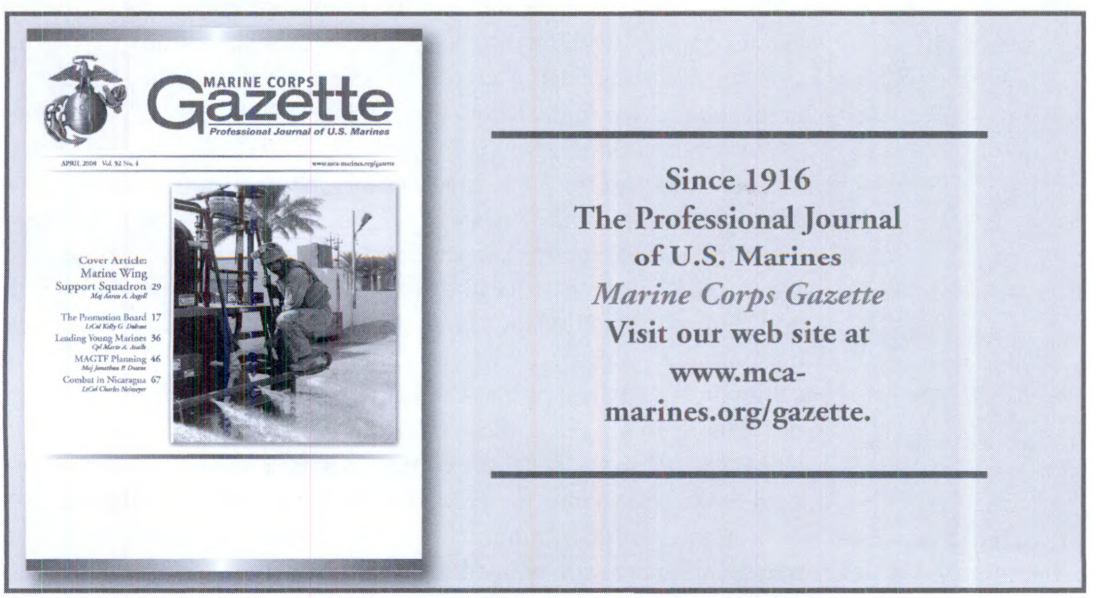
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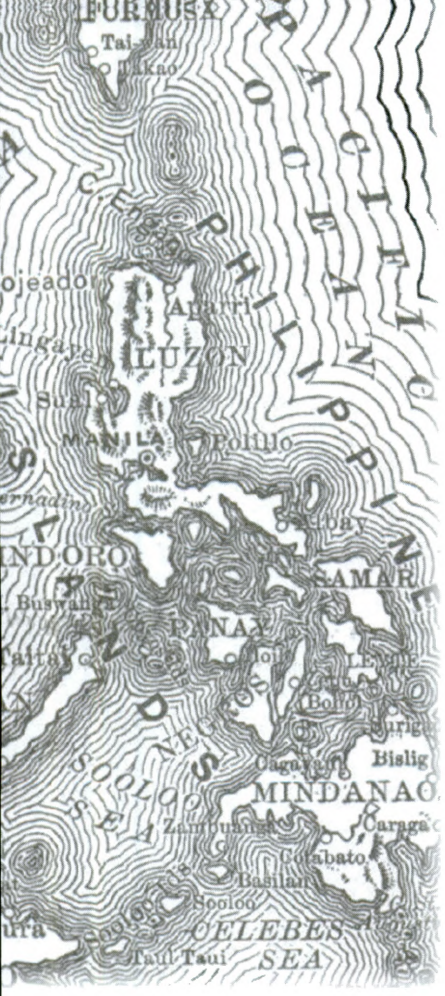
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From Enduring Strife to Enduring Peace in the Philippines

Major Gary J. Morea, U.S. Army

WITH THE EXCEPTION of a brief period of American control in the first half of the twentieth century, conflict has persisted in the Mindanao, the southern island group of the Philippines, for 500 years, since the first acts of resistance towards Spanish colonization in the sixteenth century. In fact, this conflict is the second longest internal conflict in history.[1]

The population of the Philippines is a mosaic of diverse ideologies, religions, and cultures that have coalesced into three distinct regions of the archipelago. At times, these regions have been at odds with each other. While several attempts at conflict resolution have been made over the years through many different forms of government, the conflict has not yet been resolved and groups continue to struggle against the central government for political consideration, concessions, and/or autonomy. Those living in the Mindanao, for whom resistance is central to identity, still writhe against the forces that wish to control them.

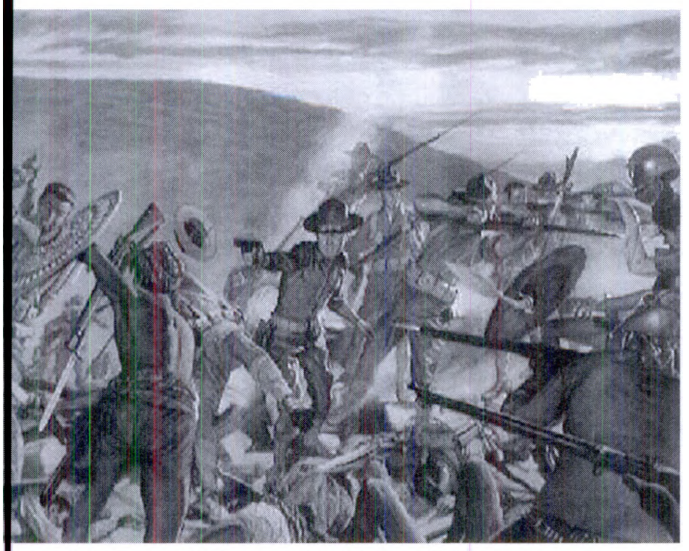
The contemporary struggle between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and Islamic separatists in the Mindanao is the latest evolution of resistance in the Philippines. The social system in the southern region of the archipelago is a complex blend of cultural, nationalistic, and religious consciousness that appeals to various social groups and organizations vying for political legitimacy and control. These groups are struggling against the centralized government of the Philippines for recognition and autonomy. They have organized political elements and have access to and influence over armed fighters ready to carry out subversive acts of violence against government facilities, people, and organizations perceived to be sympathetic to the GRP. The result of this ongoing violence has been an economic stagnation in the Mindanao that has adversely affected the economy of the entire archipelago.

The conflict in the Mindanao has at least three interrelated dimensions: political, security, and economic. The point at which these three dimensions converge is marked by tension, but it also holds the potential for cooperation. It is towards this point that efforts for peace, in the form of amnesty, reintegration, and reconciliation (AR2), should be directed.[2] AR2, a multi-staged and multidimensional approach to healing a fractured society, is fundamental to achieving a sustained peace. While there have been many attempts to pacify the Mindanao via AR2, these overtures have mostly been short-lived and narrowly focused. Hence, the conflict persists, and it will continue to do so until the GRP expands the breadth of its proposed AR2 solutions.

A broader offer of amnesty coupled with an energetic and productive reintegration program would be a testament to the GRP's sincerity and likely

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Jolo, Sulu, Philippines, 11–15 June 1913. Moro resistance to a central Philippine government included resisting American colonial rule long before the Japanese occupation.

pave the path toward full reintegration and reconciliation for all sides. Properly applied, AR2 can assuage the secessionist movements, stabilize the political structure, increase security, and improve the economic posture of the Philippines. AR2 can give the Philippine government the construct it needs to proceed toward conflict resolution.

Roots of Conflict

The Philippine archipelago comprises over 7,000 islands, islets, and atolls covering an area of over 500,000 square miles.[3] It divides into three major groupings: to the north, Luzon, which is the largest and most populous of the groupings and where the capital, Manila, resides; in the center, the Visayas; and in the south, the Mindanao group, which extends all the way to Borneo.[4] Muslim traders from Indonesia made contact with the people of the Mindanao long before Spanish missionaries and traders colonized the Philippines. As a result, most people in Mindanao are Muslim. They are commonly referred to as the Bangsamoro, or Moros, a label dating back to an early Spanish pejorative linking the Muslims in the Mindanao with the Moors of Morocco.[5]

...AR2 can assuage the secessionist movements, stabilize the political structure, increase security, and improve the economic posture of the Philippines.

In April 1946, following its time as an American Commonwealth and Japanese occupied territory, the Philippines held its first free and independent elections. The United States turned sovereignty over to the Independent Republic of the Philippines on 4 July 1946, and Manuel Roxas became the republic's first president.[6] The newly created GRP got off to a difficult start trying to recover from the physical damage inflicted by the Japanese occupation. Economic dependence on the United States after the war exacerbated the difficulties of reconstruction and recovery.[7]

Political turmoil culminated under the presidency of Ferdinand Marcos. Elected in 1965, Marcos initially had overwhelming success in advancing public works projects and executing effective tax collection measures. After he was reelected in 1969, political opposition to his presidency increased, slowing governmental projects and the economy. Due to increased social unrest and the growing risk of a communist insurgency, Marcos declared martial law on 21 September 1972. During this same year, he also created the "Presidential Task Force for the Reconstruction and Development of Mindanao." Despite his efforts, by 1974, fighting between the rebel Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) and the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) had escalated into large-scale, conventional war.

The conflict reached a stalemate in 1976. Prior to the signing of an agreement in Tripoli, Libya (the Tripoli Agreement), Marcos offered amnesty to key rebel leaders. Negotiations soon broke down, however, due to Marcos's alteration of the Tripoli Agreement's provincial autonomy outline, and conflict between the MNLF and AFP resumed. As the fighting worsened, Marcos's policies toward the Mindanao turned increasingly violent. When further attempts at diplomatic resolution were aborted, his authoritarian power began to wane. In 1981, under pressure from Pope John Paul II, Marcos lifted martial law. Five years later he was ousted by a popular revolution.[8] The next two decades saw the GRP cycle through four presidential administrations, each of which took a slightly different approach to conflict resolution.

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NARA

Ferdinand Marcos and Mrs. Marcos with President Lyndon B. Johnson, 23 October 1966.

Following the Marcos family's departure in 1986, Corazon Aquino took over as president of the Philippines. One of her first acts was to appoint a commission to draft a new constitution, which included the establishment of an autonomous Mindanao. GRP and MNLF panels met one year later, but could not come to an agreement on language describing the autonomy mandate in the draft constitution. Despite this obstacle, Aquino briefed Islamic diplomats that the Tripoli Agreement was being implemented through constitutional processes.[9] In August 1989, a draft autonomy bill was submitted to both houses and the congress passed Republic Act 6734, creating the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM).[10] Regional elections gave the ARMM a new governor and a new legislative assembly. Aquino signed executive orders outlining and defining the relationship between the central government and the ARMM.

In May 1992, Fidel V. Ramos was elected president of the Philippines. One of his first official acts was to call for peace. Two months after swearing in as president, Ramos appointed the National Unification Commission (NUC) to formulate an amnesty program.[11] In 1993, he created the Office of the Presidential Advisor on the Peace Process to continue the NUC's work.[12] The high-water mark of Ramos's presidency was his attempt at AR2 in September 1993, when he issued an executive order entitled "Defining the Approach and Administrative Structure for Government's Comprehensive Peace Efforts," also known as the "Six Paths to Peace."[13] The six paths were—

- Instituting social, economic, and political reforms aimed at addressing the root causes of armed struggle and social unrest.
- Building consensus and empowerment for peace through continuous consultation at the national and local levels.
- Negotiating peace with armed groups.
- Implementing measures for reintegration and reconciliation of former combatants and rehabilitation of those affected by the conflict.
- Taking measures to manage conflict and protect civilians.
- Building, nurturing, and enhancing a positive climate for peace.[14]

This executive framework remained the core of the GRP's peace plan, and it continues as such today. While the intent was to pursue the six paths simultaneously (to ensure complete coverage of the problem), this broad approach is not comprehensive enough and has neglected or ignored several key anti-government groups.

In 1994, Ramos issued Proclamation 347, which created a National Amnesty Commission and granted amnesty to rebels.[15] Ramos's ambitious peace initiatives culminated in September 1996 with the signing of the "Final Peace Agreement."[16] This agreement proved not to be so final, however, mostly because some key antagonists decided not to sign it. One of these groups was the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), an offshoot of the MNLF. Another was a new and sinister player: Abu Sayyaf.

Because of the incomplete resolution, fighting renewed and, toward the end of Ramos's term, escalated. In 1998, Joseph Estrada became president. His ascent ushered in a period of intensified fighting and intra-governmental debates on the peace agreement. By 2000, the fighting between the AFP and the MILF had intensified, and Abu Sayyaf had begun kidnapping tourists for ransom.[17] In October 2000, allegations of corruption emerged that brought



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Joseph Estrada at Malacanang Palace, Manila, 3 August 1998

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an early end to Estrada's administration. As part of his swan song, Estrada held a ceremonial amnesty in which the GRP persuaded approximately 800 MILF fighters to exchange weapons for money and a pardon.[18]

Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo took the oath of the presidency in January 2001. During her inaugural address, Arroyo proclaimed an "all-out-peace" policy.[19] Like most of her predecessors, Arroyo took great strides toward peace in the initial months of her tenure. She appointed members of the GRP to negotiate with the MILF and suspended military operations.[20] As a result, Arroyo achieved an important milestone in peace efforts: a meeting in Kuala Lumpur between GRP members and MNLF and MILF representatives during which a "General Framework of Agreement and Intent" was signed. With these groups' representatives involved in constructive negotiations, the GRP launched an "all-out-war" against Abu Sayyaf.

Since the initial negotiations with MILF and MNLF, there has been further progress toward a negotiated peace agreement. However, independent MILF fighters have continued to skirmish with the AFP and have launched attacks throughout the Mindanao. Conflict with Abu Sayyaf and elements of the MILF persists.

Societal Framework

The GRP's attempts at conflict resolution follow, to some degree, the amnesty, reintegration, and reconcilation process employed to heal fractured societal frameworks. AR2 is normally initiated from the political dimension, but all the dimensions in the framework are interrelated. Therefore, to understand the AR2 process with regard to the Philippines, we must first explore the political, security, and economic dimensions of the framework to identify the links between the dimensions. Specifically, which organizations are involved in shaping the political decisions that affect the people and provinces of the Mindanao, how do they interact, and how does their interaction affect the society's economic dimension?

Political dimension. The political dimension of the conflict in the Mindanao is a function of the cultural-religious identity of the ancestral inhabitants of these southern Philippine Islands, people who refuse to accept a centralized governance that ignores their distinct social structure and belief system. The key players in this dimension are the central Philippine government, external political/religious organizations, and emergent leaders who claim to represent the interests of the Mindanao people. The main actors are—



U.S. Embassy Manila

Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippines Hilario Davide swears President Macapagal-Arroyo into office during a ceremony held at the Cebu Provincial Capitol, 30 June 2004.

- *The GRP*. The make up of the Philippine government today is the result of extensive reform, re-structuring, and constitutional revision along Western lines in the wake of the Marcos regime. Comprised of executive, legislative, and judicial departments, the governmental structure separates, checks, and balances power much as Western democracies do. The president is elected by direct vote of the people for a period of six years and is not eligible for reelection. While the president may offer amnesty and enter into negotiations and treaties, such agreements must be ratified by a two-thirds vote in the Philippine Senate.[21]
- *The Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers* (ICFM). This political organization is comprised of volunteer members of the Islamic international community. It first met in Rabat, Morocco, in September 1969, after an arson attack against Jerusalem's Al-Aqsa Mosque in August that year. Since then, the ICFM has met every year to evaluate progress on the implementation of decisions it made to further Islamic causes. The first international organization to officially recognize the MNLF, the conference was instrumental in initiating dialogue between the MNLF and the GRP. It continues to wield influence over the MNLF, the other Islamic separatist movements, and the GRP.

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• *The MNLF*. In the late 1960s, increasing suspicion of Manila, the migration of Christians from the north into the Mindanao, and Christian marginalization of native Muslims stimulated the formation of a number of Islamic separatist movements. After martial law was declared in 1972 and all citizens were ordered to surrender their weapons, the Moros spontaneously rebelled.[22] Their rebellion consisted of mostly uncoordinated uprisings throughout the Mindanao. Led by Nur Misuari, the MNLF managed to unite the far-flung pockets of resistance, and, in 1972, the organization openly declared its leadership of the Moro secessionist movement. By 1973, at the height of the conflict, the MNLF fielded 30,000 armed fighters. The contest between the Armed Forces of the Philippines and the MNLF raged for three years and culminated in the Tripoli Agreement. Signed by Misuari and Defense Under-Secretary Carmelo Barbero, this agreement allowed for some autonomy in 13 provinces of the southern Philippines.[23] Fractious political infighting weakened the MNLF by the early 1980s, but persistent skirmishes marked the decade and kept the AFP occupied in the Mindanao. By 1984, the MNLF was no longer the sole representative for Islamic separatists, although the GRP continued to reach out to it as the only officially recognized voice among the various Muslim movements.

• *The Moro Islamic Liberation Front*. A splinter element of the MNLF, the MILF declared itself active in March 1984, with the intent of following a religious as well as a nationalist agenda (hence the organization's substitution of "Islamic" for "National"). It was born as the result of an ideological schism between the chairman and vice-chairman of the MNLF. The latter, Hashim Salamat, founded the MILF and moved his headquarters to Lahore, Pakistan, where he successfully promoted his ideas to international Islamic organizations.[24] The main political difference between his organization and the MNLF was the MILF's declared determination to establish Islamic law in Muslim Mindanao, as opposed to the MNLF, which emphasized political autonomy.

• *Abu Sayyaf*. In the political dimension, Abu Sayyaf stands out as an anomaly. Although a relatively small group of radical Islamist terrorists with no real political arm, the organization currently represents perhaps the greatest threat to Philippine security. It has therefore become the target of an all-out Philippine military offensive. The group, whose name translates from Arabic as "Bearers of the Sword," was first mobilized in 1991 by Abdurajak Janjalani, a Philippine Muslim scholar who had fought as a mujahedeen against the Soviet occupation in Afghanistan. His group has connections to Al-Qaeda in the Middle East and apparent aspirations to mimic the Arab organization. Although Abu Sayyaf initially purported to be a political group and courted Islamic sympathies, it has deteriorated into nothing more than a gang of bandits, corroding the political process and spurring disruptions in the political landscape.



AFP, Romeo Gacad

Armed Muslim rebels of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) display their AK-47 assault rifles and a Soviet made B-40 anti-tank rocket launcher at an undisclosed location, 19 February 1988.

Security dimension. The security dimension of the societal framework of the Mindanao is significant in that it is a means of discourse between the GRP and the fractious separatist movements. When negotiations and dialogue between the political actors break down, the frequency and violence of attacks in the Mindanao typically increase until the parties reconvene in the negotiation process. The key actors in this dimension are

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Guerrillas of the Muslim separatist group Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) at Camp Abubakar, the MILF main headquarters, in southern Maguindanao Province, 10 September 1996.

the armed elements that act on behalf of their parent political organizations. The AFP acts on behalf of the GRP, while the armed elements of the MNLF and MILF act on behalf of, although not always in concert with, their parent political organizations.

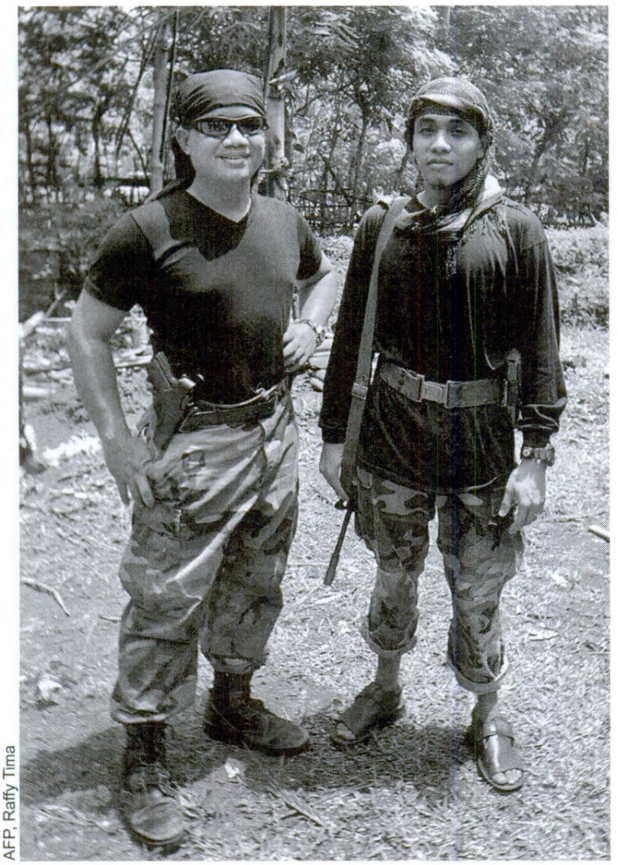
The main obstacle to stability in the security dimension has been the pseudo-political Abu Sayyaf. This group introduced itself to the world in August 1991 by bombing a ship in Zamboanga harbor and killing two American evangelists in a grenade attack.[25] Their established ties with Al-Qaeda (under Janjalani's leadership) led to connections with the Saudi Arabian businessman Mohammad Jamal Khalifa, Osama bin-Laden's brother-in-law. Khalifa controlled a large financial network of charities and a university in Zamboanga, all of which he used to bankroll Islamic extremists. (His flagship charity was the International Islamic Relief Organization, or IIRO, with an office in Zamboanga.) Abu Sayyaf received money funneled through Khalifa's network to arm and equip its members while it laid plans for its most insidious attacks, among them a plot to assassinate Pope John Paul II during his 1995 visit to the Philippines.[26]

The security situation in the Mindanao began to change in 1998, when Janjalani was killed in a fire-fight with Philippine national policemen. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Khadaffy Janjalani, who led the group until 2006. Under Khadaffy's leadership, the group changed its focus from Islamist ideology to fundraising by means of kidnapping. This move had an adverse affect on the organization's character. Many of the members became drug users more inclined to crime than politics. In recent years, as a result of a U.S.-backed effort in the southern Philippines, Abu Sayyaf has suffered major leadership losses. Khadaffy was killed by Philippine troops in September 2006, and his likely successor, Abu Salalman, was killed in January 2007. These two leaders had the strongest ties to Middle Eastern donors. Now the reins are held by the one-armed, 70-year-old Radullan Sahiron, who demonstrated his belligerence in an August 2007 clash with the Philippine military that left approximately 52 dead (25 soldiers and 27 militants).[27]

The main convergence between the security and political dimensions of the Mindanao conflict occurs where organizations possess the potential to act in both. In order to be considered credible and worthy of engaging in dialogue, actors have to possess both a recognized political organization and military power. An organization with only political actors and no means of armed resistance is viewed as a toothless pariah; armed fighters without a recognized or effective political parent

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AFP, Raffy Tima

Abu Sabaya (left) and Khadaffy Janjalani (right), leaders of the Abu Sayyaf Muslim extremist gang, pose for a photo in Basilan, Philippines, July 2000.

are seen as criminal and not worth the serious consideration of negotiated settlement. The effect of this dynamic on the overall societal framework is enormous. Activity within the security dimension, either positive or negative, has the greatest affect on dimensional convergence. This is especially true for the economic dimension.

Economic dimension. In the Mindanao, some economic costs are easily quantifiable, such as the lost productivity of those killed as a result of the fighting (approximately 120,000 since 1970) or sent fleeing–legally and illegally—to neighboring countries; the number of ghettos that exist; the percentage of the population living in poverty (71.3 percent in 2000); and the average income per family.[28] These quantifiable variables serve as scalable indicators for other dimensions of the societal framework, such as political and social programs and security efforts in the region.

What is more difficult to quantify, however, are the indirect costs of conflict. The perception of instability and insecurity fostered by the strife has deflected investment in the entire Philippine archipelago. From an investment banking perspective, the country is simply not investor friendly. The resulting scarcity of capital has had adverse trickle-down effects, such as disintegration of agricultural capabilities due to a lack of funds for equipment replacement, irrigation improvement, and marketing mechanisms.[29] Sadly, this downward economic spiral feeds the instability and insecurity that have helped cause it: for military-aged males, joining a political cause or an armed militia has become the main alternative to legitimate, productive employment. Economic options for military-aged males have been a key node in which the political, economic, and security dimensions converge.

Transitioning to Enduring Peace

All conflicts are inherently different, from their root causes, to the actors involved, to the techniques employed. While there is no template or checklist for conflict resolution, conceptual constructs provide tools for the initiation and implementation of change and dialogue. One of these conceptual constructs is AR2. This construct provides conflicting parties with three tools for working at conflict resolution. These tools have distinct characteristics and, based on the context in which they are to be used, require unique consideration with regard to the order, timing, and methods used.

In breaking down AR2 into its constituent parts, we see that *amnesty* is an event; *reintegration* is a combination of the framework and processes required for the parties to become more mutually dependent and cohesive; and *reconciliation* is the desired outcome, goal, or aim of the entire process. In the end, the entire process of conflict resolution is a psychological one. How the problem is conceived, the demonization of opposing forces, and the belief in a limited number of options must all be changed. Successful application of AR2 identifies the true heart or source of the conflict, enables better understanding of the opposing parties, and develops options and paths that are acceptable to all parties and that lead to the conflict's peaceful resolution.

Amnesty. Often used as the first step in restoring or mending a fractured polity, amnesty serves as the gateway to inclusion and the invitation to

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Often used as the first step in restoring or mending a fractured polity, amnesty serves as the gateway to inclusion and the invitation to rapprochement between conflicting groups.

rapprochement between conflicting groups. It encompasses more than a simple governmental pardon, which is its legalistic aspect. Amnesty is granted, and therefore the crimes are "forgotten" before prosecution occurs. (Conversely, pardons are typically granted after parties are prosecuted.) The concept of amnesty is broader and implies more a promise of societal amnesia about the crimes and offenses committed during a period of struggle, civil war, or social unrest. It completely exonerates former combatants who volunteer to participate in the restoration of civility and work towards the resumption of peace.

History is full of examples of amnesty used for political or diplomatic purposes. Some of the earliest were recorded by Thucydides (e.g., the Samians offered amnesty to members of an oligarchic coup and to the general Alcibiades during the Peloponnesian War).[30] More recently, as it transitioned to democracy, South Africa granted amnesty in return for truthful talk about political proscriptions and other crimes. In 1997, U.S. President Jimmy Carter offered amnesty to Vietnam War draft evaders as one of his first acts in office.[31] Carter clarified that the grant was not intended to forgive the draft evaders, but rather to allow the nation to forget their transgressions and the discontent that stirred in their wake. It was his way of initiating the healing process at the national level, by removing a festering source of divisiveness.

Amnesty is a political tool intended to initiate healing and compromise. But while the practical purpose for granting it is to assuage both sides of a conflict and get them to the negotiating table, amnesty can stir up emotions and dissent in those victims who will be denied justice by its offering. Careful consideration must be given to the context in which it will be offered. Specifically, great consideration must be given to the nature of the offenses that are to be "forgotten." If the amnesty is being offered to perpetrators of victimless crimes, it will meet with less public opposition than if it is offered to offenders whose actions have created victims and circles of victims who still bear grudges. In the latter situation, amnesty can still work, but it will have to be conducted very judiciously and, perhaps, as part of a social record program, such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa.[32]

Blanket amnesties have been offered in Chile, Zimbabwe, and Argentina, but the danger of such amnesties is that they can trivialize the crimes and marginalize the victims. Furthermore, blanket amnesties can create the perception that the government is incapable of dealing with offenders, therefore removing the government's most important pillar of legitimacy—its role as arbiter of justice.

The other side of the coin is the important psychological impact amnesty has upon the rebel and criminal. Amnesty provides these offenders a reason to negotiate and an alternative to continued conflict. But there must also be an opportunity for the ex-combatant, or the combatant considering the amnesty proposal, to transform himself into a contributing member of the society. A successful amnesty program must consider the dignity of everyone involved in a conflict, both victim and offender. There must then be a next step by which those on both sides of a conflict can be included in society in a meaningful way. This involves a plan and program for reintegration.

Reintegration. Simply stated, reintegration describes the efforts made to bring the ex-combatants in a fractured polity and society back into the folds of that society as the society seeks to mend itself. Reintegration typically occurs after an offer of amnesty, although it must be enticing enough for the combatants to accept the amnesty in the first place. Reintegration can come in a variety of forms, but it essentially involves a plan for transitioning formerly armed and disenfranchised combatants into amenable, income-generating civilians.

According to the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), many different activities should be conducted during reintegration. The first step is to disarm and settle ex-combatants into demobilization camps. These reintegrating members can then participate in temporary work involving the construction of facilities and the repair of damaged

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Reintegration typically occurs after an offer of amnesty, although it must be enticing enough for the combatants to accept the amnesty in the first place.

schools, clinics, and other infrastructure. But to be effective, a reintegration program needs to ensure that reintegrating members receive education and training that will facilitate their permanent transition to civilian life and peaceful pursuits. Training and education offer the reintegrating members hope and encourage a sense of trust in the government that will aid in achieving the follow-on goal of reconciliation.

It is important to note that simply paying ex-combatants as part of a reintegration plan is neither effective nor sustainable—although it might be a good idea to offer stipends to reintegrating members during their periods of education and formal training. Another caveat is that reintegration programs need to be offered to all members of the fractured society in order to "avoid creating a new class of privileged citizens and rewarding people who resorted to violence."[33]

In the Philippines, the USAID Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI) worked with the government to develop and implement a plan to reintegrate the MNLF from 1997 to 2000. The OTI contributed agricultural machinery, such as rice threshers and solar dryers, while the GRP and local communities provided labor, material, and training. By offering the opportunity to learn profitable skills while simultaneously providing for the welfare and needs of the community, this program strengthened communal bonds among the participants.[34] At its core, any reintegration program should focus not just on satisfying immediate needs, but also on providing hope for a more permanent transition. This is a critical component for successful reconciliation.



USAID

A former combatant of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) uses his cell phone from a remote island in the southern Philippines to check on the market price for seaweed. He is one of 28,000 former MNLF fighters whom USAID helped to make the successful transition to productive enterprise.

Reconciliation. Reconciliation is the process of restoring a civil relationship between parties in conflict, usually with the goal of achieving a peaceful, even amicable, relationship. The process is fundamentally a psychological one in which groups come to change their beliefs (which can be well-entrenched) about each other through dialogue and mutual cooperation and respect. Reconciliation can entail slow, drawn-out negotiations to reach needed compromises.

True reconciliation cannot be achieved without all parties acknowledging responsibility for past actions, as was the goal of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. According to Mari Fitzduff and Chris Stout, authors of *The Psychology of Resolving Global Conflicts: From War to Peace*, "Any attempt at restoration after a period of alienation that ignores questions of justice could not be considered true reconciliation and would not be sustainable."[35] This direct link between reconciliation and a sense of justice tends to complicate the reconciliation process, mostly because the people on opposite sides of a conflict have different opinions about what constitutes justice.

Fitzduff and Stout describe five different kinds of justice:

- *Distributive* justice: justice distributed equally to every person regardless of rank, status, wealth, position, etc.
- *Political and social* justice: all have equal access to power and its benefits.
- *Procedural* justice: the particular legal process(es) by which justice is administered.
- *Historical* justice: the historical record is set straight; past injustices are acknowledged, perhaps apologized for; and compensation may be offered to victims.

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- *Compensatory* justice: reparations are paid for historical injustices.[36]

All of these must be taken fully into account to keep the reconciliation process moving forward.

Healing usually involves discomfort. The same is true in the reconciliation process. When seeking a justice commensurate with the goal of reconciliation, the parties involved will experience uneasiness and even pain in settling their differences and acknowledging the events that transpired during the conflict.

Tension and Opportunity

The Philippine government's enduring struggle with Islamic separatists has progressed through the fits and starts of unsatisfactory attempts to arrive at negotiated settlements. Regardless of how it happened, the fact remains that Christians occupy over 80 percent of the Mindanao.[37] For the Islamist autonomy movement to achieve any political credibility, it must account for the existing secular status quo. It would be near physically impossible, and certainly socially reckless, to grant independence to the southern Philippines. What remains, then, is how to incorporate the customary laws and practices that the Muslim population wants to retain and use as the basis of law without creating a double standard in the Philippine legislative and judicial systems. Furthermore, since many Muslim practices stem from religiously based Sharia law, there is the potential for fundamental disconnection from secular society. Democracy provides for religious freedom, but religion and religious-based edicts are not necessarily consistent with democratic freedoms. On the other hand, democratic constructs like the regional governments within the Autonomous Regions of Muslim Mindanao that do not provide real legislative autonomy or reasonable operating budgets are just hollow bureaucracies that widen the divide and deepen the distrust between the Bangsamoro people and the GRP. So, the AR2 process in the Philippines faces significant cultural challenges.

Nevertheless, the Philippine government has made great strides towards resolving this long struggle. It is arguably closer than it has ever been to achieving a real and lasting peace within its borders. While the process of reconciling its differences with the MNLF and MILF has been long and arduous, the GRP has learned valuable lessons about the delicate combinations of force, diplomacy, and economic programs that are necessary to initiate and sustain peace. With Abu Sayyaf effectively leaderless and scattered, the GRP has an opportunity now to increase its military pressure on these quasi-insurgents while simultaneously attacking the criminal financial networks that sustain them. Most important, however, the GRP needs to provide a release valve, in the form of amnesty and eventual reintegration, from all of this pressure.

Healing usually involves discomfort. The same is true in the reconciliation process.

The Philippines will hold its next presidential election in 2010. As history has shown, the first few months of the new presidency will be critical because they will set the tone and pace for conflict resolution. The GRP, MNLF, and MILF, and external organizations such as USAID and the Organization of Islamic Conferences, should prepare now for that window of opportunity by drafting a new amnesty offering, developing a new reintegration program, and building a financial stockpile to fund it all. In addition, constitutional concessions and considerations must be given to the Bangsamoro population if the GRP is going to have any hope of achieving a lasting settlement with the MNLF and MILF while staving off the potential for future secessionist groups to emerge. Once the philosophical and cultural divisions are bridged and the armed combatants are effectively reintegrated into the social fabric, reconciliation will occur in the Philippines.

Conclusion

The first step toward resolving the enduring rivalry between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the Bangsamoro people residing in the Mindanao is for the government to offer amnesty. The GRP must understand that through the sincerity of its actions and the rapid execution of its social programs of reintegration, it will in turn receive amnesty from those who feel disenfranchised from the GRP and distrust it. After all, reconciliation cannot be fully achieved until both sides in an argument forget the other's transgressions and move on.

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While the elements of AR2 have been exercised in the Philippines, they have not been implemented as part of a cohesive construct. In two years, the GRP will have the opportunity to inject new energy and resources into solving the current dilemma. A new initiative for peace pursued within the framework of AR2 can succeed if it is undertaken with sincerity and energy.

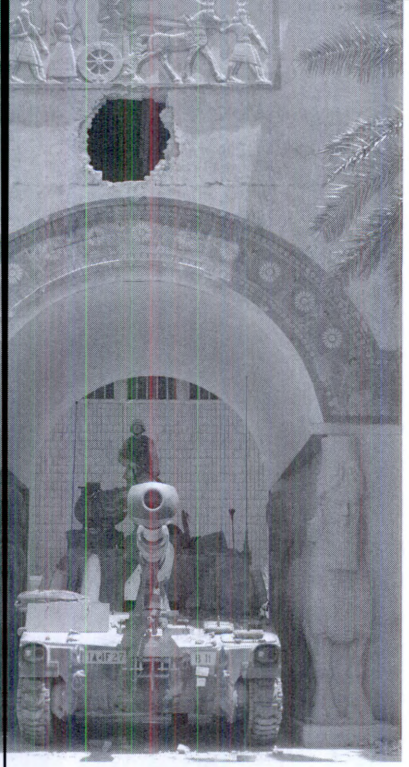
There is no easy answer to the Mindanao problem, and responsibility lies on all sides of the negotiation table to ensure that words and deeds are matched. Overtures of amnesty are the necessary first step, but a wider net must be cast to avoid excluding potential future adversaries. Finally, the reintegration and reconciliation efforts need to follow amnesty quickly, and they ought to be linked to economic incentives that can serve as tangible proof of the change that has taken place. Peace can only be achieved when the AR2 process is carried to its fruition. The Philippine government possesses a great administrative framework, a strong desire for peace, and the tools necessary to carry out its program of AR2. Proper application of AR2 can change the dynamic of Philippine society from one of enduring rivalry to one of enduring peace wherein spirited, sincere, structured negotiation replaces the kinetic dialogue of bullets. ***MR***

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Protection of Arts and Antiquities during Wartime: Examining the Past and Preparing for the Future

Major James B. Cogbill, U.S. Army

Shortly we will be fighting our way across the Continent of Europe in battles designed to preserve our civilization. Inevitably, in the path of our advance will be found historical monuments and cultural centers that symbolize to the world all that we are fighting to preserve. It is the responsibility of every commander to protect and respect these symbols whenever possible.

—General Dwight D. Eisenhower, in a message to troops on the eve of the Normandy Invasion

ON 10 APRIL 2003, one day after the toppling of the Saddam Hussein statue in Firdaus Square, representing the fall of Baghdad to U.S. forces, looters plundered Iraq's National Museum. By taking advantage of the rapid collapse of the state's security apparatus and the chaos that ensued, thieves were free to take what they wished. While initial reports that 170,000 artifacts were stolen have turned out to be wildly exaggerated, experts generally agree that at least 15,000 objects, representing priceless treasures and an integral part of Iraq's cultural heritage, were carried off without significant intervention by the U.S. military. The U.S. failure to prevent this disaster raises questions about the extent to which the military integrates cultural considerations into its planning. Historical examples from World War II demonstrate that in the past, planning for protection of arts and antiquities was an important part of U.S. military planning. Since World War II, broader cultural considerations such as language and customs have been and continue to be incorporated into military planning, but specific planning for protecting cultural objects has been conducted only on an ad hoc basis. Although there have been some recent successes in safeguarding cultural treasures during wartime, the failure to protect the National Museum of Iraq clearly demonstrates the need for a more permanent and capable mechanism to effectively integrate cultural protection measures into U.S. military campaign planning.

Protection of Cultural Treasures: World War II

After the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941, America totally mobilized for war. All instruments of national power, both public and private, joined forces to contribute to the war effort. One example of this was the university-government cooperation that occurred with the goal of protecting arts and antiquities.[1] In 1942, George Stout, of Harvard's Fogg Art Museum, raised the issue of vulnerable cultural sites in wartime Europe, and in January 1943, the American Council of Learned Societies convened a committee to discuss it. The committee incorporated noted intellectuals such

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PHOTO: A U.S. Soldier stands on a howitzer that guards the main entrance of the National Museum in Baghdad, 21 June 2003. The Museum was looted after law and order broke down. (AFP, Ramzi Haidar)

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as Columbia's William Dinsmoor, president of the Archaeological Institute; Francis Henry Taylor of New York's Metropolitan Museum; David Finley of the National Gallery; and Paul Sachs of Harvard. Responding to this group of academic and artistic scholars, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt created the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas, and appointed Dinsmoor and Supreme Court Justice Owen Roberts to lead it. The military then created its own organization—the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Service (MFA&A)—which would be responsible for limiting war damage to cultural artifacts and sites and returning any looted objects found during the course of military activities.

Officers from the MFA&A were integrated into the force as early as the invasion of Italy, in September 1943, and were successful at minimizing damage to Italy's artistic treasures. For instance, MFA&A members persuaded allied commanders to avoid combat inside Florence, a city that many consider to be the cultural capital of Italy. In addition, MFA&A personnel were present for the invasion of Normandy on D-Day to ensure that cultural treasures would be safeguarded, sorted, cleaned, and restored. Later, at the direction of President Harry Truman, the United States repatriated these cultural treasures to their rightful country of origin.

After the war, General Lucius Clay, High Commissioner of Germany during the U.S. occupation, was instrumental in restoring German art treasures. When members of the U.S. Third Army rescued pieces of the Kaiser Friedrich collection, to include 10 works by Rembrandt, from the salt mines in Merkers, Germany, Clay had the collection shipped back to the U.S. National Gallery of Art for restoration.[2] He then thwarted an attempt by members of Congress to appropriate the paintings as war reparations. (He did, however, allow the works to be displayed during a major exposition in 1948 which toured 13 U.S. cities and raised $2 million for German child relief.) In 1950, the U.S. Government returned all the paintings to Berlin, where they became part of the Prussian State Collection. Clay summed up the success of these efforts to protect and restore Germany's cultural heritage: "Perhaps never in the history of the world has a conquering army sought so little for its own and worked so faithfully to preserve the treasures of others."[3]

All of these actions clearly demonstrate the commitment U.S. leaders had to preserving cultural heritage during World War II. This dedication manifested itself in the way America deliberately planned, prepared for, and ably executed the mission of protecting priceless objects of culture.

Looting of the Baghdad Museum

In stark contrast to the successful efforts to protect art and antiquities during World War II, the plundering of the National Museum in Baghdad represented a failure to adequately plan and prepare for protecting cultural sites during combat operations. The story of the planning that did occur provides insight into where the process fell short and why a permanent structure for safeguarding cultural treasures during wartime is necessary.

In late November 2002, following in the tradition of George Stout, who six decades earlier had raised the issue of protecting cultural sites in wartime Europe, Dr. Maxwell Anderson and Dr. Ashton Hawkins published an op-ed piece in the *Washington Post* entitled "Preserving Iraq's Past."[4] At the time, Anderson was president of the Association of Art Museum Directors and Hawkins was president of the American Council for Cultural Policy. Their article called on U.S. leaders to conduct systematic, government-wide planning to protect Iraq's religious and cultural sites. In support of this call, they argued that the land of Iraq, formerly ancient Mesopotamia, represented the cradle of civilization and therefore included not just the cultural heritage of Iraq, but of the entire world. They urged that steps be taken to protect Iraq's religious and cultural sites and monuments. They specifically called for the prevention of looting and destruction. Finally, they pointed out that scholars in the United States familiar with Mesopotamian and Islamic archaeology would be willing to help identify vulnerable sites. Shortly after publication of the article, Anderson received a phone call from an official at the Pentagon requesting a meeting.

On 24 January 2003, Anderson, Hawkins, and Dr. McGuire Gibson, a professor at the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago and an expert on Near East archaeology and antiquity, met with Dr. Joseph J. Collins, deputy assistant secretary of defense for stability operations, and three other members of Collins's staff, at the Pentagon.[5] During

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the meeting, the three art historians discussed their concerns about the vulnerable cultural sites within Iraq, going over many of the same issues Anderson and Hawkins had raised in their article. They were primarily concerned about the threat of tanks or bombs destroying monuments, religious structures, and other cultural and archaeological sites. However, they also addressed the threat of looting and noted their concerns about the National Museum in Baghdad, which they said was a repository of everything that had been excavated in Iraq since 1921, and was therefore the most important cultural institution in Iraq.

According to Anderson's recollection of the meeting, the Pentagon officials stated that they had a plan addressing these concerns and were aware of a few dozen potentially vulnerable cultural sites. Gibson responded that the actual number of sites was closer to a few thousand. Based on this discrepancy, the Defense officials agreed to meet later with Gibson to refine their list of cultural and archaeological sites.

After their meeting with Collins and his staff, Anderson and Hawkins visited the State Department to give a similar briefing. Officials at State seemed much more attuned to the threat facing Iraq's cultural heritage. Their ability to take action, however, was constrained by the fact that the Defense Department had the lead for all invasion planning. By many accounts, the Pentagon tightly controlled the reins of pre-war planning and did not successfully integrate the efforts of the government's civilian agencies. For example, at approximately the same time as these meetings, in January 2003, the Pentagon was just beginning to stand up its Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA), which was supposed to integrate civilian capabilities into the post-war planning effort.

Former under secretary of defense for policy Douglas J. Feith, who along with National Security Advisor Stephen Hadley wrote the charter for ORHA, has stated that ORHA would have been a much more successful venture had it been created 20 or 30 years earlier, and not on an ad hoc basis immediately prior to the invasion.[6] Feith rightly argues that the U.S. Government needs to have a *permanent* mechanism for integrating civilian capabilities into military efforts. Likewise, avoiding destruction of cultural heritage sites during wartime hinges on institutionalizing the planning to protect them.

As a result of ORHA's inexperience and inefficiency, the office never integrated well with Central Command and had only limited success. Illustrative of this problem, ORHA apparently sent a letter to senior U.S. military officials in late March warning of the threat to the National Museum. The letter reportedly stated that after the national bank, the museum was the number two priority for protection from looters.[7] Unfortunately, later events clearly demonstrated that military commanders did not heed the letter's warnings.

After the initial meeting at the Pentagon, Dr. Gibson stayed behind to share his extensive knowledge of Iraq's archaeological sites. The next day, he gave Defense officials a disk containing information on all the known sites. A week and a half later Gibson met with Dr. John J. Kautz, division chief, Operational and Environmental Analysis Division at the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA). At this meeting, DIA officials sought more information about the locations of archaeological digs. In Gibson's opinion, the analysts wanted the information not to ensure that the sites would be protected, but to ensure that targeting planners could distinguish dig sites from dug-in air defense artillery sites on imagery.

As U.S. forces began to converge on Baghdad in March 2003, Dr. Gibson sent emails to Defense officials warning them again about the potential threats to the National Museum. He was shocked when they responded by asking, "Where is the museum?" (they wanted specific coordinates) and other questions that Gibson had previously addressed and whose answers he had thought were already incorporated into the war plan.

Despite this last-minute confusion, it does appear that the list of cultural sites was successfully incorporated into military planners' no-strike lists or no-fire areas. Indeed, according to Dr. Collins, the minimal destruction of cultural sites by direct U.S. military action is an underreported success story. In his words, the extensive "target deconfliction activities that made sure the ziggurats were not hit by a JDAM [Joint Direct Attack Munitions] even if there were snipers in the upper spires was an incredible accomplishment."[8]

According to most sources, initial plans for the siege of Baghdad called for U.S. Army mechanized

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infantry and armor forces to surround the city while light infantry forces cleared the city block by block. Instead, an armor brigade from the 3d Infantry Division conducted its famous "thunder run," an armed reconnaissance mission into the center of Baghdad, on 7 April 2003. This violent, decisive action led directly to the collapse of Saddam's defenses and the fall of Baghdad in just two days.[9]

Unfortunately, the speed of the victory contributed to the virtual security vacuum that ensued. Local Iraqis began looting former government ministries and, from approximately 10 to 12 April, the National Museum. Without enough troops in Baghdad to deal with remaining pockets of resistance and simultaneously control the looting, the U.S. Army initially allowed the looting to continue unchecked. Furthermore, according to an Army spokesman, U.S. forces in Baghdad had orders to secure presidential palaces and potential WMD sites, but there were no specific orders to secure cultural sites.[10]

Despite pleas from National Museum administrators, U.S. troops did nothing to stop the theft of at least 15,000 objects. The list of treasures lost is a long one: Abbasid wooden doors; Sumerian, Akkadian, and Hatraean statues; 5,000 cylinder seals from different periods; gold and silver material, necklaces, and pendants; ancient ceramics;[11] the Sacred Vase of Warka, the world's oldest carved-stone ritual vessel; the Mask of Warka, the first naturalistic sculpture of the human face; a gold bull's head that had adorned Queen Shub-Ad's Golden Harp of Ur; the Bassetki Statue; the Lioness Attacking a Nubian ivory; and the twin copper Ninhursag bulls.[12]

Responding to an immediate outcry from the international press, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Richard Myers stated, "It's as much as anything else a matter of priorities." According to Myers, the need to counter ongoing enemy combat operations overrode the need to protect the museum.[13] Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld was blunter. When asked about the rampant looting, he memorably replied: "Stuff happens." One of the prominent criticisms emerging from the press was that the U.S. military managed to guard the Oil Ministry in Baghdad but left the other ministries and the museum to the mercy of the looters.

Finally, on the morning of 16 April 2003, an American tank platoon arrived at the museum and set up guard. Shortly thereafter, Colonel Matthew Bogdanos, of the U.S. Marine Corps, led a joint interagency coordination group consisting of civilian representatives from the FBI, Immigration and Customs Enforcement, and the New York Police Department to the museum to begin an official investigation into the looting and to initiate the process of recovering lost artifacts. With assistance from Interpol, the UN Educational, Science, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and other international groups, U.S. efforts to recover the stolen antiquities have been quite successful. So far, over 5,500 of the 15,000 or so missing artifacts have been located and returned to the museum. Most of approximately 9,500 artifacts still missing are smaller, easier-to-conceal items such as cylinder seals, gems, and jewelry.



U.S. Air Force, MSGT James M. Bowman

Dr. Jabir Khalil Ibrahim (left), State Board of Antiquities, and Colonel Safa Adeen Mahdi Salih, Iraqi Police, hold the Warka Mask, a marble sculpture dating from 3100 BC, 23 September 2003. The recovered Warka Mask had been missing from the Iraqi Museum since the liberation of Iraq.

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AFP, Behrouz Mehri

U.S. Marine Colonel Matthew Bogdanos, lead investigator in finding looted treasures taken from the Baghdad Archeological Museum, directs a presentation to the press in Baghdad, 16 May 2003.

In addition, through American assistance (including $2 million from the State Department and the Packard Humanities Institute of Los Altos, California), the museum has been restored and even modernized.[14] For instance, a new state-of-the-art electronic security system with guardhouses, fences, and surveillance cameras has been installed.

What Went Wrong?

Why does the failure to protect Iraqi art and antiquities from looting in 2003 seem to stand in such stark contrast to the successes of World War II? And how could planning for the protection of cultural heritage during wartime be improved in the future? To be fair, the U.S. mobilization for World War II was markedly different from U.S. preparations for the invasion of Iraq. In World War II, the entire country truly mobilized for war. Families cultivated victory gardens, the government issued war bonds, and the military-industrial complex went into overdrive; in short, all instruments of national power engaged in the war effort. This general mobilization helps explain why an esteemed panel of experts from the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) convened in 1943 to determine how they could contribute to the war effort (thus leading the President to create a commission and the military to form the MFA&A).

In contrast, prior to the invasion of Iraq, the military mobilized, but the government's other agencies and the private sector conducted business more or less as usual. While Anderson, Hawkins, and Gibson's exertions were noble and in keeping with the precedent set by the ACLS, they did not match the scale or carry the same weight as the academic effort that occurred during World War II.

Furthermore, in terms of timing, the ACLS prepared its assessment a full eight months before the invasion of Italy and over a year and a half before the invasion of France, whereas the meetings at the Pentagon in 2003 occurred less than three months prior to the invasion. The relative lack of preparation time for Iraq undoubtedly hindered the integration of cultural-site protection into the planning process.

Finally, the force sent into Iraq was only a fraction of the size of the one that invaded Europe. The relatively small size of the 2003 force is probably the principal reason the U.S. military failed to protect the National Museum. According to Dr. Collins, there were not even enough troops to guard ammunition dumps and weapons caches that U.S. forces knew about, let alone cultural sites.[15] None of these things excuse the U.S. military's unpreparedness to guard Iraq's cultural treasures after the fall of Baghdad, but they do provide some mitigating factors.

There are several areas where planning to protect cultural sites could have been enhanced. First, the planning should have been conducted much sooner, and with much greater involvement from civilian agencies. If ORHA could have been created even two to three months earlier, there would have been a much greater chance of capitalizing on expertise in the State Department, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and intergovernmental entities such as UNESCO. As reported by Dr. Anderson, officials at the State Department seemed to have a better understanding of the risks to cultural sites within Iraq, but they were relegated to a secondary and perhaps undervalued planning role.

Another problematic aspect of the planning for Iraq was the delegation of responsibility for protecting cultural sites to the deputy assistant secretary

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U.S. Air Force, SSG Reynaldo Ramon

Iraqi employees display recovered artifacts at the Iraq National Museum, 10 November 2003.

of defense for stability operations. In the words of Dr. Collins, who held the position prior to the war, this office was basically "the junk drawer of OSD policy," taking on missions and responsibilities that other agencies and directorates preferred not to deal with.[16] At the time of the invasion, that assessment was probably accurate.

Furthermore, this office was responsible primarily for *stability operations*—in other words, for operations that are commonly understood to occur *after* the conclusion of combat operations. In essence, protection of cultural sites was not viewed as an aspect of the operation's combat phases. Instead, it was relegated to what the military calls "phase IV," the stability and reconstruction phase of an operation. This could certainly explain why security of the National Museum did not become a priority until after major combat operations in the city had ceased. When asked after the war why he did not order commanders to halt the looting of the museum, Collins responded, "We are a policy shop… We are not in the business of guiding military operations."[17]

The final major factor contributing to the failure to protect the museum was that, once again, the mechanism for overseeing the mission was thrown together ad hoc. Currently, no permanent structure in the Department of Defense or the government's civilian agencies is charged with overseeing the protection of art and antiquities during wartime. As previously noted, during World War II the president created the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas, and the military created the MFA&A, but these institutions did not endure much beyond the war's end. The lack of an enduring structure virtually ensures that cultural site protection will continue to be ad hoc, making future destruction of art and antiquities during wartime a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Planning to Protect Arts and Antiquities

Through examination of the problems noted above, it is possible to formulate a prescription for improving planning to protect arts and antiquities. First, the role of cultural experts in developing plans for protecting cultural sites and coordinating those plans with operational plans should be enhanced and formalized. This step will ensure that cultural-protection planning occurs on more than just an informal basis. We should not expect our military personnel to be experts on the location and significance of art and culture in countries around the world. That knowledge resides in the civilian agencies of the U.S. Government, in academia, NGOs, and intergovernmental organizations. The military's relationship with these organizations should be formalized so that experts can play an active role in integrating cultural considerations into military planning.

The U.S. Government has already recognized the need to enhance civilian capabilities for the type of military operations it confronts today. To that end, it has created the State Department's Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization (S/CRS), which the President has tasked to coordinate and lead all efforts to prepare, plan for, and conduct stabilization and reconstruction activities.

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A complementary mission of the S/CRS is to create the Civilian Reserve Corps (based on the U.S. military's reserve) to capitalize on civilian expertise in both the public and private sectors. The S/CRS and the Civilian Reserve Corps could each contribute to building U.S. Government capacity to plan for protecting cultural sites during wartime.

The U.S. Government should create a permanent, dedicated structure within the Department of Defense that, at a minimum, ensures that appropriate cultural planning occurs and is disseminated to all levels of command. This organization should be fully integrated into the operations and policy directorates—not marginalized as an afterthought in the "junk drawer" of the Pentagon. It would also be responsible for coordinating directly with whatever civilian agency has overall responsibility for protecting cultural arts and antiquities. Perhaps most importantly, cultural planning should not be relegated to the periphery as part of "phase IV" operations. Unless such planning is a formal aspect of all phases of the operation, it will not be executed properly.

Conclusion

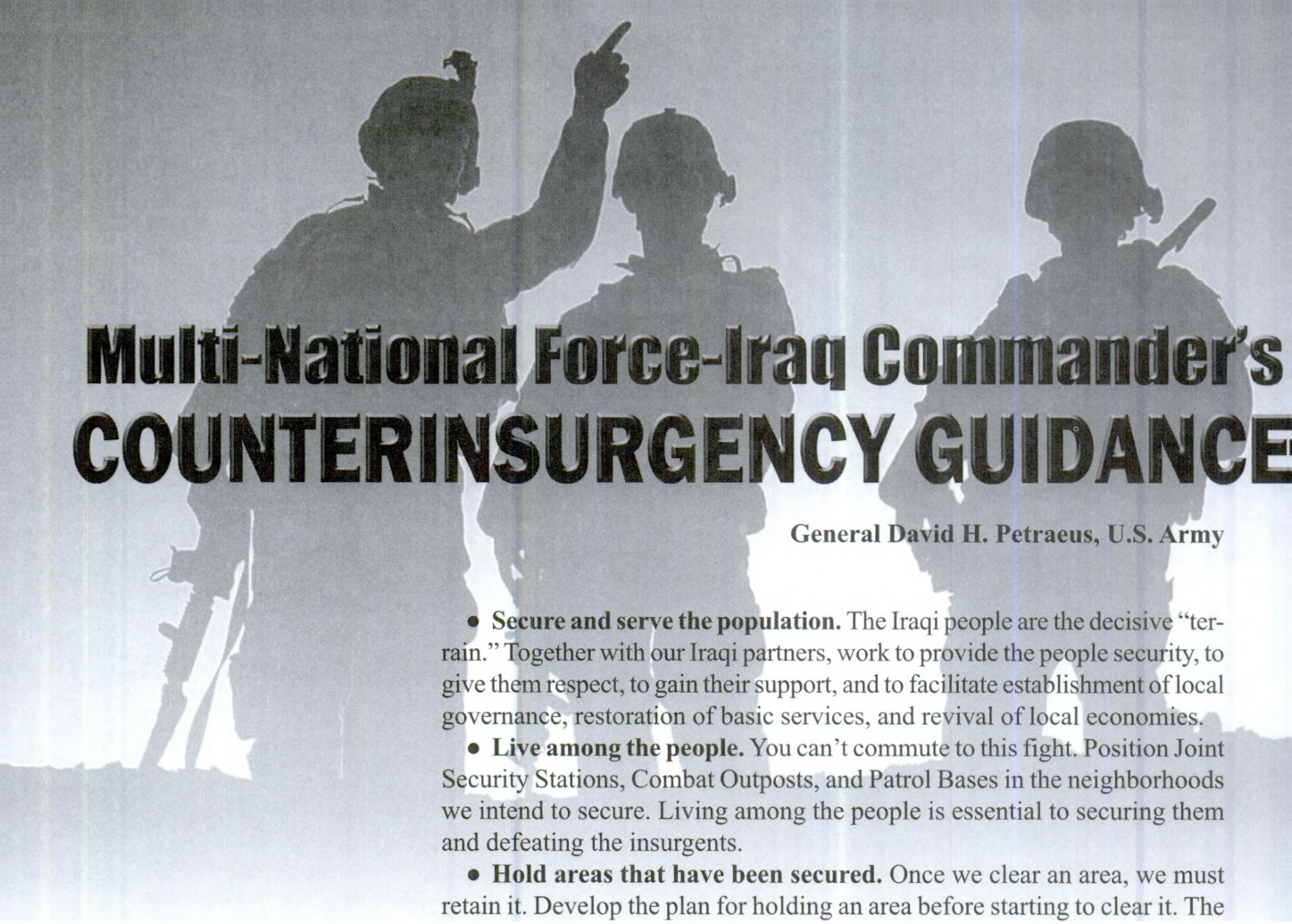
Over 60 years ago, General Eisenhower stated that it was "the responsibility of every commander to protect and respect" symbols of cultural heritage during wartime. That responsibility continues today. As wars of the past attest, once lost or destroyed, cultural heritage can never be rebuilt. For the present, the treasures of Iraq's National Museum represent the collective cultural heritage of the strife-riven Sunni and Shi'a sects in Iraq. Indeed, these treasures represent the unifying heritage of the whole world. For these reasons, the importance of protecting these sites cannot be understated. By ensuring their safekeeping and the safekeeping of art and artifacts during future wars, we will give our own cultural heritage a much better chance of remaining secure and available to posterity. ***MR***

NOTES

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Multi-National Force-Iraq Commander's COUNTERINSURGENCY GUIDANCE

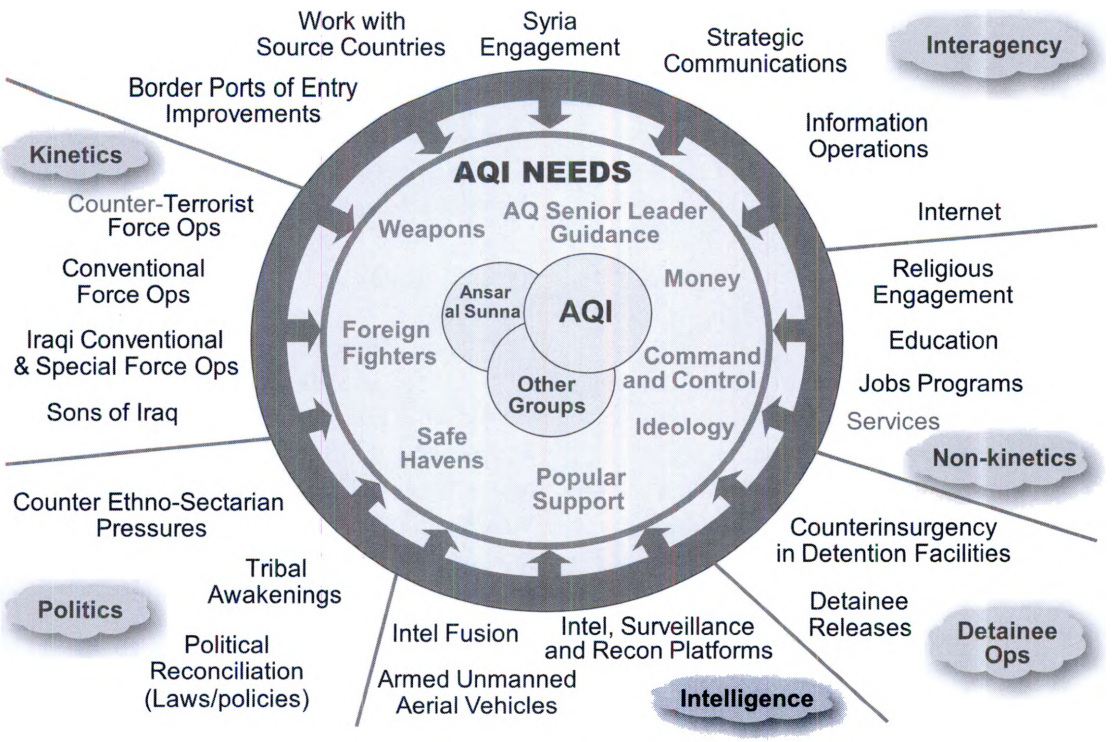
General David H. Petraeus, U.S. Army

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- **Generate unity of effort.** Coordinate operations and initiatives with our embassy and interagency partners, our Iraqi counterparts, local governmental leaders, and non-governmental organizations to ensure all are working to achieve a common purpose.
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PHOTO: U.S. Soldiers stand atop a bridge being constructed over a canal between routes Bismarck and Aggies to improve traffic on Forward Operating Base Kaslu, Iraq, 21 May 2008. (U.S. Army, SGT Kevin Stabinsky)

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Anaconda Strategy vs. AQI

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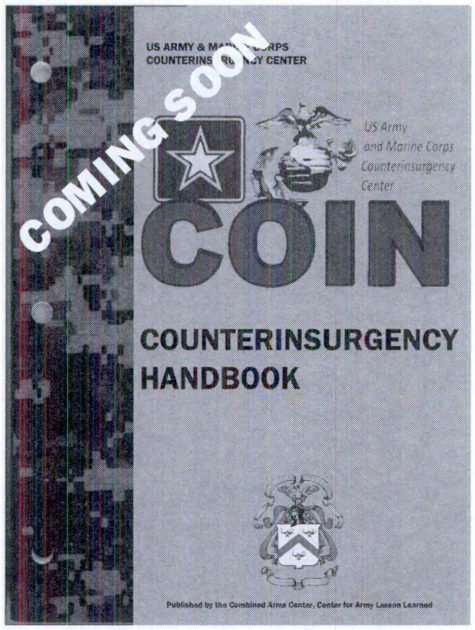
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- **Be first with the truth.** Get accurate information of significant activities to the chain of command, to Iraqi leaders, and to the press as soon as is possible. Beat the insurgents, extremists, and criminals to the headlines, and pre-empt rumors. Integrity is critical to this fight. Don't put lipstick on pigs. Acknowledge setbacks and failures, and then state what we've learned and how we'll respond. Hold the press (and ourselves) accountable for accuracy, characterization, and context. Avoid spin, and let facts speak for themselves. Challenge enemy disinformation. Turn our enemies' bankrupt messages, extremist ideologies, oppressive practices, and indiscriminate violence against them.
- **Fight the information war relentlessly.** Realize that we are in a struggle for legitimacy that will be won or lost in the perception of the Iraqi people. Every action taken by the enemy and our forces has implications in the public arena. Develop and sustain a narrative that works, and continually drive the themes home through all forms of media.
- **Live our values.** Do not hesitate to kill or capture the enemy, but stay true to the values we hold dear. Living our values distinguishes us from our enemies. There is no tougher endeavor than the one in which we are engaged. It is often brutal, physically demanding, and frustrating. All of us experience moments of anger, but we can neither give in to dark impulses nor tolerate unacceptable actions by others.
- **Exercise initiative.** In the absence of guidance or orders, determine what they should be and execute aggressively. Higher level leaders will provide a broad vision and paint "white lines on the road," but it will be up to those at tactical levels to turn "big ideas" into specific actions.
- **Empower subordinates.** Resource to enable decentralized action. Push assets and authorities down to those who most need them and can actually use them. Flatten reporting chains. Identify the level to which you would naturally plan and resource, and go one further—generally looking three levels down, vice the two levels down that is traditional in major combat operations.
- **Prepare for and exploit opportunities.** "Luck is what happens when preparation meets opportunity" (Seneca the Younger). Develop concepts (such as that of "reconcilables" and "irreconcilables") in anticipation of possible opportunities, and be prepared to take risk as necessary to take advantage of them.
- **Learn and adapt.** Continually assess the situation and adjust tactics, policies, and programs as required. Share good ideas. Avoid mental or physical complacency. Never forget that what works in an area today may not work there tomorrow, and that what works in one area may not work in another. Strive to ensure that our units are learning organizations. In counterinsurgency, the side that learns and adapts the fastest gains important advantages. ***MR***

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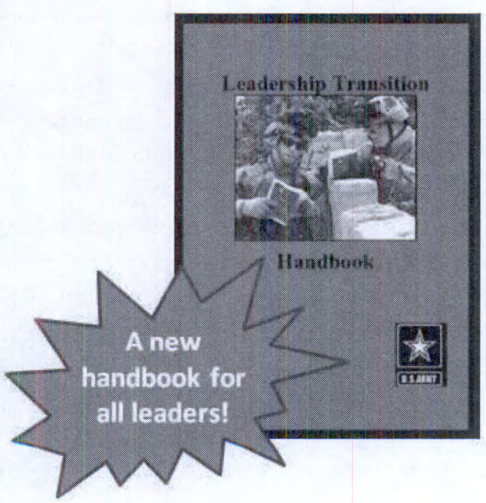
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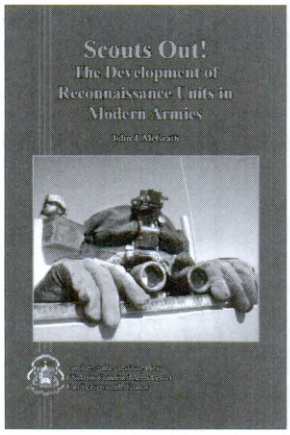
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"Arms are instruments of ill omen, not the instruments of the gentleman. When one is compelled to use them, it is best to do so without relish. There is no glory in victory, and so to glorify it despite this is to exult in the killing of men. One who exults in the killing of men will never have his way in the empire. On occasions of rejoicing precedence is given to the left; On occasions of mourning precedence is given to the right. A lieutenant's place is on the left; The general's place is on the right. This means that it is mourning rites that are observed. When great numbers of people are killed, one should weep over them with sorrow. When victorious in war, one should observe the rites of mourning."

— Lao Tzu, Tao Te Ching, 31, circa 6th century B.C. (translated by D.C. Lau)

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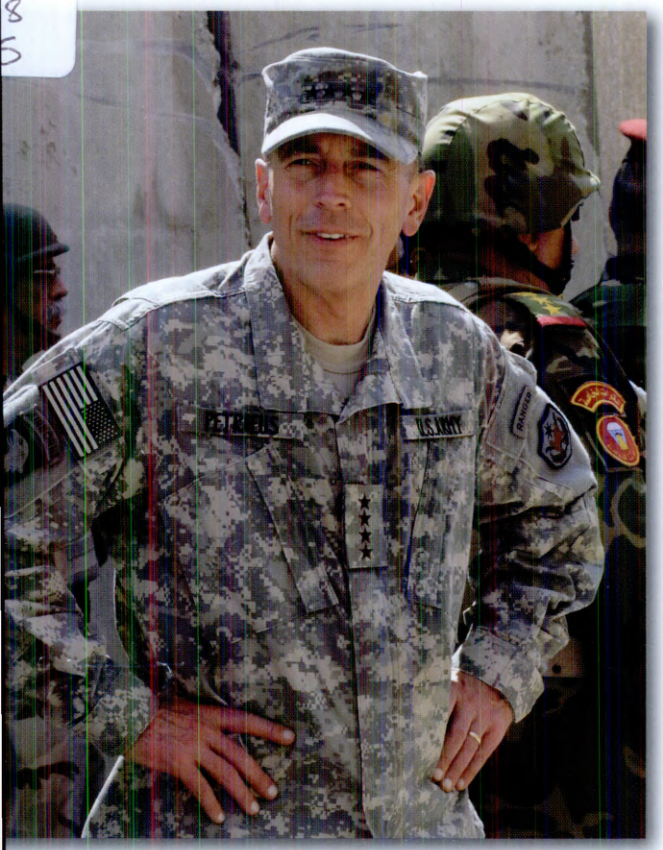
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Cover Photo: General David H. Petraeus, Commanding General, Multi-National Force-Iraq meets with local Iraqi Army and Police at Joint Security Station Sadr City, in Baghdad, 4 June 2008 during a battlefield circulation. GEN Petraeus visits each of the joint security stations, combat outposts, and patrol bases throughout Iraq to see for himself what the conditions are on the ground and to engage at all levels within the command. (U.S. Army, SSG Lorie Jewell)

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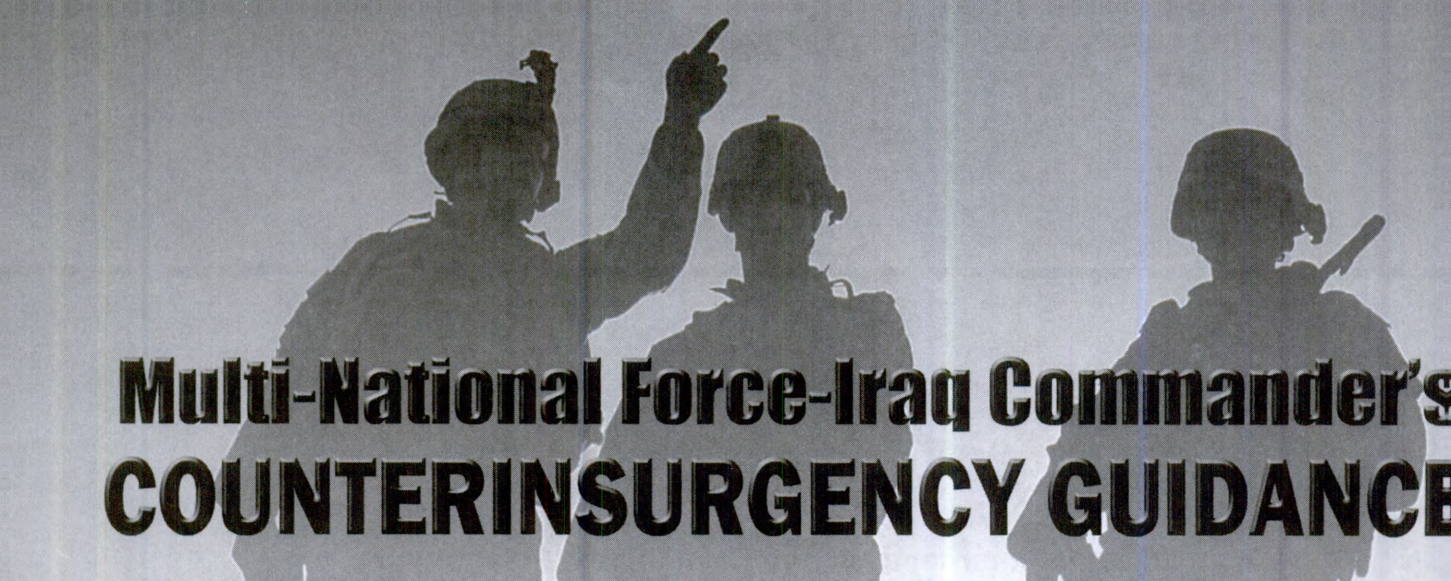
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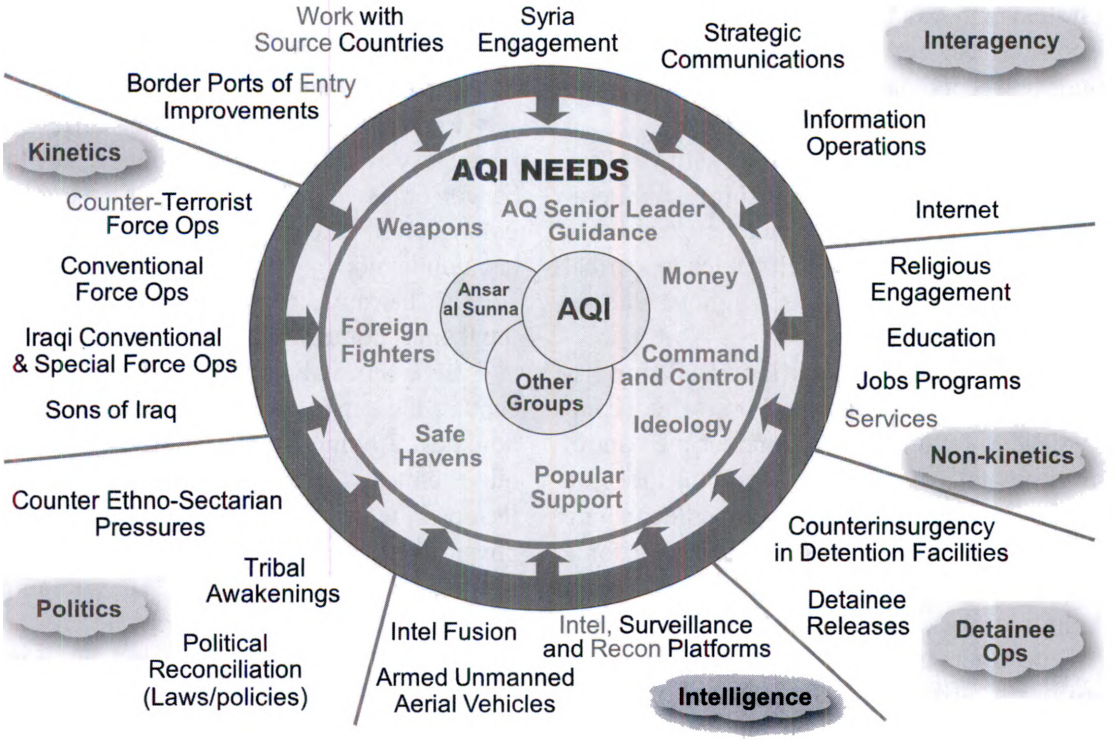
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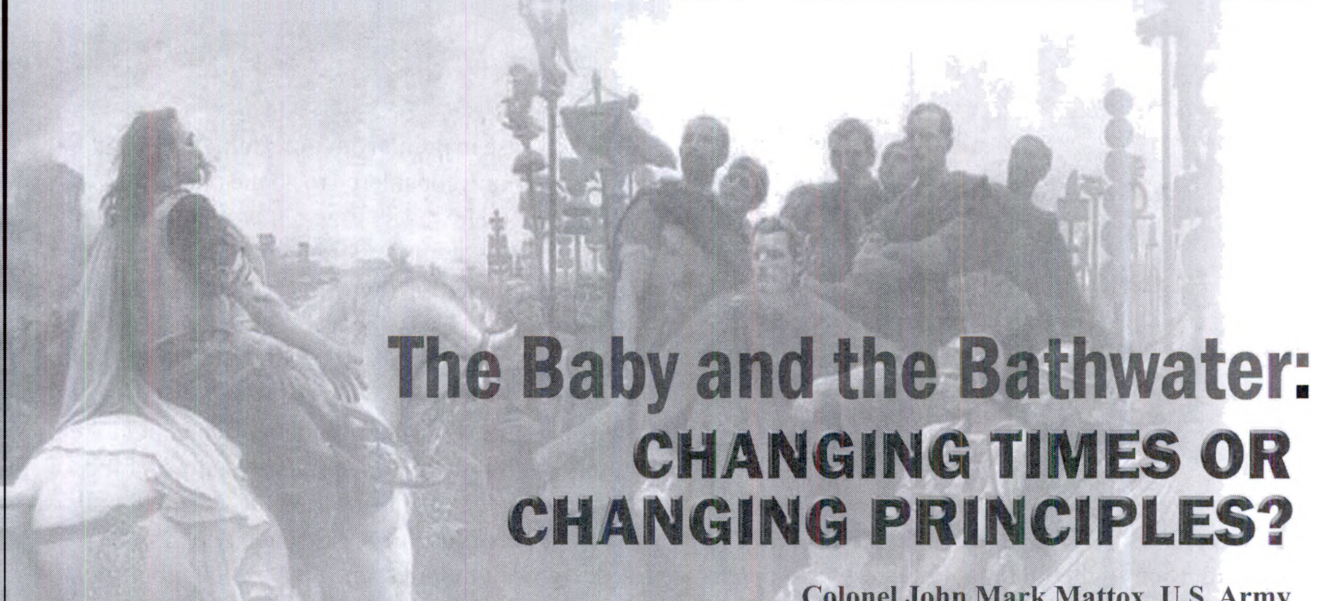
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- **Maintain continuity and tempo through transitions.** Start to build the information you'll provide to your successors on the day you take over. Allow those who will follow you to "virtually look over your shoulder" while they're still at home station by giving them access to your daily updates and other items on SIPRNET. Deploy planners and intel analysts ahead of time. Encourage extra time on the ground during transition periods, and strive to maintain operational tempo and local relationships to avoid giving the enemy respite.
- **Manage expectations.** Be cautious and measured in announcing progress. Note what has been accomplished, but also acknowledge what still needs to be done. Avoid premature declarations of success. Ensure our troopers and our partners are aware of our assessments and recognize that any counterinsurgency operation has innumerable challenges, that enemies get a vote, and that progress is likely to be slow.
- **Be first with the truth.** Get accurate information of significant activities to the chain of command, to Iraqi leaders, and to the press as soon as is possible. Beat the insurgents, extremists, and criminals to the headlines, and pre-empt rumors. Integrity is critical to this fight. Don't put lipstick on pigs. Acknowledge setbacks and failures, and then state what we've learned and how we'll respond. Hold the press (and ourselves) accountable for accuracy, characterization, and context. Avoid spin, and let facts speak for themselves. Challenge enemy disinformation. Turn our enemies' bankrupt messages, extremist ideologies, oppressive practices, and indiscriminate violence against them.
- **Fight the information war relentlessly.** Realize that we are in a struggle for legitimacy that will be won or lost in the perception of the Iraqi people. Every action taken by the enemy and our forces has implications in the public arena. Develop and sustain a narrative that works, and continually drive the themes home through all forms of media.
- **Live our values.** Do not hesitate to kill or capture the enemy, but stay true to the values we hold dear. Living our values distinguishes us from our enemies. There is no tougher endeavor than the one in which we are engaged. It is often brutal, physically demanding, and frustrating. All of us experience moments of anger, but we can neither give in to dark impulses nor tolerate unacceptable actions by others.
- **Exercise initiative.** In the absence of guidance or orders, determine what they should be and execute aggressively. Higher level leaders will provide a broad vision and paint "white lines on the road," but it will be up to those at tactical levels to turn "big ideas" into specific actions.
- **Empower subordinates.** Resource to enable decentralized action. Push assets and authorities down to those who most need them and can actually use them. Flatten reporting chains. Identify the level to which you would naturally plan and resource, and go one further—generally looking three levels down, vice the two levels down that is traditional in major combat operations.
- **Prepare for and exploit opportunities.** "Luck is what happens when preparation meets opportunity" (Seneca the Younger). Develop concepts (such as that of "reconcilables" and "irreconcilables") in anticipation of possible opportunities, and be prepared to take risk as necessary to take advantage of them.
- **Learn and adapt.** Continually assess the situation and adjust tactics, policies, and programs as required. Share good ideas. Avoid mental or physical complacency. Never forget that what works in an area today may not work there tomorrow, and that what works in one area may not work in another. Strive to ensure that our units are learning organizations. In counterinsurgency, the side that learns and adapts the fastest gains important advantages. ***MR***

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The Baby and the Bathwater:
CHANGING TIMES OR CHANGING PRINCIPLES?

Colonel John Mark Mattox, U.S. Army

FORMER SECRETARY of Defense Donald Rumsfeld's 2001 pronouncement that the United States is engaged in "a new kind of war" appeared to constitute a clear signal from the highest levels of government that times had changed and that, accordingly, the nation must approach the war-fighting enterprise differently than it had in recent memory—or perhaps ever.[1] That pronouncement, and the events that precipitated it, came in the wake of a military transformation—a transformation that had placed on the table for re-examination every aspect of military culture: from force development, to financing, to basing, to acquisition, to training, to executing, to what constitutes a "win" of either the war or the peace. It is a transformation which continues today.

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PAINTING: Vercingétorix throws his weapons to the feet of Julius César, by Lionel Royer, 1899, Crozatier Museum at the Puy-en-Velay, France. The principles of war are as valid today as they were during Caesar's subjugation of Gaul in 52 B.C.E. Caesar had an instictive genius for the principles of war, as did Alexander and Hannibal in centuries before him, and as did Gengis Khan, Napoleon, and others centuries later. As techniques have changed, principles have remained valid.

The Vortex of Change

In the face of this sweeping change, it is little wonder that some might question whether anything remains the same. The ancient philosopher Hericlitus might as well have been thinking of the U.S. defense establishment when he observed that no one ever steps into the same river. However, while Hericlitus may have been right, reflective observers of the changes now underway would do well to take some soundings as to how deep the current of change really runs—or *should* run. Is it possible for a burgeoning, bureaucratic institution like the military truly to transform itself unless it changes the principles of war, which govern its function? The answer to that question really hinges upon what one means by "principles." Properly understood, the most fundamental principles embody world-ordering, foundational ideas: intellectual bedrock. However, reaching that bedrock requires one to traverse several strata of progressively more fundamental supporting principles. Thus, one cannot meaningfully conduct an investigation into whether principles have changed or should change without specifying just how fundamentally the discourse is to be focused. The point is not a trivial one; for, if practitioners of the profession of arms get muddled in their thinking such that they cannot clearly identify the stratum of principles under consideration and why—if at all—those principles should change, they risk marching, or sailing, or flying from the wrong point of departure on their transformational journey to a most uncertain destination. At the most fundamental stratum, the ideas that constitute and undergird the principles of war have *not* changed, and it is important to understand why this is so.

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What a Principle *Is*—and *Is Not*

In addition to the fact that not every principle is equally fundamental, it also is true that not every concept dignified by the honorific designation of "principle" really is a principle at all. Some dearly held beliefs simply are false, even if, given the information available, they seem to be true. For example, the idea of Thales of Melitus—the father of Western philosophy—that everything is water, seemed to make good scientific sense in its day: One could point to lakes, rivers, oceans, clouds, steamy vapor, snow and ice—all water, readily observe the change of that water from one state to another, and reason that everything might, in fact, be reducible to water. Thales and his disciples appear to have held this to be the ordering "principle" that governed their entire scientific world view. The eventual discovery that they had been in error did not mean that a principle had changed. Rather, it meant that an idea which they took to be a principle actually was not a principle at all!

Although ideas which actually turn out to be principles are always true within their sphere of application, new insights or changing circumstances that become evident with the passage of time force their "re-scoping." That is to say, a principle may remain true within certain limits but prove not to be as broad in its application as once thought. The scientific revolution that marked the emergence of Einstinian physics from its Newtonian predecessor serves as a case in point: Newton's famous formula, F=MA, was long considered to be the universal law of mechanics. However, Einstein later argued persuasively that Newton's formula does not fare well at speeds approaching the speed of light. Einstein's formula, $E=MC^2$, sets forth a relationship, which compensates for the shortcomings of the earlier Newtonian statement. That does not mean that F=MA is untrue or without practical value. On the contrary, within a very broad sphere of applicability, it continues to be of enormous value. It is, after all, the principle we use to build roads and skyscrapers, design automobiles, and do a billion other such things. Its application is, however, more limited in scope than once thought. Nevertheless, a change in scope of application for a particular principle does not necessarily mean that it is not a true principle or indicates a change in the principle itself.

...not every concept dignified by the honorific designation of "principle" really is a principle at all.

Because true principles do not change, to ask the question, "Have the principles of war changed?" is (to take an example from the contemporary debate on genetic engineering) akin to asking—not, "Are we now witnessing hitherto unseen developments that will cause us to rethink how we do things?" but rather—"Has the double-helix structure of the DNA molecule itself morphed into something hitherto unknown?" Thus, in order properly to dissect the question, one first must ask, "are the principles currently in use *true principles* and if so, are they still "scoped" properly for the war-fighting tasks at hand and for those one reasonably can expect the future to bring?"

Principium or Technē?

The English word "principle" debuted in the late 14th century and meant a "fundamental truth or proposition, on which many others depend; a primary truth comprehending, or forming the basis of, various truths."[2] The word derives from the Latin *principium*, which, interestingly, in its plural form (principia) refers to the front of an army—the staff and general's quarters.[3] Thus, even in its historical meaning, a principle, or principium, is that which guides the military in the direction that it must go if it is to be successful. In the American military tradition, nine concepts (namely, objective, simplicity, unity of command, offensive, maneuver, mass, economy of force, surprise, and security) have been accorded the designation "principles of

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war"—concepts that the military must observe in order to be successful. These principles are important, time tested, and relevant. They are principles precisely because their foundational role has been evident throughout the historical record of warfare and because there is no reason to believe—even in the most fanciful, mind-stretching scenarios of science fiction—that they ever will cease to apply to future conflicts.

However, that does not mean that the scope or relative value of one or another of these principles cannot or will not change as circumstances evolve. Indeed, even now, they are evolving. For example, a successful Warsaw Pact armor assault, of the kind anticipated to come through the Fulda Gap, may have been expected to rely heavily on objective, offensive, and mass. The theory was: Throw enough tanks at NATO forces and, all other things being equal, some Warsaw Pact tanks are bound to break through. However, that assault would have depended commensurately less on maneuver, economy of force, or surprise. On the other hand, an effective cyber attack of the future may rely heavily on surprise, security, and economy of force, but may not meaningfully depend on mass, maneuver, or unity of command. The principles may differ in scope or application, based on circumstances, but one senses no need to call into question the truth or validity of the principles themselves.

The need to "re-scope," re-prioritize, or assign new relative values to true principles should not give occasion to equate *principia* with *technē*—the ancient Greek concept for the art, way, or means in which principles are applied practically, and which is the historical root for the English word "technique." Much of what we witness at present on contemporary battlefields—those in Iraq, for example—focuses on changes to *technē*, or "tactics, techniques, and procedures," as they frequently are called in the profession of arms. Thus, when the president enjoins the armed forces and the nation's industrial support base to develop "new technologies . . . to redefine war on our terms," he is issuing an explicit call for the armed forces to examine its *technē*—the tools at its disposal—to ensure that those tools, whether they be mechanical or procedural, are appropriate to the task.[4] And indeed, as we are learning, a redefinition of our *technē* is in order. For example, the Fulda Gap scenario, or even the Desert Storm scenario, had little need for armored HMMWVs—in contrast to Operation Iraqi Freedom, for which the need for armoured HMMWVs is significant. Although the principle of "security" applies in all three of these scenarios, the *technē* required to implement the principle differs widely between the first two cases and the last case.

The nine principles of war continue to be as foundational and applicable as ever. Every time a revolution in military affairs occurs, the question arises as to whether principles actually have changed or whether the change is merely, or largely, a reordering of *technē*; and every time, the answer is the same: The evolution from stone and slingshot, to sword and shield, to pike and lance, to simple bow or longbow or crossbow, to musket or rifle or cannon or rocket, to atomic bomb or thermonuclear warhead, to satellites or lasers or cyber attacks—*all of them*—operate on the basis of the very same principles of war, albeit in reshuffled orders of relative importance.

Digging Deeper

However, just as shifts in tectonic plates can force the re-shaping of bedrock in ways not always anticipated, a consideration of the stability of still deeper strata of principles pertinent to the profession of arms is appropriate before one can say with confidence that the principles which underwrite the profession are not undergoing change. Thus, in order to find a truly interesting and non-trivial answer to the question, "have the principles of war changed?" one has to dig deeper. Just as thousands of individual *technē* derive from the traditionally accepted principles of war, these principles, in turn, derive from even more fundamental ones, like Clausewitz's often quoted (and often misunderstood) dictum that "War is . . . an act of force to compel our enemy to do our will."[5] Here, Clausewitz observes that the military instrument of national power is merely one means among many (i.e., diplomatic, informational, economic, etc.) that can be applied to the task of persuading another power to yield to "our will." It is a very blunt instrument, just as the nine principles of war demonstrate it to be. However, the very fact that a blunt instrument is sometimes required stands as testament to the yet more fundamental principle that the freedom of human will is inviolable: no individual or nation actually can

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force any other individual or nation to act contrary to will. The former only can reason with, invite, persuade, cajole or—failing methods based on the use of more delicate instruments—induce such a degree of physical pain through fighting that the latter concludes that resisting the will of the former is more trouble than it is worth. It is on the basis of this principle elucidated by Clausewitz that the traditional nine principles of war rest, and nothing whatsoever has changed about that, either. Wars always have been, and always will be, as a matter of principle, tools for the infliction of unbearable pain so that resistance to "our will" no longer presents itself to an adversary as a viable option.

And Deeper

However, Clausewitz's point, as profound as it is, does not take us the full distance to the most foundational principles that lie at the bedrock. Thus, underlying the question, "Have the principles of war changed?" is a still more fundamental question: "Why would America ever feel itself justified to use the blunt instrument of military power in the first place?" And underlying this question, one encounters still another: "What are the fundamental principles that govern America's world view—a world view that includes the possibility for the use of war as an instrument of national power?" If the principles of war truly have changed, it must be due to tectonic shifts in the answers to these most basic questions at the ocean floor, and not to tropical squalls on the surface, however disruptive those squalls may seem to be.

Since America's inception, it has embraced, as a matter of principle, the belief that some values (such as individual and collective self-determination, justice, or equity) are worth fighting for. Accordingly, the nation has felt justified, from time to time, in using the military instrument of power to inflict pain upon its adversaries to such a degree that they would rather change their wills and yield, if not conform, to these values than continue to fight. That does not imply that America always has been perfect in its judgment with respect to when, where, or how to fight. However, it does imply that, consistent with its fundamental values—its most deeply held principle, America at times has concluded that going to war was the best course to pursue as a matter of national policy.

Even then, America's decision to go to war has never failed to be circumscribed by adherence to principles of the most fundamental character, to wit: It never has fought a war devoid of moral constraint. On the contrary, it always has invoked principles regarding the circumstances under which wars could be fought justly and, once begun, the way in which they could be prosecuted justly. These principles, embodied in the just war tradition, which America embraces, hold that wars must be fought only for just causes, with the right intention, as a last resort, for the restoration of a just and lasting peace, and only after concluding, in the nation's best judgement, that the moral good expected to result from the war will outweigh the evils that its prosecution inevitably will entail. These most fundamental principles also enshrine the axioms that a war can be justly prosecuted if, and only if, it inflicts only proportional harm to adversaries, consistent with the principle of military necessity, and if, and only if, it discriminates between non-combatants and legitimate objects of military violence. The fact that America has, as a matter of *technē*, fallen short of moral perfection in the way it approaches or conducts wars does not imply that the principles which characterize the American way of war have changed or should be changed. (Witness the public outcry that erupts at the suggestion that an American soldier may have mistreated an Iraqi prisoner, or fired upon a non-combatant. No such outcry *ever* was heard from the Ba'athists of Saddam Hussein's regime as the result of moral self-examination, for no such self-examination appears ever to have occurred!)

The fact is that, the deeper one digs beneath the *technē* of war fighting, the more obvious it becomes that America's principles of war have not

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changed. The nine battlefield principles still apply; the Clausewitzian principle which describes the use of the military instrument of national power still applies; and the moral-philosophical principles which undergird and circumscribe the most soul-level aspects of a national decision to go to war and, once committed to the fight, to prosecute the war in a morally sound manner remain virtually unaffected by the sweeping and unremitting current of change that seems to typify the dawn of the third millennium C.E.

In Sum

To suppose that principles have changed just because the order of the day calls for house-to-house clearing on the streets rather than a Desert Storm-style tank battle with the Republican Guards is folly in the extreme, and the armchair pundits on Sunday morning talk shows who conclude otherwise would serve the public best by admitting that their analyses are intended only as superficial ones suited for sound-bite-size transmission. Indeed, it is absolutely *critical* that decision makers throughout the chain of command and up to the highest level of government clearly understand that *no principles have changed.* This is so because, while decisions based on the perceived need to change *technē* cause movements—even if large movements—in the rudder of the ship of state, decisions based on supposed changes in principles signal that we have come to believe that altogether new answers must be formulated to the most fundamental questions upon which our democracy and way of life is based. The military services need to transform. They need always to search for more efficient ways to use their resources by applying the right solutions to the challenges they face. They need always to search for ways to be more effective in the manner in which they fight wars so as to bring those wars, justly fought, to a speedy and peaceful conclusion. Some principles may have to be "re-scoped" in terms of their sphere of application, so that, for example, trainees destined to become street fighters in Iraq are made to understand that "unity of command" does not imply lack of opportunity for initiative. But these needs always have existed. Nothing about them really is new, and nothing really has changed.

For instance, the military may solve the problems of inadequate quantity and quality of vehicular armor. We can be sure that the insurgent enemy will also burn the midnight oil to develop *technē* to negate any solution's effectiveness. Then, tomorrow, the military may develop other *technē* to overcome the insurgents' countermeasures, whatever they may be. And so on. However, nothing will have changed at the level of true principle.

The same holds true at more fundamental strata of discourse. War continues to be what it always has been: a pain-exacting tool for persuading adversaries to yield their will to "our will." Of greatest importance, however, is the realization that nothing has changed at the most fundamental stratum of principles, namely, those principles which specify the circumstances under which Americans should go to war and how and within what moral limits it will prosecute that war. The task is for America to ensure that it is true to its time-tested principles; the task is *not* to change its principles or to proceed on the assumption that the principles have changed. Indeed, if America is to be true to the high calling that its founders conceived it to have—that of a "a city on a hill," a beacon for others to follow—the temptation to change its most fundamental war fighting principles is something against which the nation must jealously and zealously guard.[6] If the nation or its military decides to change principles when what really is needed is to tweak its *technē*, it truly will have succeeded in nothing more than throwing out the baby with the bathwater. ***MR***

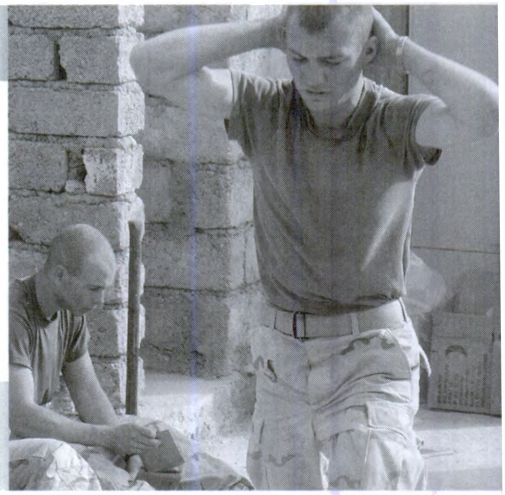
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DISCIPLINE, PUNISHMENT, and COUNTERINSURGENCY

Scott Andrew Ewing



JUST AS COMMANDERS are responsible for the climate in their units, so the Army as an institution is responsible for the moral climate it fosters. In this article, I will outline some of the contradictions and ambiguities in Army regulations (ARs) and field manuals (FMs) that make it difficult for leaders to understand the distinction between corrective training and punishment. I will argue that ARs, case law, the Office of the Inspector General, and higher-echelon commanders have, nonetheless, made it clear that such a distinction exists and must be respected. Failure to recognize and respect this distinction can and often does lead to illegal abuses of authority. These abuses of authority within the Army's ranks, and the cultural undercurrents that condone these patterns of behavior, cripple efforts to wage an effective counterinsurgency (COIN) campaign by fostering a mentality of paternalistic tyranny rather than good stewardship. The moral implications of this mentality are neither consistent nor compatible with counterinsurgency doctrine, which requires support of, and thus respect for, the local population.[1]

In July of 2005, while serving in Iraq, I began a search for the regulations that authorized a noncommissioned officer (NCO) to order a private to do painful, humiliating, or fatigue-inducing exercises as a means of addressing alleged misconduct or minor deficiencies. Such practices are commonly referred to as "smoking" a Soldier.[2] An instance of a Soldier being ordered to do pain-inducing exercises as a response to alleged misconduct or minor deficiencies is called a "smoke session." The practice is ubiquitous in the Army. It is also illegal.

To correct this situation, two things need to occur. First, several ARs and FMs need to be revised to clarify the difference between corrective training and punishment. Additionally, company and field grade officers and senior NCOs must enforce these regulations, and their interpretation, in accordance with judicial findings and the memoranda of higher-echelon officers.

Paternalism Gone Awry

Sergeants smoke Soldiers in the Army every day. Unfortunately, it is not easy to discern the legal boundary between corrective training and punishment by reading regulations. In my experience, NCOs and lower enlisted Soldiers are almost never aware of the location and content of the wording that addresses practices colloquially referred to as "smoke sessions." Indeed, the term "smoke session," while a part of the everyday lexicon of enlisted Soldiers, is nowhere to be found in ARs or FMs.

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PHOTO: A Soldier in Iraq getting "smoked." When such sessions cross the line into abuse, they become illegal. If unchecked, paternalistic behaviors among leaders can also translate into contempt for their Soldiers and others. Abuse of authority is not consistent with good stewardship. (courtesy of author)

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...the cultural undercurrents that condone these patterns of behavior cripple efforts to wage an effective counterinsurgency (COIN) campaign by fostering a mentality of paternalistic tyranny rather than good stewardship.

Legal guide. The terms, "corrective training," "extra training," "extra instruction," and "punishment" are discussed, but there is considerable ambiguity in their definitions. The clearest distinction between extra training and punishment is in FM 27-1, *Legal Guide for Commanders*: "Do not use extra training and instruction as punitive measures. You must distinguish extra training and instruction from punishment or even the appearance of punishment."[3] This passage exhorts a distancing of the definitions and practices of punishment vis-à-vis extra training.

Such a distinction is important because punishment is illegal when it is administered prior to an Article 15 or a court martial.[4] There is no provision anywhere in the Army that allows NCOs to preside over a court martial, and FM 27-1 explicitly states that NCOs are not authorized to impose nonjudicial punishment on Soldiers "under any circumstances."[5] An NCO's summary decision to punish a Soldier is unauthorized. Smoke sessions, when punitive, are therefore unauthorized.

NCO guide. Unfortunately, FM 7-22-7, *The Army Noncommissioned Officer Guide*, does not specifically state that NCOs must not punish Soldiers. This publication gives some guidelines, shared with AR 600-20, *Command Policy*, for acceptable extra training, or "on-the-spot" corrections: "The training, instruction, or correction given to a Soldier to correct deficiencies must be directly related to the deficiency . . . Such measures assume the nature of the training or instruction, not punishment . . . All levels of command should take care to ensure that training and instruction are not used in an oppressive manner to evade the procedural safeguards in imposing nonjudical punishment."[6] Here, the wording, "such measures assume the nature of the training or instruction, not punishment," merely declares that corrective training measures will be viewed as training, and *not* punishment, when they are directly related to the deficiency. But there is no statement in this passage that prohibits such training from being essentially punitive in nature.

In FM 7-22-7, a section on command authority states, "The chain of command backs up the NCO support channel by legally punishing those who challenge the NCO's authority."[7] This statement also fails to make it clear that NCOs do not have the legal right to impose punishment. Instead, the wording simply recognizes the obvious fact that the chain of command may use legal measures to punish Soldiers.

FM 7-22-7 then also implies that punishment was historically the means by which NCOs controlled their subordinates, and leaves open the question of where the boundaries between corrective training and punishment lie. The Army began to define NCO duties explicitly during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The five or six pages of instructions provided by Frederick William Augustus, Baron Von Steuben's *Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States* in 1778 grew to 417 pages in the 1909 *Noncommissioned Officers Manual*.[8] FM 7-22-7 explains that, although this was an unofficial publication, it was widely used, and the chapters describing the duties of the first sergeant and sergeant major include common forms, a description of duties, what to do and not do, and customs of the service.[9] This 1909 manual also included a chapter on discipline that stressed the role of punishment in achieving discipline. The manual stated that the purpose of punishment was to prevent the commission of offenses and to reform the offender. Notably though, this manual stressed that treatment of subordinates should be "uniform, just, and in no way humiliating."[10]

Although FM 7-22-7 discourages humiliating treatment by reference to the unofficial 1909 manual, this more recent and fully official Army publication does not explicitly state that NCOs lack the authority to punish Soldiers. It almost seems to be an intentional obfuscation of the issue, an underhanded attempt to condone, without really sanctioning, the essentially punitive measures that NCOs traditionally use to control their subordinates.

Another section in FM 7-22-7 reinforces the idea that the routine duties of an NCO include punishing soldiers: "The day-to-day business of sergeants

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U.S. Military Academy cadets undergoing physical training in July 2008 as part of Cadet Basic Training. When such training becomes punishment, it is a violation of the Uniform Code of Military Justice. A clearer articulation of the differences between training and punishment can help prevent abuses of authority.

and corporals included many roles. Sergeants and corporals instructed recruits in all matters of military training, including the order of their behavior in regard to neatness and sanitation. They quelled disturbances and *punished perpetrators*" (emphasis added).[11] To administer punishment, the NCOs of the company established the "company court-martial," which was not recognized by Army doctrine or official procedures (which leads one to ask why FM 7-22-7 even mentions it). This institution allowed the NCOs to informally enforce discipline without lengthy proceedings. In the days before the summary court martial, "it proved effective to discipline a man by the company court-martial and avoided ruining his career by bringing him before...officers of the regiment."[12] This argument continues to be used by contemporary NCOs to justify the practice of smoking a Soldier as a sort of kindness, because there is no written record of the incident.

In the passage above, the first sergeant and other NCOs established and presided over this means of enforcing discipline *without* involving commissioned officers. But the summary court martial referenced as the modern-day descendent of the "company court martial" is presided over by a commissioned officer, not an NCO. In a discussion that covers a span of time from the Revolutionary War through the War on Terror, FM 7-22-7 mentions punishment in three separate cases as the legitimate duty of NCOs. Astonishingly, nowhere in this manual is it explicitly stated that NCOs do not have the authority to punish soldiers in today's Army.

Constitutional Guidelines

The Fifth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution states: "No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law."[13] Note *only* the grand jury indictment requirement is waived in "cases arising in the land or naval forces . . . when in actual service in time of War or public danger." If the authors of

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the Fifth Amendment had wanted due process to be completely withheld from military members during wartime service, they would have written the amendment that way. But they did not, and therefore, a Soldier's "life, liberty, and property" are protected under this amendment.

There is, however, no constitutional prohibition against pain-inducing *corrective training*, since the Eighth Amendment only prohibits "cruel and unusual punishment."[14] This semantic tug-of-war continues with the Sixth Amendment, which provides details of due process when a crime has been committed: "In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence."[15] The semantic issues thus move the mechanics of law beyond an NCO's reaction. One must first consider the Soldier's action and whether it is in fact a crime. Military law is written so as to allow virtually any form of misbehavior imaginable to be construed as a crime that can be prosecuted. But the procedural safeguards alluded to in the Sixth Amendment are nowhere to be found when an NCO smokes a Soldier.

Crime and Punishment

In AR 600-20, *Command Policy*, commanders are warned that: "Care should be taken at all levels of command to ensure that training and instruction are not used in an oppressive manner to evade the procedural safeguards applying to imposing nonjudicial punishment."[16] So, when an NCO chooses to address a behavior that could be construed as a crime, he cannot use "smoke sessions" *to evade due process*. Also, punishment must not be conflated with extra training because as soon as punishment is sought, and criminal behavior is being prosecuted as such, due process must be involved.

Ordering a Soldier to do a "reasonable number of authorized exercises," however, is a form of extra training, not punishment, according to AR 600-20, which states: "When authorized by the chain of command and not unnecessarily cruel, abusive, oppressive, or harmful, the following activities do not constitute hazing:

(a) The physical and mental hardships associated with operations or operational training.

(b) Administrative corrective measures, including verbal reprimands and a reasonable number of repetitions of authorized physical exercises.

(c) Extra military instruction or training.

(d) Physical training or remedial physical training.

(e) Other similar activities."[17]

In this section, smoke sessions are construed as "not hazing" and are implicitly "corrective measures," as long as they are not, "unnecessarily cruel, abusive, oppressive, or harmful." The point at which a smoke session crosses this line is not given though, and in many cases, only the NCO and Soldier witness this arbitrary judgment. Even when others are present, smoke sessions are almost never challenged, regardless of their severity.

Despite the fact that FM 27-1 asserts the necessity for commanders to make a clear distinction between corrective training and punishment, several other regulations, when read together, bring ambiguity back to the issue by giving unclear guidelines about what is acceptable corrective training. AR 600-20, *Command Policy*, addresses corrective training in the following way:

> "One of the most effective administrative corrective measures is extra training or instruction (including on-the-spot correction). For example, if Soldiers appear in an improper uniform, they are required to correct it immediately; if they do not maintain their housing area properly, they must correct the deficiency in a timely manner. If Soldiers have training deficiencies, they will be required to take extra training or instruction in subjects directly related to the shortcoming.
>
> (1) The training, instruction, or correction given to a Soldier to correct deficiencies must be directly related to the deficiency."[18]

The passage gives two examples of extra training or instruction. First, a Soldier may be told to correct a deficiency such as an improper uniform. Second, training deficiencies may be overcome through "extra training . . . directly related to the shortcoming."

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This wording is then undermined by FM 27-1, which provides the following examples of proper corrective training:

> "A Soldier appearing in improper uniform may need special instruction in how to wear the uniform properly.
>
> A Soldier in poor physical shape may need to do additional conditioning drills and participate in extra field and road marches.
>
> A Soldier with unclean personal or work equipment may need to devote more time and effort to cleaning the equipment. The Soldier may also need special instruction in its maimtenance [*sic*].
>
> A Soldier who executes drills poorly may need additional drill practice.
>
> A Soldier who fails to maintain housing or work areas in proper condition or abuses property may need to do more maintenance to correct the shortcoming.
>
> A Soldier who does not perform assigned duties properly may be given special formal instruction or more on-the-job training in those duties.
>
> *A Soldier who does not respond well to orders may need to participate in additional drink* [sic] *and exercises to improve.*"[19] (Emphasis added.)

This last sentence from FM 27-1, along with AR 600-20 paragraph 4-20, essentially sanctions the practice of smoking Soldiers. But wearing a uniform improperly, not cleaning equipment, executing drills poorly, failing to maintain a tidy barracks room, and not performing assigned duties—*any misbehavior or deficiency at all*—can be, and often is, construed as not responding well to orders. Thus, this last corrective training example obviates all of the previous ones in theory and practice. It dilutes the idea that training should be directly related to the deficiency, and "additional drink [*sic*] and exercises" has become the ubiquitous, *almost exclusive* form of extra training.[20]

Crossing the line. The number of "reasonable repetitions of authorized physical exercises" used when smoking Soldiers must *not*, in order to comply with the regulations, assume the nature of punishment.[21] Furthermore, the number of repetitions must *not* "be unnecessarily cruel, abusive, oppressive, or harmful."[22] To determine whether smoke sessions are generally consistent with these criteria it may help to look more closely at what a typical smoke session entails.

To be fair, there are many times when a Soldier is ordered to do twenty pushups, two minutes of flutter kicks, or some other relatively mild amount of exercise. But there are far too many cases where Soldiers are smoked for misconduct in a way that would be considered abusive and defined as improper punishment by any informed observer.

For example, one NCO in my troop smoked two enlisted Soldiers particularly harshly in the blazing heat of Kuwait after they missed an accountability formation. Afterward, our platoon sergeant told the NCO involved that the Soldiers had been given permission to miss the formation in order to eat. By then, the administration of pain-inducing exercises had been wrongfully imposed and the Soldiers simply accepted it, as did all who witnessed the corrective training.

In another instance, a private suffered second-degree burns on his hands after an NCO made him do pushups in the hot gravel in front of our C-huts in Iraq. Late in the deployment, a staff sergeant in my troop stood outside the C-huts one hot afternoon screaming into a private's ear while the Soldier did pushups facing a pool of his own vomit. When we returned from Iraq, a Soldier who returned late from leave was smoked by multiple NCOs for hours, despite the fact that he explicitly requested an Article 15 so that he could have a chance to justify his late return in front of the commander.

In one of my units, the acting commander, a major, posted a memorandum at the staff duty desk that explicitly forbade smoke sessions, counseling in the front leaning rest, and other common practices

...a staff sergeant in my troop stood outside the C-huts one hot afternoon screaming into a private's ear while the Soldier did pushups facing a pool of his own vomit.

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deemed abusive. The NCOs in this unit (including one who was pending a medical discharge for PTSD and was heavily medicated) persisted in smoking soldiers for trivialities even after this was brought to their attention. In one particularly memorable platoon meeting, the platoon sergeant explicitly told his subordinate NCOs that they should smoke Soldiers behind the building, so the battalion commander would not interfere.

Virtually any enlisted Soldier in a combat unit could, if given the opportunity, cite similar instances of abusive and illegal "smoke sessions." This is an entrenched part of Army culture, not a few isolated incidents of misconduct by capricious NCOs. Due process is nowhere to be found in the practice of smoking Soldiers. There is no legal hearing, no appeals process, and no evidence needed for an NCO to gratuitously order a Soldier to engage in jumping jacks or pushups until the Soldier passes out from exhaustion.[23]

As I tried to determine when smoke sessions crossed the line between corrective training and punishment, I found that AR 27-10, *Military Justice*, contained a vapid passage of circular reasoning that states: "*Nonpunitive measures* usually deal with misconduct resulting from simple neglect, forgetfulness, laziness, inattention to instructions, sloppy habits, immaturity, difficulty in adjusting to disciplined military life, and similar deficiencies. These measures are primarily tools for teaching proper standards of conduct and performance and *do not constitute punishment*. Included among nonpunitive measures are denial of pass or other privileges, counseling, administrative reduction in grade, administrative reprimands and admonitions, [and] extra training."[24]

Here again, as in AR 600-20 paragraph 4-6, the regulation begs the question of what distinguishes corrective training from punishment by asserting that, "nonpunitive measures . . . do not constitute punishment." This doublespeak seems to want to override our normal understanding of the reality of punishment. For reference, the Merriam-Webster dictionary defines the word "punishment" as follows:

1 : the act of punishing

2 a : suffering, pain, or loss that serves as retribution b : a penalty inflicted on an offender through judicial procedure

3 : severe, rough, or disastrous treatment.[25]

Notably, suffering and pain are included as examples of punishment. Also, it is, "a penalty inflicted on an offender through judicial procedure." Such judicial procedures exist in the Army, and nonjudicial procedures are also available and afford some protections to the accused. When such punishment is "improper," it falls under Article 93 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UMCJ), *Cruelty and Maltreatment*, which states, "Assault, improper punishment, and sexual harassment may constitute this offense."[26] When smoke sessions are illegal, presumably they are also "improper."

Improper punishment is a criminal offense that may result in the following punishment: "Dishonorable discharge, forfeiture of all pay and allowances, and confinement for 1 year."[27] I have never witnessed any NCO charged under the UCMJ for the improper punishment of a subordinate Soldier despite the existence of clear cases where such charges should have been sought.

AR 27-10 provides guidelines about punishments that may be imposed after a guilty verdict in a court martial: "Hard labor without confinement will...

(2) Focus on punishment and may include duty to induce fatigue...

(4) Not include duties associated with maintaining good order and discipline, such as charge of quarters and guard duties . . . "[28]

This section of AR 27-10 emphasizes that punishment may include "duty to induce fatigue" but may *not* include "duties associated with maintaining good order and discipline." Yet, FM 27-1 states that "additional drink [*sic*] and exercises," which can certainly be described as a "duty to induce fatigue," may be used as corrective training to maintain order and discipline.[29] To my layman's sensibility, this ambiguity is confusing at best, and perhaps a serious contradiction. This type of inconsistency sets conditions for criminal abuses

Improper punishment is a criminal offense that may result in the following punishment: "Dishonorable discharge, forfeiture of all pay and allowances, and confinement for 1 year."

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of Soldiers, and similar attitudes towards prisoners and noncombatants.

An NCO who orders a private to do pushups, flutter kicks, iron mikes, and low crawls through the mud means, at the very least, to induce pain and fatigue. NCOs in my units have also openly admitted that some of their techniques are meant to humiliate the Soldier in question. For instance, the "star man" exercise involves crouching down and then springing up while flinging one's arms outward, repeating the words "star!" and "man!" upon each repetition. The "little man in the woods" involves crouching down and doing miniature jumping jacks. NCOs sometimes discussed which exercises were most humiliating to privates, and thus the most entertaining to watch.

Sadistic humor and creativity are not uncommon features of corrective training in the Army. A good overview of fairly typical strategies used by NCOs to "effectively" smoke soldiers can be found on a Blog by "Reaper" at: http://www.fatalfitness.com/how_to_smoke_somebody.

Although this is not an official site, it accurately describes (and endorses) many of the techniques used by NCOs, which will be familiar to most enlisted soldiers. Among other things, forcing a soldier to drink water and exercise until they puke is advocated. In general, a smoke session is described as a: "deomoralizing [*sic*] session of physical activity in which the subject[s] are most often times in trouble for something... punishment--if done correctly can be an effective training tool to help mold an individual's character, or to deter some action."[30]

There is no effort made to pretend that a smoke session is not punishment. Although it is important to remember that many NCOs do not abuse their authority and generally act in a responsible manner, the guidelines given on this web site are entirely consistent with practices that I frequently observed.

There is no question that NCOs sometimes use exercise repetitions "in an oppressive manner to evade the procedural safeguards applying to imposing nonjudicial punishment."[31] But the point at which this becomes a violation of Article 93 (*Cruelty and Maltreatment*) is difficult to determine from the regulations alone. This ambiguity enables an Army culture that accepts, indeed encourages, summary judgment and the use of painful and humiliating inducements to subordinates to behave in a desired manner.

There is no effort made to pretend that a smoke session is not punishment.

Put to the test. One final contradiction regarding the imposition of punishment follows, this time in the *Manual for Courts-Martial*:

> "Pretrial restraint is not punishment and shall not be used as such. No person who is restrained pending trial may be subjected to punishment or penalty for the offense which is the basis for that restraint. Prisoners being held for trial shall not be required to undergo punitive duty hours or training, perform punitive labor, or wear special uniforms prescribed only for post-trial prisoners. *This rule does not prohibit minor punishment during pretrial confinement for infractions of the rules of the place of confinement.*"[32] (Emphasis added.)

According to this paragraph, "minor punishment" may be imposed "for infractions of the rules of the place of confinement." This wording then clearly authorizes pretrial punishment, which is, everywhere else, strictly prohibited. With no further clarification about where to draw the line between "minor" punishment and normal punishment, the inclusion of the words "minor punishment" in the above passage is unnecessarily confusing and adds to the ambiguity of the wider issue.

This vagueness is especially problematic when pretrial confinement is of such a nature that the accused is housed with Soldiers convicted and sentenced in a court martial. In *United States vs. Bayhand*, a Soldier was initially "found guilty by general court-martial of willful disobedience of a superior officer and willful disobedience of a noncommissioned officer."[33] The Soldier was accused of committing these offenses while in pretrial confinement, "awaiting trial on charges which were subsequently dismissed." The Soldier, a private first class, refused to do labor alongside a prisoner who had already been convicted in court martial proceedings. After a detailed discussion of

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the matter, the judges in this case found that it was unlawful pretrial punishment to force the Soldier who had not yet stood trial to perform the same duties on the same work detail as the convicted prisoner. This was after an acknowledgement that such duties might normally be legitimate routine labor such as cutting grass or digging ditches.[34]

The judge wrote in his decision: "By our holding in this case, we do not mean to suggest that unsentenced prisoners must remain unemployed . . . we are certain persons awaiting trial can be required to perform useful military duties to the same extent as a Soldier available for troop duty. However, it appears to us that when a man who is presumed innocent is ordered to work on a rock pile, in company with those who have been tried and sentenced for crime, the presumption is worth little, for he is already being punished."[35] With regard to the orders to conduct duties that are tantamount to punishment, the judge states, "We conclude the orders were illegal as a matter of law."[36] In his ruling, the Honorable George W. Latimer quotes from a discussion of the original authors of the 1949 *Manual for Courts-Martial* to make clear their intent: "A Soldier cannot be punished, other than by confinement, prior to the time his sentence is approved by the reviewing authority."[37]

In this context, the judge sought specifically to address the matter of Soldiers awaiting trial being assigned to the same work detail as Soldiers already convicted of a crime. However, in so doing, he also makes it clear that a Soldier that refuses an order to perform duties that are tantamount to punishment is not remiss for doing so. It follows then that an NCO who orders a Soldier to perform duties that are tantamount to punishment is giving an unlawful order. When the Soldier in question follows this unlawful order, and is thus subjected to punishment, it is "improper," and therefore constitutes a violation of Article 93, *Cruelty and Maltreatment*.[38]

...an NCO who orders a Soldier to perform duties that are tantamount to punishment is giving an unlawful order.

A 2002 Inspector General newsletter from the Fort Knox Inspector General's office gives the following example for clarification: "A Soldier who failed to show up for formation and was instructed to stay after duty hours and mop floors would be an example of improper corrective training. This would be considered punishment and does not relate directly to the Soldiers [*sic*] deficiency."[39]

We can return to the argument that failing to show up for formation (or any other infraction of the rules) is a result of not following orders well. Corrective training, therefore, might consist of "extra drink [*sic*] and exercises," that is, smoking the Soldier. But if we accept this reasoning, then we should also accept the reasoning that mopping floors is a means of instilling discipline. Through mopping the floors after duty hours, one may argue, one is training the Soldier to follow orders. After all, an arduous back and forth motion with a



U.S. Air Force, SSGT Ashley S. Brokop

A Soldier pats down an Iraqi detainee at the Baghdad Correctional Facility in Abu Ghraib, June 2004.

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mop is not so different than an arduous trip up and down the same hallway doing iron mikes, holding a forty-pound weight.

It stands to reason then, that the standard given by the Inspector General's office at Fort Knox would disqualify iron mikes or any other arduous random exercise as suitable corrective training for being late to formation. This would not only be the case because such training could pose a health hazard to the Soldier, but also because it is not sufficiently related to the deficiency to comply with AR 600-20, paragraph 4-6.

There are provisions in the *Manual for Courts-Martial* that allow an NCO to lawfully smoke a Soldier. All an NCO needs to do is recommend to a commander that a Soldier be given an Article 15. Once the process is completed, if the commander decides punishment is warranted, extra duties meant to induce fatigue are clearly authorized.[40] The commander could, for instance, impose a punishment of a single day (or a single hour) of extra duty, instead of the maximum. The crucial elements, though, are command involvement and due process.

The regulations surrounding corrective training and punishment need to be rewritten in clear language that any Soldier can understand. If "smoke sessions" are to be allowed, some guidance needs to be given to set a reasonable standard. If smoke sessions are to be prohibited, they should be prohibited explicitly, using the vernacular of the enlisted Soldiers to whom these issues are relevant.

The Iraq Connection

There are several ways in which this issue is important to the current conflict in Iraq. First, these common practices teach junior enlisted Soldiers and NCOs to treat those people over whom they have control with a lack of respect, and often with unethical or illegal cruelty. The idea that arbitrary punishments are informal tools for behavior modification fosters a careless sense of entitlement and



courtesy of author

U.S. Soldiers searching Iraqi house on 21 September 2006 in Tal Afar.

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creates opportunities for physical and verbal abuse. Thus, by pure extension of intellectual habit and moral misconception, this illicit aspect of Army culture condones unproductive, punitive actions toward Iraqi civilians.

Yet Soldiers' actions and attitudes do not need to reach the headline grabbing levels of Abu Ghraib to seriously affect our ability to win the support of the local population. We can interact with Iraqi citizens and military personnel with professional courtesy or, alternatively, with a contemptuous air of superiority. Even when the most egregious abuses are avoided, the latter approach insults the honor of the people whose support we are trying to gain. The cultural currents that permit the widespread unlawful punishment of Soldiers in the Army have contributed to attitudes and actions that fuel the insurgency and cost us lives.

In September 2006, during a major campaign in Tal Afar dubbed Operation Restoring Rights, my platoon was told to search aggressively in an evacuated neighborhood to teach the residents a lesson. In essence, we were instructed to punish civilians, against whom we had no evidence of wrongdoing, for having lived in a neighborhood in which insurgents were purported to have staged missions.

Lieutenant Colonel Christopher Hickey, the Sabre Squadron Commander, is quoted in *The Washington Post* as saying, "If we go in there and tear these people's homes apart, we lose these people."[41] This sentiment made sense to me, given my modest understanding of counterinsurgency doctrine and the dictates of common sense. Our actions, however, were not consistent with this statement. In recent email correspondence with LTC Hickey, I asked him what his view was of the aggressive search techniques we had used and he replied, "The way you describe being 'aggressive in our search' I would characterize as being disrespectful and counterproductive to what we were trying to do. I do not support tactics that ransacked homes."[42]

I also asked him what the squadron's policy was on smoking soldiers, and he responded, "Smoking sessions [*sic*] are wrong and, as you correctly state, against Army regulation. The squadron would never have a policy approving of such actions."[43] There is no question that we ransacked homes, and did so in a punitive manner.

There is also no question that soldiers were smoked in every unit I served with, again, in a punitive manner. The obvious question that remains is: Why?

...commanders and NCOs are in some sense victims of a system that is highly resistant to change.

It should be relatively easy for commissioned officers to educate and control the actions of the NCOs under their command with regard to corrective training and punishment. The fact that this is not well regulated leads me to consider several possibilities:

- Commanders are oblivious to the conduct of their subordinates.
- Commanders are unwilling to enforce these regulations, perhaps because of the ambiguity.
- Commanders are unable to control the actions of their subordinates.

None of these possibilities bodes well for the counterinsurgency campaign in Iraq or future peacekeeping missions. My view is that commanders and NCOs are in some sense victims of a system that is highly resistant to change. I understand that it is difficult within the system to go against accepted cultural norms, but that is precisely why Army culture needs to be fundamentally changed and such changes subsequently supported at all levels.

There are three correlates with the assertions I have made thus far:

- The U.S. Army is culturally handicapped in its ability to occupy Iraq in a humane manner. The systemic acceptance of such illegal practices as "smoke sessions" is part of a mind-set that has crippled our attempts to implement effective counterinsurgency campaigns.
- The regulations surrounding corrective training, punishment, and "smoke sessions" are confusing and need to be rewritten.
- The problem must first be fully understood by high-ranking officers. To this end, the Army ought to investigate this matter in a substantive way, and encourage Soldiers to candidly testify about these practices without fear of reprisal or prosecution. ***MR***

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NOTES

1. David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Theory and Practice*, (New York: Praeger, 1964); John A. Nagl, *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam*, (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2002); U.S. Army Field Manual (FM) 3-24, *Counterinsurgency* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office (GPO), 2006); Brigadier Nigel Aylwin Foster, "Changing the Army for Counterinsurgency Operations," *Military Review*, November-December, 2005, 4.

2. For a reasonably accurate description of the practice, see Reaper, "How to Smoke Somebody," Reaper's Blog, <http://www.fatalfitness.com/how_to_smoke_somebody> (24 July 2008).

3. FM 27-1, *Legal Guide for Commanders*, (Washington, DC: GPO, 2006), 7-2.

4. *US vs. Hoover*, 24 M.J. 874, (1987); *US vs. Bayhand*, 6 U.S.C.M.A. 762, (1956).

5. FM 27-1, 4-0.

6. FM 7-22-7, *The Noncommissioned Officer's Guide*, (Washington, DC: GPO, 2002), 2-11.

7. Ibid., 2-9.

8. Ibid., 1-4.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., 1-10.

11. Ibid., 1-4.

12. Ibid., 1-6.

13. Cornell University Law School, "Bill of Rights," United States Constitution, <http://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution/constitution.billofrights.html#amendmentiv> (24 July 2008).

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. AR 600-20, *Command Policy*, (Washington, DC: GPO), 22.

17. Ibid., 29.

18. Ibid., 22.

19. FM 27-1, *Legal Guide for Commanders*, (Washington, DC: GPO, 2005), 7-2.

20. It may be that this was originally meant to be "drill and exercise" but was changed to "drink and exercise" through a typographical error that persisted in the literature. Note that "commander" is also misspelled "commandeer" just two sentences later. If this is the case, then a typo has likely been the impetus for the traditional practice of forcing soldiers to drink excessive amounts of water while getting "smoked."

21. AR 600-20, 29.

22. Ibid.

23. Note that both of these practices were cited as abusive in reports of detainee mistreatment at Abu Ghraib. See Eric Schmitt, "3 in 82nd Airborne Say Beating Iraqi Prisoners Was Routine," *New York Times*, 24 September 2005.

24. AR 27-10, *Military Justice*, (Washington, DC: GPO, 2005), 3.

25. Merriam-Webster online dictionary, <www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/punishment> (24 July 2008).

26. *Manual for Courts-Martial* (MCM), (Washington, DC: GPO, 2008), IV-25.

27. Ibid., IV-26.

28. AR 27-10, 35.

29. FM 27-1, 7-2.

30. Reaper.

31. AR 600-20, 22.

32. *MCM*, II-21.

33. *U.S. vs. Bayhand*, 6 U.S.C.M.A. 762, (1956).

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. *MCM*, IV-25.

39. <http://www.knox.Army.mil/center/ig/fort_knox_ig_newsletter> (4 July 2007).

40. *MCM*, V-5.

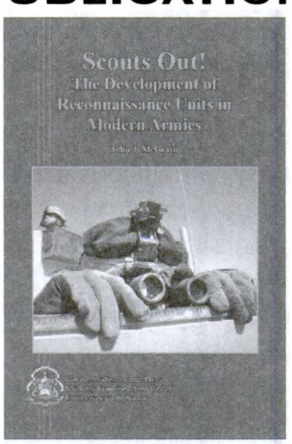
41. Jonathan Finer, "Informants Decide Fate of Iraqi Detainees: U.S. Military Relies on Guidance of 'Sources' in Tall Afar," *The Washington Post*, A01, 13 September 2005.

42. LTC Christopher Hickey, email message to author, 1 October 2007.

43. Ibid.

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INSTITUTIONALIZING ADAPTATION

It's Time for an Army Advisor Command

Dr. John A. Nagl, Lieutenant Colonel, U.S. Army, Retired



"Arguably, the most important military component in the War on Terror is not the fighting we do ourselves, but how well we enable and empower our partners to defend and govern their own countries. How the Army should be organized and prepared for this advisory role remains an open question, and will require innovative and forward thinking."

—Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, 10 October 2007.[1]

ARMY DOCTRINE and recent events on the ground in two wars have demonstrated that the achievement of American goals in Iraq and Afghanistan will increasingly depend on the performance of the security forces of those countries themselves. U.S. Army and Marine Corps Field Manual (FM) 3-24, *Counterinsurgency*, describes the many complicated and interrelated tasks that should be conducted simultaneously to defeat an insurgency and then notes, "Key to all these tasks is developing an effective host-nation (HN) security force."[2] In recognition of the enduring need for American advisors to coach, teach, and mentor host-nation security forces in Iraq, in Afghanistan, and in dozens of other countries around the globe, the Army should create a permanent standing advisory command with responsibility for all aspects of the advisor mission—from doctrine through facilities. An advisory command is essential to enable and empower the security forces of our allies to defeat extremism. Most importantly, any advisor command should have responsibility over a standing force of some 20,000 soldiers.

It has been argued that foreign forces cannot defeat an insurgency—the best they can hope for is to create the conditions that will enable local forces to do so.[3] The most important contribution the U.S. Army makes to the development of security forces like the Iraqi Army (IA) and Afghan National Army (ANA) is embedded advisory (or "transition") teams. These teams coach, teach, and mentor host nation security forces, training them before deployment and accompanying them into combat; the mission is described by the acronym FID, for "foreign internal defense." Advisors bring important combat multipliers to the fight: artillery and close air support; medical evacuation and support; and, perhaps most importantly, a culture of leadership and training, two crucial pillars of success for all effective armies. From a strategic perspective, competent advisor teams also communicate a commitment to legitimacy.

Since host-nation security forces have important cultural awareness and linguistic advantages over U.S. forces and are likely to be far more palatable to the local public whose support is ultimately the key in any counterinsurgency

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PHOTO: During a 45-minute firefight with insurgent forces, members of the 3-8th Iraqi National Police Brigade stood shoulder-to-shoulder with their U.S. counterparts, 28 February 2006 in Baghdad. (U.S. Army, CPT Brian Moore)

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campaign, the advisory role of U.S. forces has become increasingly important. Strategic outcomes now hinge on advisor mission competence and success for at least two reasons. First, because America does not have enough ground forces to meet all security threats everywhere and must therefore rely upon the strategic leverage foreign troops provide; and second, because those forces have more legitimacy than do American troops who can be perceived as occupiers. American advisors serve as enormously efficient combat multipliers; the whole is far more than the sum of its parts, and effective host-nation forces, enabled and empowered by dedicated combat advisors, are now the foundation of U.S. strategy in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Strategic outcomes now hinge on advisor mission competence and success... because America does not have enough ground forces... [and]...because those forces have more legitimacy than do American troops....

In Iraq, years of hard work to train, equip, and mentor the Iraqi Security Forces are beginning to show results. After effective U.S.-led counterinsurgency operations dramatically improved security in Iraq in 2007, consecutive Iraqi-led operations in Basra, Sadr City, and Mosul in the spring of 2008 have, following a shaky start, led to further gains that dramatically increased confidence in the government and Iraqi Army.

However, news from the other major front in the War on Terrorism is not as positive. General Daniel McNeil, outgoing commander of the International Security Assistance Forces in Afghanistan, noted in his farewell speech that the war against the Taliban is "under-resourced."[4] The United States cannot afford to substantially increase its forces in that country in the near future, while its NATO allies have, to date, proven unwilling to do so.[5] To provide the forces Afghanistan needs to defeat a determined enemy in a difficult counterinsurgency campaign, Secretary of Defense Gates recently decided to double the size of the Afghan National Army—a long overdue decision that will require the Army to produce even more advisors for a theater that is already critically short of that resource.[6]

As General George Casey, the Army's Chief of Staff, stated on a visit to Fort Riley in 2007, "We will not succeed in our mission in Iraq and Afghanistan without the Iraqi and Afghan security forces being able to secure themselves. So these missions for the transition teams are absolutely essential for our long-term success."[7] Field Manual 3-24 recognizes the importance of the advisory mission to success in counterinsurgency campaigns and states clearly that FID is a "big Army" responsibility: "The scope and scale of training programs today and the scale of programs likely to be required in the future has grown exponentially. While FID has been traditionally the primary responsibility of the special operating forces (SOF), *training foreign forces is now a core competency of regular and reserve units of all Services*."[8]

Ad Hoc Solutions to a Permanent Problem

Unfortunately, the Army—and the U.S. government as a whole—has a poor history of placing the proper emphasis on the advisory teams it embeds in host nation forces and ministries, tending toward an ad hoc approach. The advisory effort in Vietnam was widely criticized as "the Other War," lacking in the priority given to the main force war. Peter Dawkins and Andrew Krepinevich have both noted the often poor quality of Army advisors in Vietnam and the slapdash nature of the training they received before deploying to Vietnam.[9] An Army officer of the time concurs that the advisory effort was crippled by the Army's inability to adapt to what should have been its main effort in that war: "Our military institution seems to be prevented by its own doctrinal rigidity from understanding the nature of this war and from making the necessary modifications to apply its power more intelligently, more economically, and above all, more relevantly."[10]

Some have argued that the Army and the Marine Corps have repeated many of the same mistakes from Vietnam while implementing combat advisory efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan over the past six years.[11] The teams were initially selected from National Guard, Reserve, and active duty forces on an ad hoc basis, while the quality of the training they received varied widely in different geographic

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locations. Doctrine for the mission is only now being written.[12] Even the size and composition of the teams headed to Iraq and Afghanistan vary considerably; most Afghan teams consist of 16 soldiers with no medic, while Iraq teams consist of 11 soldiers including a medic. All internal and external studies of what are now termed "transition teams" in this war have concluded that the teams are far too small for the tasks that they have been assigned. Many of these ad hoc teams must be augmented in theater by additional security forces, again on an improvised basis.[13]

The first step to solving problems is recognizing them, so the Army's increasing institutionalization of the advisor mission is an example of organizational learning in progress. For example, in 2006 the Army decided to centralize training for transition teams at Fort Riley, Kansas, initially giving the training mission to two cadre-heavy brigade combat teams (BCTs). The training mission was later consolidated as the responsibility of just one brigade, the 1st Brigade of the 1st Infantry Division. This unit has created a 60-day training model that includes both advisory skills and combat survival skills.[14] Although the fact that few of the cadre members had been advisors themselves initially made the training more difficult, this situation is improving. One of the four battalions conducting the training now boasts 13 former advisors among its 96 soldiers, most of them in critical field grade, company command, and first sergeant positions.

A recent decision by General Casey to increase career incentives for those who serve on advisory teams is another huge step in the right direction. Majors who lead transition teams will now be granted "key and developmental" credit; lieutenant colonels and colonels who lead teams will be centrally selected, as battalion and brigade commanders are currently, and will be given similar credit in recognition of the importance and difficulty of their missions. According to Casey, "the tasks associated with transition teams will be a major part of full-spectrum engagement in theaters of interest now and for the foreseeable future. I want to ensure that the officers that lead these teams are recognized and given the credit they deserve."[15]

Although the execution of the advisor mission has improved (and General Casey's decision will further help in both training and execution), because of the importance of the mission, there is still more



U.S. Army, MAJ Josh Potter

Fort Riley Training Mission Class 38 discusses logical lines of operations and how to apply them on their 12-month long deployment into Afghanistan as Embedded Training Teams, 25 February 2008, Fort Riley, Kansas.

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to be done. The need for well-trained, professional combat advisors is unlikely to diminish any time soon. FM 3-24 states that "counterinsurgents should prepare for a long-term commitment." The average counterinsurgency campaign in the twentieth century took nine years to come to a conclusion; the Iraq and Afghanistan campaigns are likely to be on the long end of the counterinsurgency time spectrum. And long after the vast majority of conventional U.S. BCTs have gone home, the majority of the American commitment to those wars will be embedded advisory teams. It is long past time for the Army to institutionalize and professionalize the manning and training of combat advisors in the permanent Army force structure. The most important thing the mission needs is one person in charge of this national-level priority, and that person must be a general officer.

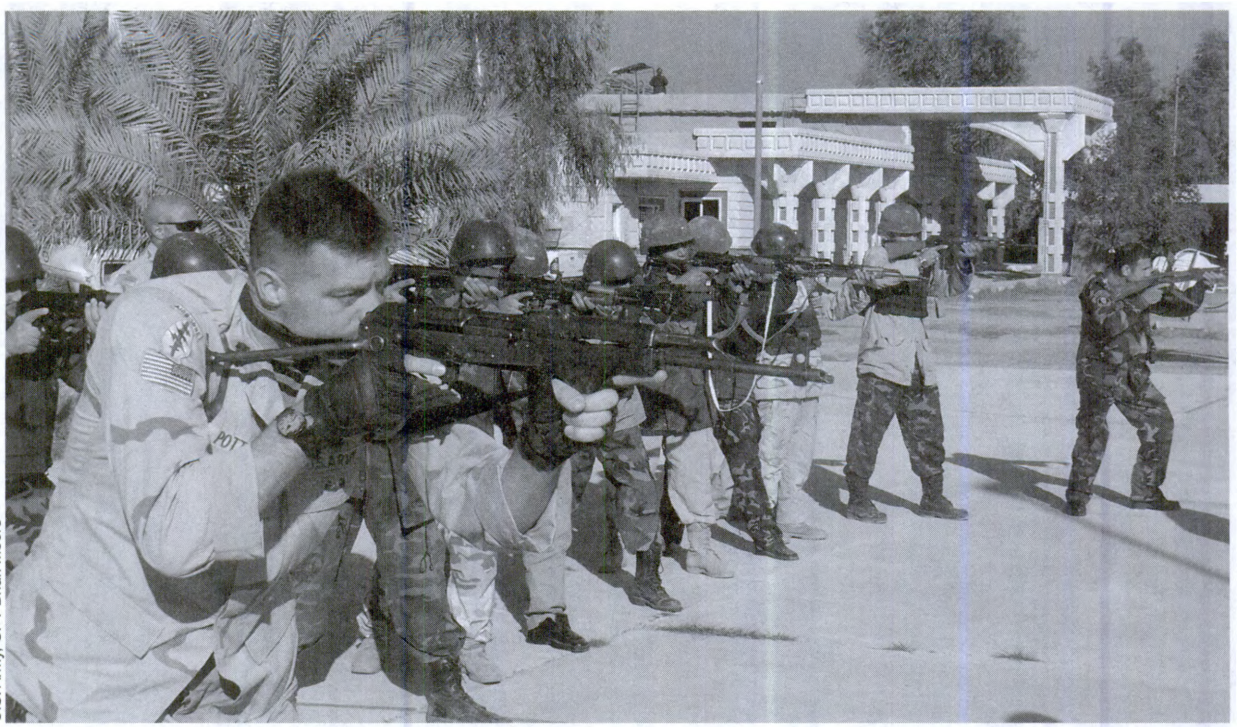
The need for well-trained, professional combat advisors is unlikely to diminish any time soon. FM 3-24 states that "counterinsurgents should prepare for a long-term commitment."

Developing an Advisor Command

"The Department [of Defense] has recognized that stability operations, including developing indigenous security forces such as the Iraqi Security Forces, are a core U.S. military mission. However, the services lack sufficient standing military advisory capacity to meet current, and potential future, requirements for that mission."

—House Armed Services Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigation, 2007

One answer to the problem of insufficient advisory capacity, for now and in the future, is the creation of a U.S. Army advisor command led by a lieutenant general. This command would be the proponent for all aspects of the advisor mission: doctrine, organization, training, materiel, leader development, personnel, and facilities. It would oversee the training and deployment of 25-Soldier advisory teams organized into three 200-team advisor divisions, to be commanded by major generals who would deploy with the teams on their yearlong advisory



U.S. Army, CPT Brian Moore

A U.S. National Police Transition Team conducts short-range marksmanship training with its Iraqi counterparts—the 3d Battalion, 8th National Police Brigade, 18 February 2006, Al Dora district, Baghdad, Iraq.

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tours. This chain of command would simplify the in-theater command relationships with conventional forces that have limited the effectiveness of advisory teams now serving in Iraq and Afghanistan.[16]

The lieutenant general leading the advisor command would have overall responsibility for all combat advisor training and employment in the U.S. Army—a Title 10 "force provider" role. He would command a staff and school that would develop doctrine for combat advisors and train them for operational employment. He would also have an advisory role to combatant commanders employing his combat advisors, and could conceivably deploy into theater to serve as the senior advisor to a foreign ministry of defense (the role now played in Iraq by Multi-National Security Transition Command—Iraq, another ad hoc organization). Most important, he or she would be the advocate for all aspects of the advisor mission within the institutional Army.

Stephen Peter Rosen's *Winning the Next War* shows that innovation only takes root when it is part of a changed organizational culture that includes a pathway to flag rank for advocates of change. The development of strategic bombing and close air support in the U.S. Air Force, submarine and carrier warfare in the U.S. Navy, and armored warfare in the U.S. Army demonstrate the importance of flag-level mentors supporting lower-level innovators.[17] The increased importance of advisors in the current operational environment is as important a change in the nature of warfare as were these previous innovations; it requires a similar degree of institutional advocacy.

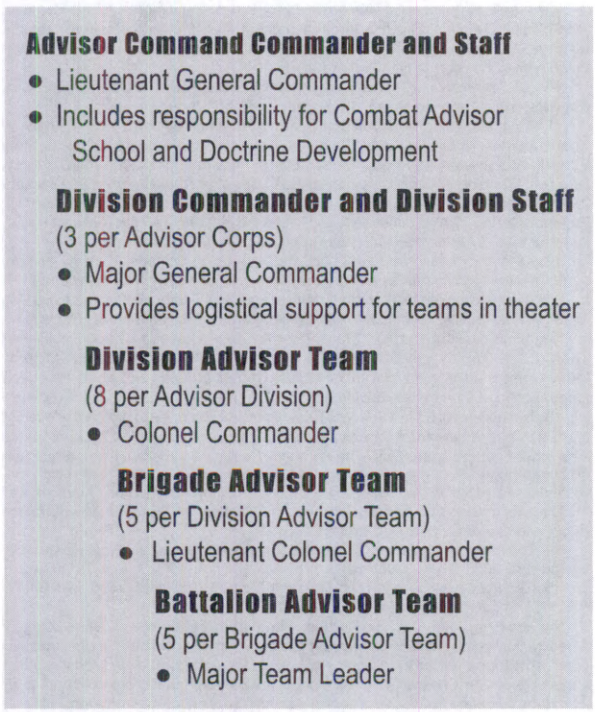


Figure 1. Proposed advisor command composition and organization.

As shown in figure 1, three major generals would command combat advisor divisions of 200 advisor teams. They would be responsible for the teams' preparation for combat and for deploying with them into combat. These general officers and their staffs would fill the role currently filled by the Iraqi Advisory Group in Iraq and the Combined Security Transition Command-Afghanistan (CSTC-A) in Operation Enduring Freedom, two more ad hoc formations that currently play the important role of overwatching the deployment and employment of military transition teams in Iraq and Afghanistan.

A combat advisor division would include eight division advisory teams (DATs), each commanded by a colonel. Some of these DATs would be organized to train combat skills and advise combat divisions; others would advise logistical units (the greatest weaknesses of the Iraqi and Afghan armies). Service as a DAT commander would be the equivalent of brigade command for colonels and the position would be a key, centrally selected developmental billet.

Each DAT would consist of five brigade advisory teams (BATs), commanded by centrally selected lieutenant colonels. Some of the BATs would be organized to train combat skills and advise combat divisions; others would advise logistical units. Each BAT would consist of five battalion advisory teams (BnAT), each led by a major who would earn key developmental credit for his or her service. In addition to their team leader and team sergeant, all the teams would include advisors to focus on personnel, intelligence, operations, logistics, medical support, and maintenance support for their own team and for the unit they are assigned to advise.

This organization (figure 2) would solve the vast majority of problems afflicting embedded combat advisors—providing them with doctrine, training, and a permanent home. Advisors would transfer to the advisor command for a standard three-year Army tour of duty. During their tour, they should expect to deploy for one year and then hand off the mission to the next set of advisors, facilitating right-seat

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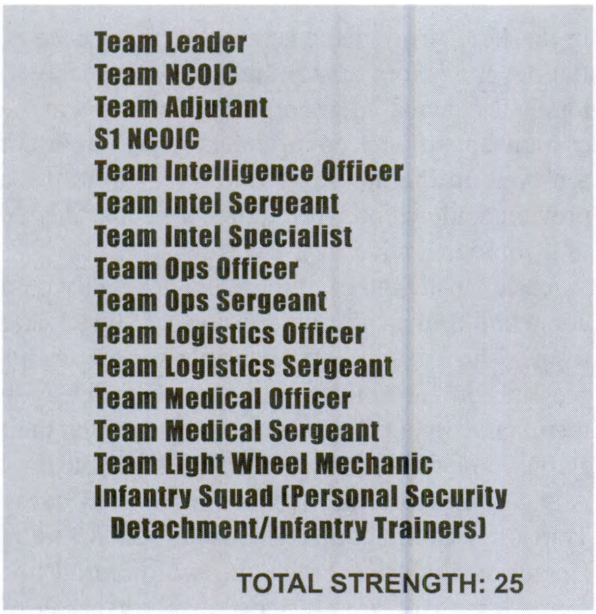


Figure 2. Advisor team composition.

rides and the consolidation of lessons learned. At the end of their combat tours, some advisors could remain at the home of the advisor command, serving as trainers and doctrine writers, while others could return to the conventional Army sporting their new "combat advisor" tab—which should give them an advantage in competition for promotion as the advisory mission becomes the main effort in both Iraq and Afghanistan over the next few years.

A considerable advantage of this plan is that the combat advisors' families would be able to create a family support group comprised of members living primarily in one geographic location, rather than scattered across the United States as is currently the case. This is a major issue for deployed transition team members today; it preys on their minds when they are deployed and interferes with their focus on their missions.

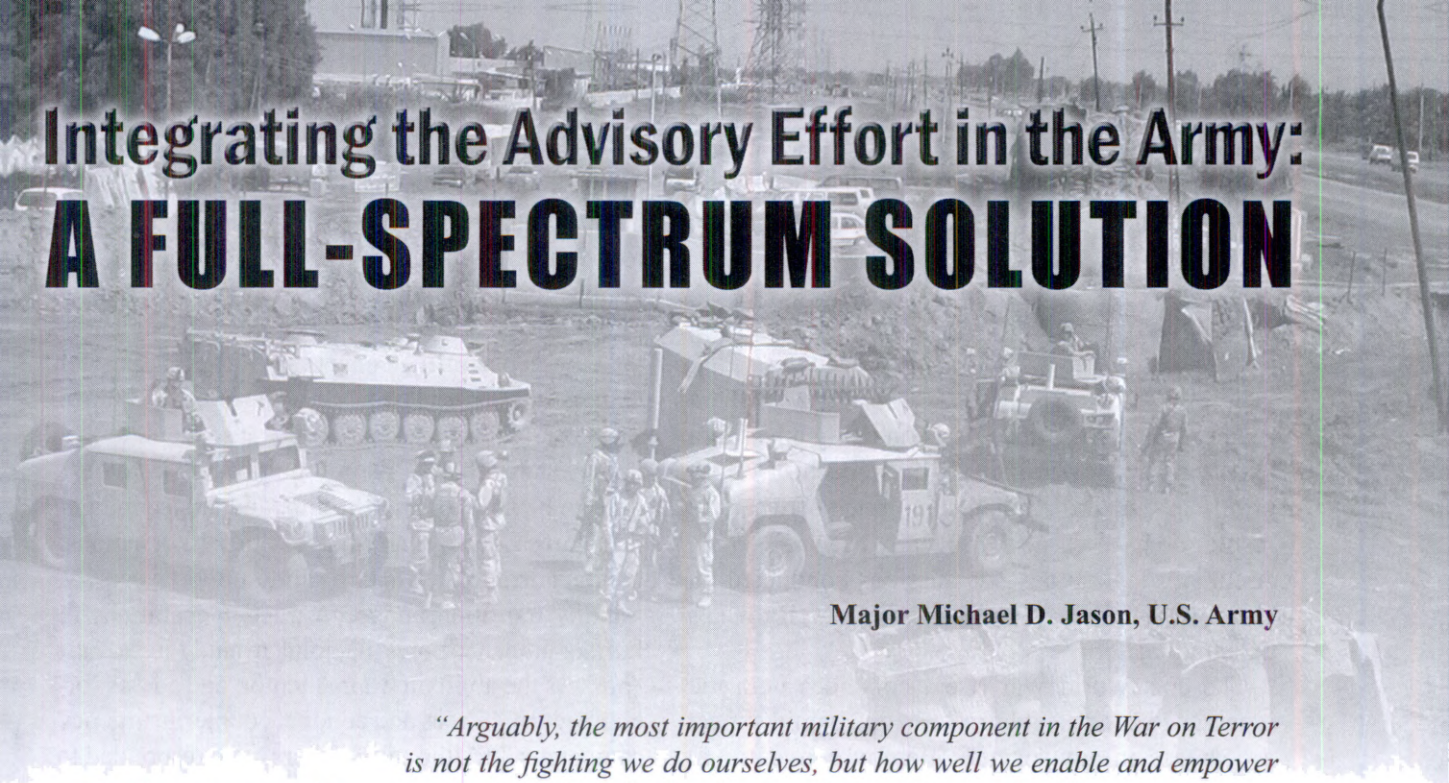
Building the advisor command would require that the Army build four fewer BCTs than it currently plans to build, which would represent a serious degradation of our conventional military capability. However, rather than focusing exclusively on conventional wars that may or may not occur in the future, the Army might better serve our Nation by building the most effective capabilities to win the wars of today. The number of advisors required in Iraq and Afghanistan, not to mention other important security-cooperation efforts that comprise the Global War on Terrorism, will only increase over time relative to the number of conventional units we deploy, outstripping the capacity of the Special Forces and straining current improvisational measures. Current practice takes Soldiers from BCTs and the institutional Army to create ad hoc advisory teams that are less effective than they could be at accomplishing what will, in the future, be the main effort of our Army in Iraq and Afghanistan. The alternative is to build the Army our country needs now, and will need far more urgently in years to come—an Army that includes an advisor command dedicated solely to the mission of raising, training, employing, and sustaining host-nation security forces that can defend freedom abroad. As Andrew Krepinevich has argued, "Their success will determine whether we win this war, and at what cost, and how soon."[18] ***MR***

NOTES

1. Robert M. Gates (remarks as delivered by Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates at a meeting of the Association of the United States Army in Washington, DC, 10 October 2007), <www.defenselink.mil/speeches/speech.aspx?speechid=1181>.
2. U.S. Army Field Manual 3-24, *Counterinsurgency* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 2006), 6-1.
3. John A. Nagl, *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), xiv.
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8. FM 3-24, 6-3. Emphasis added.
9. Andrew Krepinevich, *The Army and Vietnam* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1986); Peter Dawkins, *The U.S. Army and the "Other War" in Vietnam* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Doctoral Dissertation, 1979). Dawkins served as an advisor in Vietnam during one of his two tours there.
10. U.S. Army officer in Vietnam, cited in Douglas Blaufarb, *The Counterinsurgency Era* (New York: The Free Press, 1977), 269.
11. Greg Jaffe, "Problems Afflict U.S. Army Program To Advise Iraqis," *The Wall Street Journal*, 18 October 2006; Scott Cuomo, "It's Time to Make ETTs our Main Effort in Afghanistan and Iraq," *Marine Corps Gazette*, June 2006, 63-67; Yochi Dreazen, "Training: Mission Unaccomplished," *The Wall Street Journal*, 29 February 2008; Eric Navarro, *God Willing: My Wild Ride with the Iraqi Army* (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2008); Daniel Helmer, "Twelve Urgent Steps for the Advisor Mission in Afghanistan," *Military Review* (July-August 2008): 73-81.
12. As of this writing in June 2008, there is still no doctrine for Army general purpose forces configured as military transition teams, although Chapter 6 of Field Manual 3-24 is useful in this regard. The Air-Land-Sea Center is planning to publish *Multi-Service Tactics, Techniques, and Procedures for Training Security Force Advisor Teams* in November 2008. The Center for Army Lessons Learned published *The Combat Advisor Handbook* (No. 08-21) in April 2008; this book was written by former combat advisors for current and future combat advisors and would be a good foundation for a stand-alone doctrinal manual.
13. The opinion of a Marine Corps Reserve officer assigned to an advisor support team is that "The ten-man AST was simply too small to engage all of the appropriate Iraqi leaders at the same time. The number of advisers necessary was more than double the number of advisers assigned." See Navarro, 136, 138. The most comprehensive analysis is the House Armed Services Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, *Stand Up and Be Counted: The Continuing Challenge of Building the Iraqi Security Forces* (2007), Chapter 7.
14. The Training Model can be downloaded at <www.riley.army.mil/view/article.asp?id=775-2006-04-10-35086-69>.
15. General Casey cited in Yochi Dreazen, "Army To Promote Training As Career Path," *The Wall Street Journal*, 19 June 2008, 3.
16. See Greg Jaffe, "A Camp Divided," The Wall Street Journal, 17 June 2006, for a description of the chain of command problems that have limited the effectiveness of advisory teams forced to rely on neighboring U.S. units for their logistical support. Chapter 6 of *The Combat Advisor Handbook* also notes these problems, as does anecdotal evidence from advisor teams currently serving in Iraq and Afghanistan.
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Integrating the Advisory Effort in the Army: A FULL-SPECTRUM SOLUTION



Major Michael D. Jason, U.S. Army

"Arguably, the most important military component in the War on Terror is not the fighting we do ourselves, but how well we enable and empower our partners to defend and govern their own countries."[1]

—Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, 10 October 2007

The views expressed in this article are those of the author and do not reflect the official policy or position of the Department of the Army, Department of Defense, or the United States government.

A CLEAR GAP EXISTS that the Army should fill by providing a sustained conventional advisory capability as part of national defense. U.S. Army history since World War II reveals the repeated use of general purpose forces (GPF) as combat advisors.[2] Numerous strategic documents call on the Army to address this capability requirement, most notably, the 2006 Quadrennial Defense Review. With the exception of FM 3-24, *Counterinsurgency*, and a brief mention in the most recent FM 3-0, *Full-Spectrum Operations*, Army doctrine fails to address the use of GPFs as advisors.

This paper proposes the creation of a single headquarters, a hypothetical "Advisor Command," at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, under the U.S. Army Forces Command, in collaboration with the U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command. This new command would include the advisor school and serve as the proponent for all issues relating to the advising and equipping of foreign conventional forces. The command would entail an institutional center of excellence and permeate Army force structure down to the BCT levels. Advisors could perform full-spectrum operations including training, equipping, liaison, and access to combat multipliers for our partners and allies.

Why Institutionalize?

One of the most contested subjects in today's military is the composition and role of advisor teams. Many in the institutional Army urge returning this role to the Army's Special Forces (SF), especially as they increase by five battalions.[3] Others, such as Lieutenant Colonel John Nagl, argue for a permanent 20,000-man "Army Advisor Corps."[4] Noted analyst Dr. Andrew Krepinevich of the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments recently briefed the Pentagon's leadership on a similar proposal. Most recently, some called for placing the capability within BCTs. Yet, seven years after the invasion of Afghanistan and more than five years after the beginning of the Iraq war, the

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PHOTO: A U.S. Army MiTT team visiting an Iraqi company forward operating base to coordinate for life support and force protection improvements. (courtesy of the author)

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debate still rages, and the Army's advisor mission continues to be at best an ad hoc effort.[5] History and strategic guidance tell the Army to institutionalize the advisory role.

Historic Context

"The past is never dead. It's not even past."[6]

—William Faulkner

The U.S. Army prides itself on being a learning organization. However, in the most recent advisory efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan, much of what the institution has "learned" has really been *relearned.* A cursory look at advisor missions conducted by conventional forces since the end of WWII reveals a distinct pattern.

The post-World War II era coincides with the emergence of Special Forces, so one would expect a decrease in advisor activities by conventional Soldiers. Instead, the use of GPF in advisory operations remains vast and continuous. For example, conventional forces deployed to Greece to stand up, train, and advise the Greek Army in their struggle against communist guerrillas in the late 1940s. The Korea Military Assistance Group conducted similar efforts. Perhaps the most significant and well known conventional advisory effort occurred in Vietnam under the Military Assistance Command-Vietnam (MAC-V).

Numerous other operations have gone unnoticed. Advisors trained and mentored German and Japanese units after WWII and worked with French units in the 1950s against the Viet Minh. Army advisors have worked with Colombian forces and the Saudi Arabian National Guard for several years. Furthermore, conventional forces are used as advisors in Iraq, The Horn of Africa, and Afghanistan.[7] Indeed, the short history of the last five decades indicates combat advising by conventional forces is nothing new.

The Strategic Environment

"As they stand up, we will stand down."[8]

—President George Bush, 2005

The War on Terrorism caused what author Tom Barnett dubs "the rule set reset."[9] Since the war started, nearly all U.S. strategic documents have been rewritten to take into account new threats and needed capabilities. One of the first such documents was the joint staff's National Military Strategy Plan for the War on Terror (NMSP-WOT). With close collaboration between the joint staff, the Office of the Secretary of Defense, all of the services, and combatant commanders, the NMSP-WOT set the foundation for how the Department of Defense was going to take on what is now commonly known as the War on Terrorism. Key to this document is the emergence of the concept of "enabling partner nations to counter terrorism."[10] This effort helped shape the 2006 Quadrennial Defense Review that clearly states that GPFs or "multi-purpose forces" need to be able to "train, equip, and advise indigenous forces; deploy and engage with partner nations; conduct irregular warfare, and support security, stability, transition, and reconstruction operations."[11] Further guidance notes that joint ground forces must "possess the ability to train, mentor, and advise foreign security forces and conduct counterinsurgency campaigns."[12] Although Soldiers have responded to this mission, there is little evidence of Army institutionalization of this requirement.

As the Army looked ahead to what Chief of Staff General George Casey called an "era of persistent conflict," only a few changes were made to how the Army viewed the task of advising our partners. In 2007, the Army published FM 3-24, *Counterinsurgency*. This was a very important event for the Army as a learning organization while in the midst of a protracted counterinsurgency. The FM articulates the numerous tasks and complexities of the modern battlefield and stresses that the "key to all these tasks is to develop an effective host-nation (HN) security force."[13]

In February 2008, the Army published its most significant revision of its capstone document, FM 3-0, *Full-Spectrum Operations*. The FM did not break with the past with regard to advising. Though the Army recognized that stability and reconstruction were as important as the offense and defense, it still captured advisor missions under the role of foreign internal defense, and within the mission of irregular warfare: "Special operations forces conduct most irregular warfare operations. Sometimes conventional Army forces support them . . . conventional Army forces may assume the lead role"[14]

"Army commanders back in the U.S. told us this was going to be the most thankless and frustrating job we have ever held, and boy, were they right."[15]

—U.S. Army LTC, Brigade Team Chief, Iraq 2006

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Think-tanks, the joint staff, and the Office of the Secretary of Defense might be clear on their expectations of the Army regarding advisors in the War on Terrorism, but the service's execution of these roles is as clumsy and ad hoc as its doctrine. Several articles from *The Wall Street Journal* provide insights into experiences on location at the advisor training schools as well as in theater, detailing a lack of focus, priority, and quality of personnel, and a general degree of frustration.[16] Coincidentally, these are the exact same frustrations noted by MAC-V advisors 40 years earlier.[17]

Looking at strategic guidance and the specter of history—and mistakes past—we can see there is a clear need to institutionalized this critical capability in the modern full-spectrum Army. The history and guidance justifies the need for this force structure change and the requirements should be analyzed across the spectrum of doctrine, organization, training, materiel, leadership and education, personnel, and facilities (DOTMLPF) to resource this capability for national defense

A Full-spectrum Approach

"The task of the ground-level advisor was extremely difficult. He had to be a jack-of-all-trades."[18]

—Jeffrey Clarke on MAC-V Advisors

There is no commonality across the varied processes of selecting advisors, training and equipping them, and developing an advisor mission focus. None of the challenges facing the Army's various advisory efforts today have anything in common. The Army advisor mission splices together, from a vast hodgepodge of institutional diversity, a series of ad hoc efforts that make it impossible to figure out exactly who owns a mission, what exactly it is supposed to do, and how exactly it integrates into theater-specific command and control structures.

Doctrine. Building partner capacities is a precept of the way we fight in this new era; it is no longer irregular. All U.S. military forces should understand their roles as mentors, coaches, and advisors to our partners, friends, and allies. Many past combat advisors use the word "spectrum" to describe the variety of the missions they performed.[19] On one end of the spectrum, conventional advisors might be involved in force generation, literally building an army from the ground-up as we are doing in Iraq today. On the other end, advisors may be liaisons, providing our allies and friends with technical combat multipliers such as aviation, medical evacuation, and fire support. The advisor mission might even be with allies who have no need of instruction. Providing a combat advisor team to a NATO battalion so it has better access to our intelligence, logistics, or fires capabilities is an example.[20] The advisor mission might even include helping a governor with disaster relief efforts in a state. In essence, the advisor team can be a plug-and-play hub with selectable capabilities (see figure). Such a concept would mesh well with Field Manual 3-0, *Full-Spectrum Operations*. A permanent conventional advisor capability allows each BCT to work with bilateral partners and allies across the range of war actions.

What this spectrum does not encompass is unconventional warfare. Dropping a team behind the lines to raise a guerrilla army and conduct sabotage will remain the purview of SOF. This distinction provides a simple doctrinal delineation between general purpose forces and SOF, a distinction that is necessary to start the debate for institutionalizing an advisor capability in the conventional Army.

Organization. The organizational structure for this effort is likely to meet the most bureaucratic resistance. Currently, the Army's SOF community does not wish to "own" the Army's conventional advising effort, but it wishes to have a role. The general purpose Army needs to accept the eventuality that Army special operations forces will not be available for the conventional advisory role.

Other advising missions fall under different laws and authorizations. One, already mentioned, is the Office of the Program Manager-Saudi Arabian National Guard. Another is the Army's Security

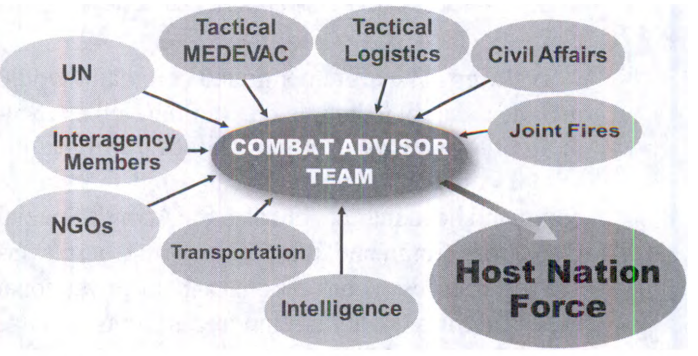


Figure. The combat advisor team: A Joint Interagency Multi-National Plug-and-Play Hub

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Assistance Command. Traditionally tied to more political strategic objectives, its missions have long been associated with foreign military sales (FMS), an activity closely linked with the Department of State. In whatever manner they are funded, clearly active duty GPF Soldiers are executing the task of advising foreign militaries. Even so, the entire effort suffers from a lack of unity and synergy.

I suggest creating a single three-star level command under Forces Command, in partnership with Training and Doctrine Command, called the "Advisor Command." It would assume command of all other commands that control the advising, equipping, and training of foreign forces. Under this command, three rapidly deployable 240-man teams would be formed, each capable of advising an entire division. In addition, each of the Army's 48 active component BCTs would stand up five 10-man advisor teams: one at the brigade level and one in each of four battalions (logistics, two combined arms, and one reconnaissance and surveillance squadron). These teams would not be dual-hatted, but would have as their sole role the training, advising, mentoring, and partnering of other forces. During reset or dwell periods, these teams could attend language and other training, deploy in support of regional theater security cooperation missions, or assist in the training of their own BCTs. A separate training and travel funding pool with ties to the advisor command would ensure the teams had the latitude and ability to achieve their full potential (and perhaps even attract volunteers).

"The important thing for the Advisor is for him to know the specific problems of his own small area. This must be learned in country, since you really can't prepare for a job until you know what it is."[21]
—Helpful hints for officers assigned to Vietnam, 1966

Training. The aforementioned command would include a school to handle the training of these Soldiers. If located at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, this school would not only be collocated with the advisor command headquarters but also the Army's Special Operations Command; this facility would best leverage five decades of conventional and unconventional experience in advising foreign forces. A basic course on advising would last only a few weeks. Based on requirements and missions, future advisors could receive training in additional modules, including languages, foreign weapons, combat life-saving skills, and others. Advisors would earn a combat advisor tab and a new skill identifier after completion of the basic advisor course.[22]

Materiel. The materiel solution is a simple one to state but complex to work out. In terms of equipping the actual advisor teams, the small amount of equipment allows for delivery and maintenance in Army units. The rapid deployable units at the advisor command would also maintain ready-to-deploy equipment sets, including vehicles, communications equipment, weapons, and life support.

Lashing up foreign military sales with the newly created advisor command will be challenging. Combat advisors in the field have to have a direct line to the materiel component of their mission. This complication has been and continues to be a hurdle. Placing the capability to supply foreign armies under the same command as the advisors would have an impact on the success of combat advisors. An initial step could be a close working relationship between the hypothetical advisor command and the State Department's political-military office, perhaps exchanging permanent liaisons.

Leadership and education. Leadership and education are the most important elements of the entire advisor mission. How the Army will view this mission in terms of leadership is the critical factor to attracting the right leaders, preparing them for their mission, and ensuring their success. In June of 2008, the Army announced that majors serving as combat advisors would receive "key developmental" credit and that lieutenant colonels chosen to lead brigade-level advisor teams would be chosen from the battalion command selection list. This move is clearly meant to better recognize the importance of this mission in terms of leadership. Though it remains to be seen what the impact of this mission will be for individual officers' careers, the Army has made a monumental move towards institutionalizing the mission. The combat leadership of Army officers working closely with foreign units in complex counterinsurgency or conventional combat operations should and must count in the path to promotion. In this latest decision, the Army has formally acknowledged the leadership and educational value of these professionally challenging assignments.

The wrong soldiers were being chosen for the training teams and... they were being poorly taught.

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U.S. Army

Advisors as Instructors: 1SG John McFarlane works with Iraqi NCOs of the 1st Battalion, 1st Brigade, 9th Iraqi Army Division on close quarters marksmanship with the AK-47.

The shortcomings were 'seriously undermining the effectiveness' of the overall training mission and 'fundamentally detracting from the U.S. strategy for transition in Iraq.' [23]

—U.S. Army Study on Advisors Training for Iraq at Fort Riley, KS, 2008

Personnel. How the Army handles the personnel of the advisory mission demonstrates how it views this mission. So far, the Army institution has treated this mission as a fad, something that one hopes will go away before much has to be changed. At the time of this writing, there are signs that the Army is beginning to see challenges in the retention of mid-grade officers and noncommissioned officers. The advisor mission may be an opportunity to address both issues.

This proposal calls for approximately 5,000 Soldiers to be taken from the latest end-strength authorizations. As noted above, each of Active Army's 48 BCTs would be manned with five 10-man teams. This would account for 2,400 embedded advisors in the active component brigades. The advisor command would have three rapid deployable advisor units, each able to advise an entire division. These three 240-man units allow for a three-way rotation in a long-term effort or two simultaneous operations with one unit in reset. Of course, elements of these three units could be dispatched globally to perform exercises with partners, assist in humanitarian emergencies, or conduct training missions. The remaining 1,900 Soldiers would fall under the advisor command itself. Some will be instructors, others will work administrative requirements, and others bound for the command will be students in the Army's TTHS account. Furthermore, additional capability could be added to the National Guard and Reserve force structure.

Key to the success of this effort would be the attraction and selection of quality Soldiers and leaders. The awarding of a "Combat Advisor Tab," a skill identifier, language training, and perhaps special pay, would go a long way to help attract the best. Furthermore, the exciting and fulfilling nature of this mission will have a significant impact on retention of quality leaders, given they are rewarded and promoted for their efforts. The latest decision to use officers from the command list will have a dramatic impact in setting the right tone and climate for the importance of this mission. Absolutely critical is the addition of new advisors to the force structure. Developing a formal advisor program cannot simply be a system of badges and identifiers issued to leaders simply to announce they have attended the training and achieved some level of certification (for instance, the way parachute wings

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and Ranger tabs encrust people who never see airborne and ranger units). The habit of dual-hatting tactical unit officers and NCOs as advisors must end.

Facilities. Lastly, there are numerous facilities that can house such a small footprint. Fort Bragg provides a clearly suitable location. The proposed parent headquarters, Forces Command, is close to the Army's Special Forces School, the institutional experts for the last fifty years. If approved, other commands could move from their present locations to fall under any advisor command (most notably, Fort Belvoir's Security Assistance Command). At present, the advisor training mission is moving from Fort Riley to Fort Polk.

"Present your suggestions carefully, in detail, with adequate reasons. An explanation of the advantages will usually be effective."[24]

—MAC-V Advisor Handbook 1969

Conclusion

Since the end of WWII, conventional Soldiers have been involved in advisory missions in Greece, China, Korea, Vietnam, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Columbia, Japan, and numerous other locations. There is a wealth of knowledge in lessons learned waiting to be discovered. Guidance from strategic documents tells us this mission will only increase in scope. The Army has taken some steps forward. Much more needs to be done. Somewhere between the current ad hoc efforts and a 20,000-man "Advisor Corps" lies a plausible course of action. Filtering some ideas through the DOTMLPF construct, this paper attempts to define one possible course of action. The Army needs to be able to work effectively with our partners and allies during full-spectrum operations. This is one approach. ***MR***

NOTES

1. Defense Secretary Robert Gates, speaking to the Association of the U.S. Army, 10 October 2007, as reported by COL Robert Kilbrew in "SecDef has signaled a turning point in US defense thinking," *Armed Forces Journal*, <www.armedforcesjournal.com/2008/02/3240799>.

2. Many do not like the term general purpose force or GPF. In this paper, this term is used to clearly delineate those forces other than special operations forces, or SOF.

3. Program Decision Memorandum III, FY 08-13.

4. John Nagl, "Institutionalizing Adaptation, It's Time for a Permanent Advisor Corps," Center for New American Security: Washington, DC, 2007, <www.newamericansecurity.org/publications/Nagl_AdvisoryCorp_June07.pdf>.

5. Since the beginning of the Iraq Advisor effort, training has gone from Camp Atterbury, to Fort Benning, to Fort Bliss, to Fort Carson, to Fort Hood, to Fort Riley, and will now move to Fort Polk. Assignments continue to be on an individual basis, based more on a Soldiers' timing rather than experience, deployments, or other considerations. It also continues to draw on over 1,500 Army Reservists from institutional training divisions whose legacy mission was training the conventional Army as part of a full mobilization. A separate paper can be written on whether these assignments are career enhancing or limiting. To most carrying out this mission, the jury is still out.

6. William Faulkner, *Requiem for a Nun,* act I scene III (New York: Vintage Publishing, 1975).

7. Just an example of the many flavors of advisors in Iraq and Afghanistan: military transition team, border transition team, special police transition team, national police transition team, embedded training teams, advisory support team.

8. President George W. Bush, address to U.S. Army Soldiers at Fort Bragg, NC, 28 June 2005, as reported by John D. Banusiewicz in the article "As Iraqis Stand Up, We Will Stand Down" on Defense Link, <www.defenselink.mil/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=16277>.

9. Tom Barnett, discussion with the author, Pentagon, Washington, DC, 29 September 2004.

10. National Military Strategic Plan for the War on Terrorism, The Joint Staff: Washington, DC, 1 February 2006, 7.

11. *Quadrennial Defense Review,* Department of Defense: Washington, DC, 6 February 2006, 23.

12. "Transition Teams and Provincial Reconstruction Teams (TT/PRT) Mission Analysis to CG, TRADOC," 14 September 2007.

13. Department of the Army, Field Manual (FM) 3-24, *Counterinsurgency*, 6-1.

14. United States Army FM 3-0, *Operations*, Headquarters, Department of the Army: February 2008, 2-10.

15. Greg Jaffe, "A Camp Divided," *Wall Street Journal*, 16 June 2006.

16. Yochi Dreazenm, "Training Mission Unaccomplished," *Wall Street Journal*, 29 February 2008. Dreazenm spent several days with trainers and students at the advisor course at Fort Riley, Kansas. Also Greg Jaffe's "A Camp Divided," *Wall Street Journal*, 16 June 2006. This article provides a critical insight into the difficulties and frustrations of an often ill-defined effort; Jaffe spent weeks in Iraq embedded with advisors in 2006.

17. Jeffrey Clarke, "The Advisors," *In Advice and Support: The Final Years, The U.S. Army in Vietnam, 1965-1973*, 49-74. Washington DC: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1988.

18. Ibid.

19. Numerous discussions with author by advisors of 1st Brigade, 9th Iraqi Division, during the course of a full tour as a Battalion Team Chief, December 2005-November 2006.

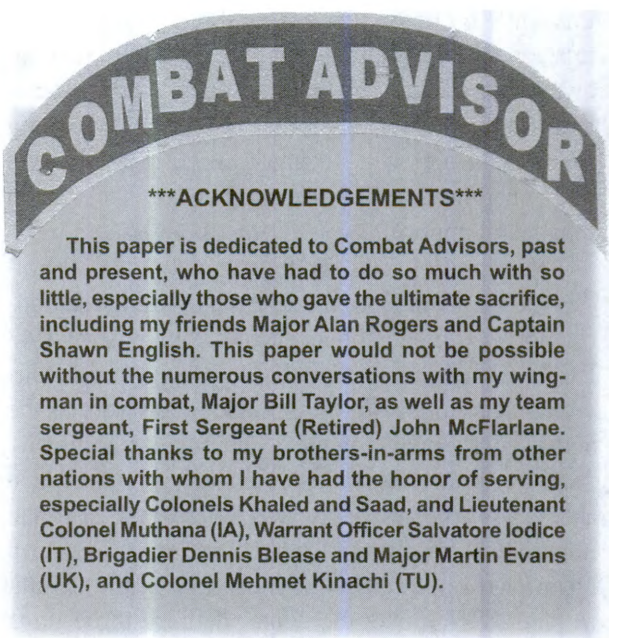
20. In a 21 May 2008 roundtable with a recently returned Army Brigade Combat Team (BCT) Commander, he described sending a "robust LNO [liaison] team" with his attached Georgian Army Battalion—in other words, exactly what this paper argues, only it would not be out of hide for a commander in the future.

21. COL Frank S. Osiecki, U.S. Army, assistant class director, Command and General Staff College. Memo subject: Helpful Hints from U.S. Military Training Advisors, Republic of Vietnam, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas: 27 April 1966.

22. Current training at Fort Riley, Kansas, consists of 3 months of intense preparation for advisor teams. Most of the time is spent preparing for theater specific survival and combat tasks. As the advisors would join permanent units (either the 240-man rapid deployment units or teams in BCTs) the only training to be conducted at the Advisor Command School is *advising*. Combat critical tasks, such as first aid, marksmanship, convoy operations and others would be conducted with their permanent units. Without these tasks, the actual Advisor Course could be much shorter. In the spring of 2008, the U.S. Army announced a Transition Team Identifier.

23. Yochi J. Dreazen, "Training Mission Unaccomplished," *Wall Street Journal*, 29 February 2008.

24. FF and PF Handbook. Headquarters, United States Military Assistance Command, Vietnam. Revision 11-69.



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From Tactical Planning to OPERATIONAL DESIGN

Major Ketti Davison, U.S. Army

THE PURPOSE OF THIS ARTICLE is to encourage dialogue that may lead to the development of a coherent framework for operational design, which our doctrine needs but currently lacks.[1] We have a proven planning process that the force widely accepts. There is no compelling reason to replace it at the tactical level. At the operational level, however, there is a need to augment it through explicit design. Planning solves problems; design ensures that the problems being solved are the right ones. This article discusses the most prevailing planning process, the Military Decision-Making Process (MDMP); the emerging techniques associated with so-called "effects based operations" (commonly referred to as EBO); and an approach that may potentially inform future doctrine—systemic operational design (SOD). I shall compare the conceptual foundations, decision-making models, and applicable organizational structures of the three approaches.

Operational thought is constantly adapting and evolving to suit the context in which it is applied. The recent evolution of military thought has closely followed the evolution of systems theory. As the understanding of systems continues to evolve, so must military thought.

Three models represent the successive theoretical shifts in systems thinking. They reflect a progressive understanding of systems, beginning with the concept of the systems as a mindless mechanical tool, then as a uni-minded biological being (that is an entity making unilateral decisions), and finally as a multi-minded socio-cultural system.[2]

The three military decision-making models reflect a parallel progression in the evolution of systems thinking. Initially, rational military decision-making supported solving well-structured problems such as those found in a mechanistic system. Decision-making primed by recognition subsequently evolved to address problems occurring in natural settings with which the decision-maker had experience. An intuitive decision-making process then emerged to cope with those situations for which decision-makers had no previous experience.

Working from these basic models, advances in systems thinking and decision theories have triggered subsequent developments in organizational structures. The hierarchical model that enabled commanders to act decisively at the operational level gave way to a network organization that emphasized lateral information sharing. The networked organization laid the foundation for transition to a learning organization that continually updates its thinking and enables the adaptation and innovation required for the best outcomes.

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PAINTING: The Mongols were the undisputed masters of operational innovation and adapted readily to changing conditions. Their ability to swarm on their enemies proved overwhelming. (Illustration from early 14th century manuscript.)

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Continued evolution of operational thought is vital to gaining and maintaining the cognitive initiative and maintaining effectiveness in the rapidly changing operating environment.

MDMP

The prevailing planning process, the MDMP, amounts to a mechanistic view of mindless systems. The mechanistic view of the world that evolved in France after the Renaissance maintains that the universe is a machine that works with a regularity dictated by its internal structure and the causal laws of nature. The elements of mechanical systems are "energy-bonded" in that they reflect Newtonian mechanics; laws of classical physics govern the relationships among the elements.[3] Concepts based on this mechanistic view pervade current military doctrine, as evidenced by terms such as center of gravity, mass, and friction. The mechanistic perspective focuses on physical logic and is entirely appropriate—at the tactical level. It becomes incomplete, however, at the more conceptual operational level, where the political objectives of war are at least as important as the physical disposition of forces.

The MDMP is a rational decision-making process. It proceeds by well-ordered steps conducted in an objective, reasoned, and logical manner. The commander must clearly state the end-state he wishes to achieve at the outset of the planning process. The staff develops a number of alternative courses of action to achieve that end-state. The commander selects the most efficient means of achieving his end-state from the alternatives presented to him. This type of rational thinking provides an orderly approach to solving well-defined problems. It has also led to significant accomplishments in the areas of science and technology.

Yet the problems the operational commander faces are seldom well defined and are complicated by time pressures, vaguely understood requirements, and often-conflicting goals. Dynamic conditions that characterize natural settings affect all of these factors. Rarely is there enough time or sufficient information to make a systematic rational approach work outside of a laboratory.

Concepts based on this mechanistic view pervade current military doctrine, as evidenced by terms such as center of gravity, mass, and friction.

The MDMP was originally developed for use in a hierarchical organization. (Hierarchy refers to the distribution of authority based on organizational position, such as the commander of a military unit.)[4] Authority and vertical communication combine to permit highly placed individuals to receive information from all individuals at lower levels. The highly placed individuals are also well placed to exert control over their subordinates. The tight control associated with a hierarchical structure, however, is one of its greatest operational-level drawbacks. The only persons with a full perspective of the organization's current situation are those positioned where the information comes together, at the top. Consequently, the ones with the most knowledge tend to be the planners, not the executers. The military exhibits this shortcoming when its rational decision-making model, the MDMP, encourages the separation of course of action development and course of action implementation.[5]

Higher commanders and planning staffs formulate courses of action, but subordinate commanders implement them. The commanders tasked with implementing a course of action are not privy to all the factors that went into developing it. The planners responsible for developing the course of action are not as familiar with the subordinate units' capabilities and strengths as the unit commanders are. This separation of duties is fraught with communication problems that greatly reduce the chance that the optimal course of action will be the one developed. The separation can also affect the commitment of commanders who must implement a plan that they were not part of developing. The rational decision-making model used by the military's hierarchical organization rests on a linear communications process that places more emphasis on ideas flowing from top to bottom than on those flowing from bottom to top. Yet, in the contemporary operating environment, those with the most current situational awareness are at the bottom of the hierarchy. The recognition of these shortcomings led to the development of a new operational approach.

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Holistic Planning, Networked Organization, and Uni-Minded Systems

Systems thinking akin to so-called "effects based operations" reflects the second stage of systems theory, a biological view of a uni-minded system.[6] The biological thinking that led to the concept of an organization as a uni-minded system initially emerged in Germany and Britain. The disparate parts of a uni-minded system react in a predefined manner to events in their environment, while a single command center, acting like a brain, controls the operation of the system as a whole. Concepts based on this biological model permeate EBO, as demonstrated by the effect-node-action-resources process that acts on a part of the system to trigger the desired behavior change of the whole. EBO applies the elements of national power against the threat's political, military, economic, social, informational, and infrastructural systems to cause the threat to behave in a pre-determined manner.[7] The assumption that these parts will react to events in their environment in a predictable way is one of the key tenets of EBO. Such "effects-based" thinking is wholly dependent on viewing organizational complexities as though they were uni-minded. However, most emerging threats are not centrally controlled systems, but complex adaptive systems.

Complex adaptive systems are systems that contain agents or populations that seek to adapt to improve their fit to the environment.[8] Most complex adaptive systems have distinctive interaction patterns that are neither random nor completely structured.[9] EBO attempts to exploit these patterns of interaction by identifying and acting on key nodes, or relationships between nodes, in order to bring about the desired behavior. The effect-node-action-resources process relies on identifying cause-and-effect relationships. However, establishing even short-term causes and effects in a complex adaptive system is difficult due to the nature of its interactions. A system is complex when it has many autonomous agents that interact with each other in many ways.[10] A system is adaptive when it responds to interactions with its environment by spontaneously self-organizing and seeking to turn whatever happens to its advantage.[11] Complex adaptive systems operate in a state of continual change as new information is learned and assimilated. EBO-like systems thinking seems to demand the impossible: predicting future behavior in a continually learning, changing, and adapting system.

Such "effects-based" thinking is wholly dependent on viewing organizational complexities as though they were uni-minded. However, most emerging threats are not centrally controlled systems, but complex adaptive systems.

Long-term prediction of complex adaptive systemic behavior is complicated further by the inevitable rise of emergent properties. Emergent properties are properties the whole system has that the separate parts do not. Emergence occurs as complex adaptive systems respond to environmental changes through evolutionary adaptation. The system's emergent structures constantly adjust and readjust in response to input from the environment because they are open systems. Analysts cannot understand emergent properties by examining the system's separate parts, so predicting which emergent structures will arise from interacting parts in an open system that exhibits novelty and complexity is not feasible for all practical purposes.

Taking action to produce a predicted "effect" ignores a complex adaptive system's potentially sensitive dependence on initial conditions. This is the same phenomenon that makes determining long-range weather forecasting impossible.[12] Prediction requires an ability to identify the true principal driving forces in the system, as well as how these forces will affect the outcomes of interest. What makes prediction especially difficult is that the forces shaping the future do not add up in a simple, system-wide manner. Instead, their effects include nonlinear interactions among the components of the system. The conjunction of a few small events can produce a big effect if their impacts multiply rather than add. The effect of events can be unforeseeable if their consequences scatter unevenly within the system. In such an environment, current events can

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U.S. Army, SPC Aubree Rundle

Adapting to change means employing operational assets in sometimes unexpected ways. Recognizing emergent anomalies can lead to redefining problems and designing solutions on the fly.

dramatically change the probabilities of many future events. Small changes in complex systems have wide ranging and unpredictable consequences that EBO cannot consider. That shortcoming is EBO's crippling weakness.

Nonetheless, EBO-like systems thinking brings a crucial strength to operational-level planning: holistic understanding. EBO pioneers the first systemic, rather than systematic, method of studying and understanding threats in their environments and contexts. EBO considers not just the separate components of the threat system, but also properties that arise when the disparate parts come together. Looking at the entire system compensates for a key fault in the reductionist, systematic MDMP approach, which is "similar to trying to reassemble the fragments of a broken mirror to see a true reflection."[13] From a very early age, Western culture teaches learning by breaking apart problems (analysis) and fragmenting the world. While this psychological process may serve to make complex tasks more manageable, there is an enormous hidden price. The relationships between parts often go under-appreciated or vanish in the analysis. An understanding of how the consequences of localized actions affect the larger whole also often vanishes in the analytical process. EBO tries to remedy this problem by gathering and sharing a greater amount of knowledge to better understand the system as well as its components.

Effects-based thinking enables recognition-primed decision-making. Recognition-primed decision-making incorporates both rapid assessment of the situation and mental course-of-action evaluations.[14] Development of recognition-primed decision-making resulted from field research on the way experienced personnel made decisions in real-world settings. The research explains how experience allowed the decision-makers to react quickly and make sound decisions without having to explicitly contrast options. Decision-makers begin by recognizing the situation as one with which they have some type of experience in the past. Their previous experience enables them to develop an abstract mental model or prototype of the situation, set priorities, determine which informational cues are relevant, ascertain what to expect next, and call upon various ways of successfully responding. Experience allows the decision-maker to filter out unnecessary information and focus on the meaningful pieces. EBO's collaborative information environment permits rapid access to enormous amounts of data that the recognition-primed decision-maker can use his experience to sort out.

Recognition-primed decision-makers develop viable courses of action in an extremely short timeframe. In order for a decision-maker to make sense of an observation, he must have an idea of what might be seen and a framework of beliefs into which new observations, both confirming and disconfirming, may be interwoven.[15] He calls upon prior learning to structure his new perceptions and uses these new perceptions to advance learning in the form of theory construction and modification.[16] Experience facilitates the decision-maker's rapid understanding of a situation and enables him to develop contextually appropriate mental prototypes. Recognition-primed decision-makers implement the first viable course of action they develop rather than generating and comparing multiple ones. In fact, research indicates that only novices need to develop multiple courses of action and compare

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them in order to determine the best one.[17] Recognition-primed decision-making makes extensive use of mental simulations.[18] Mental simulation, or mental wargaming, occurs in the initial assessment of the situation, when generating expectancies, and while evaluating courses of action. Courses of action are mentally wargamed in the order they are developed. Mental simulations help explain the pieces of incoming information by arriving at a context that best accounts for them. They also enable course-of-action evaluation by previewing how a course of action will unfold and identifying obstacles it might encounter. Once the experienced decision-maker determines that a course of action is viable, he will gain very little by continuing to develop subsequent courses of action. By making vast amounts of collected information available to the decision-maker, EBO enables recognition-primed decision-making for known and well-developed threat situations.

Effects-based thinking moves towards a networked organization and away from a focus on an organizational structure based on hierarchy at the operational level. Units and agencies linked to each other through the collaborative information environment constitute a network organization. The network organization replaces vertical communication and control relationships with lateral relationships.[19] Formal ties are less important than informal partnerships. Network organizations encourage information sharing and inspire innovation.[20] However, there are several significant complications with network organizations. The sheer amount of information to disseminate may actually hamper situational awareness and decision-making unless appropriate filters are in place. Various components in a network organization may also pursue their own self-interests and agendas at the expense of others in the network, especially if they lack hierarchical ties, are separated from each other geographically, face competing priorities, and exhibit different senses of urgency. EBO's shift toward a network organizational structure replaces one set of communication problems with another. Fortunately, another approach is emerging.

Neither the biological nor the mechanical models can explain the behavior of a system whose individual parts display autonomy.

SOD

Systemic operational design, which may potentially inform future doctrine, reflects the most recent stage in the evolution of systems theory—the socio-cultural view of a multi-minded system. Social organizations exemplify multi-minded systems.[21] Neither the biological nor the mechanical models can explain the behavior of a system whose individual parts display autonomy. The critical variable is intention, or purpose; an entity is purposeful if it can produce the same outcome in different ways in the same environment, and different outcomes in the same or a different environment. The various interests of the purposeful parts (their intentionality) are constantly re-aligning in relation to each other and to the whole.

Multi-minded systems are also information-bonded; they achieve guidance and control by agreement based on a common perception preceded by a psychological contract.[22] An example is riding a horse as opposed to driving a car. Who the rider is matters to the horse, and the rider can only enjoy a proper ride after he exchanges information with the horse.[23] The mutual influence represented in this analogy illustrates a socio-cultural view that permeates SOD. Social interaction in SOD evinces a process of injecting energy into a multi-minded system through action to learn more about, or discover, its purpose. Rather than relying on a presumed certain understanding or complete information, SOD recognizes that uncertainty is an attribute of complex adaptive systems and addresses it through continuous reframing. Whereas EBO's holistic approach focuses on disrupting nodes and relationships, SOD focuses on transforming the relationships and interactions between entities within a system. This different emphasis allows SOD to develop a rationale for systemic behavior that facilitates the system's movement in accordance with the designer's aim. SOD uses the term "operational" to signify its focus on the link between strategy and tactics. SOD develops concepts of operation

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U.S. Army, SPC Derek Niccolson

Soldiers from a psychological operations company hand out flags and stickers in Afghanistan, 11 February 2008. The handouts help foster stronger relations between coalition forces and the Afghanistan people.

aimed at disrupting entire systems through systemic shock. It ensures that the tactical forms of action developed are consistent with the logic inherent in the strategic aim.

Systemic operational design occurs in the context of a learning organization (as adaptive to emerging information) and is driven by the design team. The commander selects members of his design team based on their ability to contribute to a rigorous discourse and continually update their thinking by remaining open to conceptual shifts. The discourses utilize a dialectic approach that examines the differences between the friendly context (thesis) and the rival context (antithesis), in order to develop a synthesis—a conceptual understanding of the system. This synthesis then becomes the starting point for the next dialectic. SOD is composed of seven sets of structured discourse: "systems framing, rival as rationale, command as rationale, logistics as rationale, operation framing, operational conditions, and forms of function."[24] These discourses provide the framework for continual learning and adaptation. They also permit the rapid incorporation of new information bearing on the problem. Each discourse informs the next in a fluid process that moves from the broad to the narrow and from the abstract to the concrete.[25] Three products result from the discourses: a literary text that explains the logic of the system, a visualization sketch that embodies the logic of the form of maneuver, and a conceptual map that communicates the holistic impression of the body of knowledge gained through the dialectic.

The concept of "design" to inform plans construction makes SOD stand apart from both the MDMP and effects-based thinking. Design focuses on learning, and planning concentrates on action. The design team sets the problem in context through critical questions that lead to rigorous thought. The planner then enables adaptive action to solve the problem set by the designer. Both functions are necessary, but neither is sufficient by itself. SOD does not replace the planning process; it incorporates the element of design to enlighten planning by being sensitive to the multi-minded quality of the environment.

Traditional operational planning approaches use existing approved templates, as abstractions, to solve current concrete problems. These templates lose their validity when the threat system adapts and exhibits new emergent properties. SOD iteratively creates new patterns that tune into the unique logic of the emerging context, avoiding the pitfalls of relying on an enshrined, albeit irrelevant, abstraction. It adapts to the changing operational environment through its cycle of design, plan, act, and learn. SOD accomplishes this through a series of discourses that lead to a holistic design of an operation that ensures the creation of a plan relevant to the current context.

Systemic operational design uses intuitive decision-making. Intuition is a natural outgrowth of experience and preparation; intuitive decision-making translates that experience into action by making inferences calibrated to empirical environmental similarities.[26] Where EBO applies recognition-primed decision-making to identify familiar patterns

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based on previous experience, SOD uses intuitive decision-making to spot anomalies from experience and develops inferences about appropriate action. SOD takes the lock-step out of effects-based thinking by rigorously recognizing and processing the need to adapt to likelihoods presented by anomalies. It takes advantage of intuitive decision-making to identify points of departure from previous experience. Intuitive decision-makers are able to recognize when an emerging context does not match their experience base, and calls for either a new approach or a reframing of the problem. They are quick to notice anomalies because they have a clear idea of what to expect and a refined sense of what is typical.

Intuitive decision-making uses reframing to account for deviations from expected patterns. Reframing enables the intuitive decision-maker to perceive the problem differently. This change in perspective leads to a new interpretation that accounts for the anomalies. Intuitive decision-making works best when decision-makers actively search for violations of expected patterns and the potential difficulties these violations might cause.[27] Consistent with SOD, they seek to identify emergence within the system. Intuitive decision-making shifts the focus from comparing courses of action to assessing the situation. It occurs outside of sterile laboratory settings and is used extensively by experts who are not even aware they are making decisions. In studies, military planners have been shown to use intuitive decision-making continuously and implicitly.[28] It applies to environments characterized by time pressure, high stakes, experienced decision-makers, inadequate information, ill-defined goals, poorly defined procedures, cue learning, context, dynamic conditions, and team coordination.[29] SOD applies intuitive decision-making to maximize inherent human capabilities and tendencies, while mitigating human fallibilities. The emphasis is on being poised to act rather than being paralyzed by information, expectations (within the accepted analytic framework), and evaluations. Learning through action enables the intuitive decision-maker to gain experience even if the emerging context has unfamiliar properties. No other approach explicitly incorporates learning about deviations from expected patterns, which is precisely where learning is most crucial.

Systemic operational design differs from earlier approaches by harnessing the concept of emergence to drive the learning process. By actively searching for emergence, SOD provides a means for the organization to adapt to the constantly changing operating environment. SOD regards the use of force not only as a means to shape the operational environment, but also (and mainly) as a tool for asking critical questions, an instrument for clarifying ambiguities, a measure for disproving hypotheses, a mode of operational research, and a mechanism for organizational learning.[30] Because SOD reflects the latest developments in the evolution of systems thinking, it presents a more appropriate approach for adapting and innovating in an environment characterized by uncertainty and change. ***MR***

NOTES

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PHOTO: A 22-year-old Army specialist exposes a scar on his scalp as he scratches his head while working with speech pathologist Sara Granberry at Vanderbilt Medical Center, 2 August 2007, Nashville, TN. The scar is a result of a rocket attack. The Soldier now suffers from traumatic brain injury, the "silent epidemic" of the Iraq war. (AP Photo, Mark Humphrey)

An Innovative Approach to BLAST INJURY RECOVERY

Colonel Karl D. Reed, U.S. Army

CARING FOR MILD traumatic brain injury (mTBI) continues to be challenging for both the military and the Veterans Administration (VA). The Army can make a difference in the care provided to Soldiers by incorporating aspects of sports medicine's approach to treating closed head injuries. Several sports medicine "best practices" can assist in caring for Soldiers who have been exposed to explosive blasts and are suffering from mTBI.

Traumatic brain injury (TBI) and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) are often confused and incorrectly interchanged when referring to consequences associated with blast injuries. These afflictions are not the same, and a Soldier can be diagnosed with both. TBI is a physical wound to the brain. PTSD is a physiologically induced wound to the mind (i.e., information processing and mental functioning). The focus here is on TBI, primarily in its mild form, mBTI.

Sports teams have taken aggressive steps to mitigate brain injury on playing fields. The number of collegiate and high school football players incurring closed head injuries resulting in mortality has dropped over the last half century due to increased awareness and research. In 1968, for example, 36 fatalities related to head injury were reported. By 1990, however, the average number was five per year.[1] Comparatively, the Army's challenge has escalated since the start of the War on Terrorism. An estimated 150,000 Soldiers have been diagnosed with some level of traumatic brain injury, primarily from exposure to explosive blasts.[2]

The Army and the VA are taking action to find best care practices by making mTBI awareness a top priority. All leaders are directed to participate in the on-line educational TBI awareness and treatment program.[3] The VA's lead organization for this program is the Defense and Veterans Brain Injury Center (DVBIC) in Washington D.C. The DVBIC facilitates innovative partnership ventures with private and public sectors by bringing together the experts from both sides to identify the best technology and achieve the best care possible.

This article explores blast effects on the brain and identifies some best practices the military can adopt from established sports related programs. The essential core of sports-related programs for dealing with head/brain concussion is three-fold:

- Sports teams conduct extensive pre-season cognitive testing to establish a neuropsychological baseline on every player. These reports become invaluable in both the detection of and the recovery from concussive

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injury. Sports teams use several inexpensive and easily obtained software packages to gather data and conduct accurate cognitive testing. These cognitive testing database software packages are web-based and can be networked using mobile hand-held devices.[4]

- Sports trainers and physicians use an integrated approach to recognize trauma and evaluate the rate of recovery of a player with mTBI. Paramount in this effort is the combined use of scanning technology and cognitive testing in the detection and recovery phases of an injury. An example of emerging technology that has outperformed the accuracy of traditional brain imaging is the Magneto Encephalography (MEG). The MEG system is twice as accurate as traditional systems in identifying post concussive abnormalities.[5] Integrating this new imaging technology with cognitive testing management systems produces a holistic approach to diagnosing and treating closed head injuries.[6]
- Sports teams have thorough testing regimens that evaluate patient recovery and validate readiness for athletes to return to play. Trainers and coaches alike recognize the increased risk of serious injury or even death when a player suffers a second concussion when not fully recovered from the first.[7] Care providers typically use scanning technology to determine the readiness of an athlete to safely return to play.

Athletes, unlike Soldiers, do not routinely risk their lives responding to the call for duty to the Nation. Soldiers, however, relate easily to competitive team sports and exhibit the same spirit to win. Frequently, winning entails personal risk. Infusing sports best practices with current Army mTBI identification and treatment procedures can greatly enhance overall Soldier recovery and readiness. By adopting these best practices, the Army will gain a system that provides increased objectivity and greater accuracy in assessing brain injury. Soldiers, like athletes, sometimes need to be told when to rest.

Understanding Blast Mechanics

A blast produces an energy wave that causes an immediate change in atmospheric pressure. There are three blast phases: primary, secondary, and tertiary. The primary phase creates a wave of energy pressure that leads to the secondary and tertiary blast phases. Even though improvised explosive devices (IEDs) seek to cause penetrating damage, this initial energy wave surrounds the body, causing an extreme but temporary change in atmospheric pressure on the organs and the cardiovascular system.[8] We know that this surrounding pressure can cause a Soldier to feel dazed or even to lose consciousness, but the full consequences of exposure to this energy wave are not well understood with regard to the human body, especially the brain.[9]

Soldiers, like athletes, sometimes need to be told when to rest.

The secondary blast effect is made up of physical elements that are picked up by the primary blast energy wave and propelled through the air, often impacting and injuring the human body with assorted shrapnel.[10] Finally a tertiary blast effect results in the body being thrown into or against an object. A tertiary effect, for example, occurs if a Soldier's head snaps back from the blast pressure and hits the inside of the vehicle door with sufficient force to cause injury.[11]

Understanding these three phases of blast effects is crucial. We take extensive measures to protect Soldiers from the secondary and tertiary elements of the blast by providing state of the art equipment such as helmets, eye protection, groin protection, additional hardening of vehicles, and even seatbelts. However, we need to do much more to identify the best way to protect troops from the impact of primary blast effects pressure on the brain.

Effects of Blast on the Brain

Brain bleeding is a common effect from a blast event. Bleeding can occur immediately, or it may take several days for blood vessel seepage to appear. Some scanning techniques effectively identify bleeding and swelling. What is more difficult to identify, however, is the damage caused by a sheering and stressing of the microscopic nerve axons in the brain. This damage is referred to as Diffuse Axonal Injury (DAI). Because the

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brain is made up of billions of microscopic nerve cells, DAI can go undetected. Severe whiplash or jolting of the head can contribute to injuring these axonal fibers.

The most feasible way to determine DAI is cognitive testing.[12] Unfortunately, axonal fibers cannot be visualized on Computed Tomography (CT) or Magnetic Resonance Imaging (MRI) scans. Consequently, sports teams combine both cognitive testing and scanning technologies to provide an optimum diagnosis. For these reasons, the sports industry invests substantial time and resources in using cognitive testing methods to build a player's baseline.

Brain damage can occur even when the head does not sustain a direct blow. When the body below the neck receives massive injury from a blast, hypoxia can occur. Hypoxia is oxygen deprivation with the potential to result in brain damage.[13] James P. Kelly, a leading sports brain injury advisor to sports teams like the Chicago Bears, recently described this condition.[14] When the body is under incredible surrounding pressure like that produced from a blast or massive physical trauma, the results are similar to that of "holding a tube of toothpaste and squeezing." As the blood rushes to the head there is no place for it to go. The normal pressure of blood flow from the heart and the rush caused by the pressure of the blast compete for limited space, causing shock and imbalance in the cardiovascular system.

This pressure can produce a state of hypoxia and potential DAI or bursting of blood vessels.[15] When rabbits and rats were exposed to blasts in the thoracic region, even while the head area was protected by steel plates, a pattern of neuronal abnormalities similar to DAI occurred.[16]

Risk From Exposure to Repeated IED Blasts

U.S. ground forces are experiencing high levels of blast exposure. These effects are being studied in both a combat and home-station environment. Army programs that clear blast injury victims for return to duty must be objective, standardized, and above all accurate. To protect troops, maneuver commanders today develop unit policies derived from lessons learned from previous commanders or from their own personal experiences after repetitive combat tours.

A recent U.S. Air Force study conducted in the combat zone at Forward Operating Base Anaconda, just outside Baghdad, Iraq, determined that upwards of 60 percent of the Soldiers exposed to IED or other blasts suffered tympanic membrane, or eardrum damage. Importantly, the presence of tympanic membrane damage is a good marker to identify potential brain injury.[17]

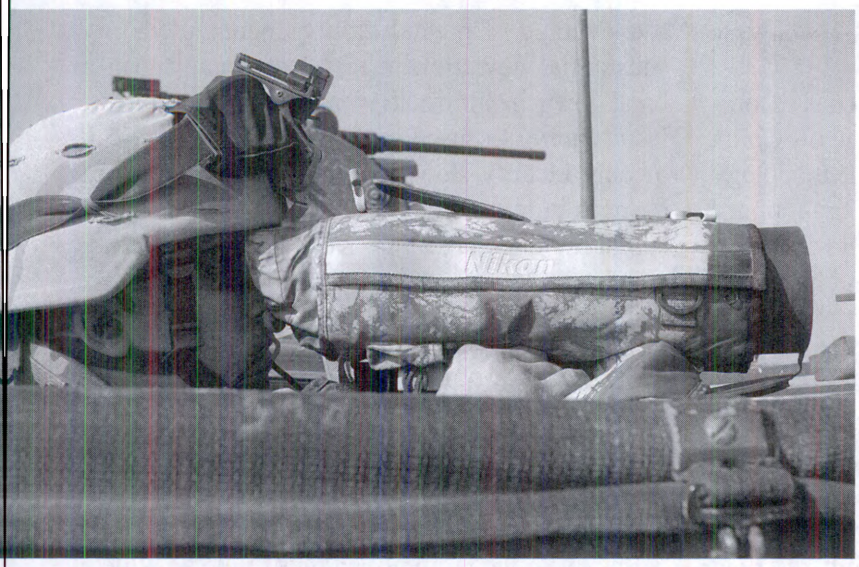
Captain Dennis Terry, United States Military Academy boxing coach, recently noted that when training for upcoming bouts, he counsels his cadets to neither deliver nor take any more head punches than necessary. The coach further explains that military leaders are beginning to understand that troops do not just shake off concussions. People with a first time head injury or concussion are at a 50 percent greater risk of death should they be injured a second time before the symptoms of the initial injury are gone. This effect is called second impact syndrome.[18]

Today's Soldiers are averaging three to four year-long combat tours over a six-year period. Their dedication to the mission and each other increases their risk of being exposed to multiple IED blasts. A historical example of Soldiers repeatedly exposed to blasts occurred in April of 2004 when Muqtada al-Sadr's al-Madi Army Militia held a terrorist siege on the holy city of Najaf. The lead element for the Stryker battalion opposing the terrorists was the scout platoon led by 1LT John Hicks.

Five RPGs simultaneously hit the third vehicle in the platoon. The explosions threw everyone to the floor and knocked out all electrical power and communications. The Scouts returned fire with their .50-caliber machineguns and Mark-19 grenade launchers. Moments later, Hicks received a report from the disabled vehicle via the crew's squad radios. They reported that no one was injured and the damage could be repaired in a few minutes. The Scouts moved forward several hundred yards past the ambush site. As they dismounted, the enemy struck again.[19]

Although blasts were reported by the unit, they were not reported against particular crew members or individuals in the fast-moving combat environment. Soldiers rarely report an injury unless it is visible and requires immediate medical attention. Today's leaders continue to struggle with accurately accounting for mTBI in a combat environment.

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U.S. Army, SPC Clinton Tarzia

Soldier in 1LT Hicks' scout platoon scanning for possible IEDs along the convoy route to Najif, Iraq, April 2004.

Affecting the Life of a Soldier

Based on my experiences as both a commander on the ground in combat and a chief of staff at a major installation concerned with Soldier well-being, I have witnessed the daily struggle of Soldiers and their families dealing with mTBI. A Soldier exposed to a severe blast may experience an immediate loss of consciousness or become dazed and confused following the event. Much like a sports player suffering from a concussion, the Soldier can have symptoms including migraine headaches, dizziness, irritability, difficulty sleeping, loss of balance, and short term memory problems.[20] Table 1 identifies common symptoms associated with blast related brain injury. Unlike most sports related concussions, however, blast related concussion symptoms can persist for months and in some cases actually increase in severity over time. Any one of these symptoms can immediately affect a Soldier's ability to shoot his weapon, move under fire, and to communicate with others on the battlefield. Exposure to a second blast can have additive effects on the brain, thus greatly increasing the risk of death or permanent loss of cognitive function. Upon returning to home-station and rejoining family, Soldiers with mTBI can experience challenges readjusting to everyday life. Family members may have difficulty understanding the changes because there are no apparent physical wounds. Frustrated and not understood, a Soldier may become overwhelmed with previously simple tasks such as driving a car or just managing to be in the right place at the right time.

Sleep deprivation and memory problems plague both family and military life and can lead to a downward spiral in quality of life. Unable to reintegrate into family life and maintain the rigors of unit training, Soldiers may feel they are becoming increasingly isolated. Many do not want to call attention to their symptoms for fear of being labeled as a problem or viewed as weak by peers and/or leaders. When struggling with issues such as these a Soldier can become aggressive, seek to self medicate, abuse alcohol, and fall into a pattern of misconduct.

Common Symptoms of Brain Injury

- Difficulty organizing daily tasks
- Blurred vision or eyes tire easily
- Headaches or ringing in the ears
- Feeling sad, anxious, or restless
- Easily irritated or angered
- Feeling tired all the time
- Feeling light-headed or dizzy
- Trouble with memory, attention, or concentration
- More sensitive to sounds, lights, or distractions
- Impaired decision making or problem solving
- Difficulty inhibiting behavior, impulsive
- Slowed thinking, moving, speaking, or reading
- Easily confused, feeling easily overwhelmed
- Change in sexual interest or behavior

Table 1. Veterans Affairs Quick Fact TBI Card information.

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Comparing the Cognitive Testing Approaches

The Department of Veterans Affairs has recommended that care providers use the Glasgow Coma Scale as the accepted cognitive testing methodology for post-deployment determination of brain injury severity. This method is subjective as it relies on a patient's own account of symptoms and his or her recollection of the incident, thus, the evaluation depends on the patient's memory of the event.[21] When dealing with mTBI, the simple reality is that he or she may not remember the event at all or may have forgotten many of its details, particularly when time has passed since the date of injury.

The primary cognitive testing system used immediately following a suspected brain injury is called the Military Acute Concussion Evaluation (MACE). This is a very simple checklist used to conduct initial screening when diagnosing a Soldier exposed to a blast.[22] This method is limited to only one version of cognitive questions and is completed by hand. MACE assessment is rudimentary in comparison to athletic testing systems as it does not assess reaction time with any accuracy or provide data for use against a comparison baseline.

Zoroya has claimed that injured troops in Iraq and elsewhere have cheated on the very problem-solving tests used to spot traumatic brain injuries to avoid being pulled out of combat units. Lieutenant Colonel Michael Jaffee of the DVBIC stated, "With highly motivated individuals . . . there is a motivation to stay with the unit and stay on the job or in the game."[23]

Sports cognitive testing methods such as evaluating against a cognitive data point greatly improve accuracy and allow for objectivity, thus increasing the probability of detection and recovery. These systems rule out the possibility of cheating or deception. The systems being used by sports teams to capture data and assist in managing brain injury recovery include: Automated Neuropsychological Assessment Metrics (ANAM), Immediate Post Concussion Assessment and Cognitive Testing (ImPACT), and CogState Sport. Adopting any one of these concussion management programs would greatly increase Soldier readiness and care.[24]

One of the most successful cognitive testing protocols for sports teams is the ANAM Sports Medicine Battery (ASMB).[25] With baseline cognitive average of mental agility documented, any substantial deviation in test scores can mean a breakdown in information processing capability. If an injury is caused by blast exposure, one can quickly identify slowed response time as well as changes in information processing. Upon identification of injury, Dr. James Kelly declared that first and foremost we must "rest" the injured brain.[26] As a player recovers, he or she uses the ASMB to help decide when to return to play.

Recovering players should be tested both at rest and while physically taxed to rule out second impact syndrome and any remaining symptoms prior to return to play. Documenting the time spent unconscious at the point of injury is also a critical factor in the required length of time an athlete must demonstrate symptom free behavior prior to returning to play.[27] For example, a player who has lost consciousness for a few seconds must be symptom free for a week. For injured Soldiers, a detailed neurological cognitive evaluation, both at rest and while exerted, is essential in the evaluation of recovery. As part of a reintegration testing and training program, Soldiers should be able to demonstrate both the cognitive and dexterity skills necessary to survive in combat prior to returning. An example of reintegration testing in a combat environment situation might be demonstrating proficiency in the basic combat skills like shooting a weapon, moving under fire, and communicating, all executed at half-step, walk, and then run speeds. Ideally, progressive recovery would be measured by multiple testing and cognitive comparisons against previously acquired baseline data.

The ImPACT concussion management program is another universally practiced cognitive testing program used to capture data on players. At present, about half of baseball's 30 professional teams

Documenting the time spent unconscious at point of injury is also a critical factor in the required length of time an athlete must demonstrate symptom free behavior prior to returning to play.

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belong to ImPACT concussion management programs. These teams can identify mTBI in players who show drops in cognitive testing following a head injury. Veteran trainer Stan Conte of the Los Angeles Dodgers is keenly attuned to the risks of putting a player back on the field after an injury. Conte says, "The worst thing anybody can do—a doctor or a trainer—is put somebody else in harm's way without even knowing it."[28]

CogState Sport is widely used by athletes to perform cognitive associated tests over the Internet. Regardless of the player's location, he or she can access the system, view the appropriate cognitive reaction history, and/or request to take a test.[29] The system reports a cognitive testing score via email and allows for the compilation and storage of preseason averages.[30] CogState Sport and similar cognitive testing systems have tremendous potential for supporting an Army continuously on the move. By introducing a cognitive testing protocol similar to ASMB, CogState Sport, or ImPACT, the military can better and more effectively diagnose mTBI. Additionally, data could identify trends and assist the Army in countering the enemy and the effects of IEDs on Soldiers. CogState Sport software is relatively inexpensive, only costing $40.00 per administration, and the necessary computer hardware is already in our current fielded micro-processors.[31]

Using Magnetoencephalography (MEG) to Determine Abnormality

Several scanning and imaging technologies are available to further evaluate head trauma. Injuries resulting from massive brain hemorrhaging are comparatively easy to identify. That is not the case with respect to mTBI, however. Soldiers suffering from mTBI frequently do not display obvious markers for brain injury. Consequently, scanning technology is an important element in detection. In a recent study comparing scanning technologies, the MEG achieved 86 percent accuracy in positively identifying abnormalities in patients with closed head injuries. Other scanning technologies were less effective. The MRI and Single Photon Emission Computed Tomography identify abnormalities at the levels of 18 percent and 40 percent respectively.[32] The data strongly suggest the MEG scanning system is the preferred diagnostic tool for detecting abnormalities in personnel mTBI symptoms.

Soldiers suffering from mTBI frequently do not display obvious markers for brain injury. Consequently, scanning technology is an important element in detection.

Tests sponsored by the University of Pittsburgh School of Medicine demonstrate the value of both functional MRI and neuropsychological cognitive testing for determining when athletes can safely return to play without risk of suffering Second Impact Syndrome.[33] Our Soldiers need the same combination of medical and technological support before being returned to mission.

Finding a Solution

Sports teams have identified effective means for identifying and managing player concussions. The military should follow suit and make the following adjustments:

- **Pilot an "off-the-shelf" cognitive testing program like ASMB, CogSport, or ImPACT to build a pre-combat Soldier baseline database in support of all Soldiers in the Reserve and active component**. Introduce this testing at basic training and in support of all deploying units. Establish policies that ensure units test and consolidate individual data prior to deployment. Link these concussive management programs to Army Knowledge On-line web-based systems, allowing Soldier access via the Internet throughout the world. Educate leaders, trainers, and Soldiers on the importance of this data contribution. Invite sports medicine experts to share knowledge with our leaders about concussive injury. Increase our understanding of primary, secondary, and tertiary phases of blasts and their respective impacts on the body and the brain.

- **Teach leaders and care providers to recognize that blast-related injuries like diffused axonal injury can go undetected without the proper evaluation**. Develop a comprehensive cognitive testing and scanning capability that can deploy to the installation or combat zone as needed. Develop policy to ensure standard scanning technology is available at each duty station. Leaders

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must know what scanning technology is available and ensure these technologies are available to support Soldiers. Installation commanders should track scanning technology and operators at installations in the same manner they track sensitive items in a combat unit and establish policies that measure rate of use and Soldier accessibility.

• **Develop policies that standardize recovery protocols for all Soldiers**. Use both cognitive testing and scanning technology to assist in the management and verification of Soldier readiness before returning to the combat environment. Integrate these procedures into current deployment and combat operations models. Coordinate efforts between deployed units and home-station operations to ensure medically evacuated Soldiers are tracked by rear detachment commanders and are integrated into a recovery program.

Infusing sports best practices with current Army mTBI identification and treatment procedures will enhance our overall Soldier recovery and readiness and ultimately return these heroes back safely to their families. ***MR***



courtesy of Mountain Post, Fort Carson, CO

Purple Heart awarded to Soldier with traumatic brain injury from an IED blast while serving with 2d BCT, 2ID in Iraq, April 2007.

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IN UNCLE SAM'S BACKYARD:
China's Military Influence in Latin America

Loro Horta

WHEN ANALYZING CHINA'S RELATIONS with Latin America, most observers tend to give marginal attention to the military and defense dimensions of the relationship and focus primarily on economic matters. A survey of official and academic publications on China's involvement with Latin America shows the minimal attention given to the military aspect of the phenomenon.[1]

Many have pointed to China's limited arms sales to Latin America as a clear indicator of China's insignificant military position in the region. But weapons trade is not the only avenue available for establishing military influence abroad. Military and defense education, official visits by military officers and defense officials at various levels, participation in joint exercises, UN missions, air shows, and the provision of both non-military and military services are ways the Chinese are increasingly building a presence in Latin America. China's defense ties with Latin America have until recently been sporadic, involving little more than a few widely spaced official visits and even fewer hardware sales. However, since 2000, China has engaged in a patient, comprehensive diplomacy strategy toward Latin America. The PLA's new charm offensive is slowly but steadily winning a foothold. Initiatives beyond arms sales are incrementally allowing the PLA to create a foundation for long-term military cooperation in the not so distant future.

There are significant political, economic, and military dimensions to most weapons trade. By that, I mean that major arms sales tend to follow or run in parallel with close and favorable political and economic relations. For instance, major recipients of U.S. arms, such as Israel, are allies of Washington that enjoy a close, privileged relationship. The same applies to NATO members and U.S. allies in Asia and the Middle East. Arms sales take place in a larger political and diplomatic setting. A direct link exists between major arms transferences and the nature of political and economic relations.

Using this line of reasoning, we can conclude that China's arms sales to Latin America are likely to increase as China's political and economic relations with Latin America progress. Beijing's rising economic and political influence in Latin America may pave the way for major Chinese arms sales and a further expansion of its military influence. China's sophisticated new defense diplomacy is a major force driving this process.

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China's Military Diplomacy

Defense-related and military education is an increasingly important, albeit unnoticed, instrument in Chinese defense policy. Training of Latin American

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military officers in the People's Liberation Army (PLA) academies has certainly been on the rise. Not so long ago, few officers from Latin America attended Chinese military academies. However, in the past several years, over 100 officers representing the three services of 12 Latin American countries graduated from PLA academies.

China trains officers at all levels of command and in all services. For instance, at the People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) Command Staff College, junior and senior officers from Latin America attend different levels of education in the same year, allowing the Chinese military to become acquainted with officers from different generations and from all services.[2] Most significant perhaps is China's training of the upper echelons of Latin America's military at Beijing's elite national defense university, PLANDU. Each year Spanish-speaking senior officers from all services attend a four-and-one-half month-long course on grand strategy. By inviting these officers, the PLA is ensuring that attendees are those who will be in positions of power, which will allow closer relations with China and enhance influence and prestige with the Latin American military.[3]

Surprisingly, officers from countries hostile to the United States such as Cuba or Venezuela no longer frequent these courses, while countries with traditionally close relations with the United States such as Colombia, Chile, and Argentina do. In addition to the academic component, these courses include a strong element of defense diplomacy and personal networking. Course participants visit historic places and monuments such as the Great Wall and engage in scenic and picturesque activities such as cruises along the Yangtze and Pearl Rivers. In the words of a Uruguayan air force colonel, these visits aim at "socializing the barbarians into the splendors of Chinese civilization."[4]

Other visits and field trips showcase China's new wealth and technological prowess. Visits to the country's major armaments companies such as Northern Industries, China State Shipbuilding, China Shipbuilding Industry Corporation, and other military-related firms figure preeminently in the program. Other visits include the Baosteel aluminum plant in Shanghai, car assembly plants, and aviation research centers. Visits to some of the country's more modern and innovative buildings are an opportunity for foreign officers to marvel at China's architectural and engineering achievements. (During these visits, the hosts usually do not mention the names of the Western architects and companies who actually did most of the work.)

The PLA has also sent its own officers to courses held in Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Venezuela, Cuba, and Mexico. However, the number of Chinese officers heading for courses in Latin America has been smaller than the number of South American personnel attending Chinese military academies. In 2007, some 40 officers from the Americas studied in China, while only 6 PLA officers attended courses in Latin America, attending mostly short language courses and internships at local academies. Lack of fluency in the language seems to be the major reason that so few PLA officers attend Latin American military establishments. Most PLA officers proficient in Spanish and Portuguese are young, recently graduated lieutenants too junior to attend higher command courses. In addition, the PRC sees itself as the senior partner in these exchanges and believes Latin America's militaries have far more to learn from China's military traditions than the PLA has to learn from what they see as undisciplined, party-prone Latin American officers.

In addition to inviting Latin American officers to study at PLA schools, the Chinese military offers them scholarships to attend China's most prestigious civilian universities. China has also funded the education of some military officers and defense officials at Beijing National University and the Shanghai Institute of International Relations. In 2007, officers from Ecuador, Uruguay, Bolivia, and Venezuela attended Chinese language and culture courses at civilian universities.

Official visits. Official visits and other exchanges have become an important aspect of Sino-Latin

...the PRC sees itself as the senior partner in these exchanges and believes Latin America's militaries have far more to learn from China's military traditions than the PLA has to learn from what they see as undisciplined, party-prone Latin American officers.

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American defense relations as Beijing has intensified its defense diplomacy with the hemisphere. Nearly all chiefs of defense forces and ministers of defense from Latin America have visited China. In August 2006, Bolivia's minister of defense visited the People's Republic of China (PRC) for a week, and the commanders of the Uruguayan army and navy visited Beijing a month later. In April 2007, the chief of the Bolivian defense force visited Beijing; the Chilean, Peruvian, and Ecuadorian chiefs of defense forces followed suit in May and June. In August 2007, the Argentine minister of defense and the chief of the Brazilian army visited the PRC as well.



AP Photo, Andy Wong

A billboard promoting China's People's Liberation Army on display in Beijing, 4 March 2008. China said that spending on its military this year will jump by 17.6 percent compared with 2007, the latest in a string of double-digit defense increases.

Ship calls in China by South American navies are becoming far more frequent. Peruvian, Mexican, Chilean, and Colombian vessels visited mainland ports in the past several years. The only visit by PLAN ships to Latin America took place in 2002 when the Chinese navy conducted its first circumnavigation of the globe. On that occasion, a missile destroyer and a supply ship visited Ecuador, Peru, and Brazil.

The Chinese navy is increasingly able to operate far from its regional waters, at least for purposes of limited naval exercises. It demonstrated this in September 2007 by participating in joint naval exercises with the British Royal Navy in the North Atlantic and with the Spanish and French navies in the Mediterranean.[5] However, to preclude tensions with the U.S., the Chinese navy avoids showing a regular presence at Latin American ports.

Between January 2005 and June 2006, Chinese officials visiting Latin America included the Deputy Chief of the PLA General Staff, the Commander of the Lanzhou Military Area Command, the Commander of the PLA Air Force, the Political Commissar of the PLA Air Force, the Political Commissar of General Logistics, the Political Commissar of General Armaments, and the Deputy Chief of the General Political Department.[6] In addition, logistics delegations, regional area commands, heads of departments, and members of the PLANDU academic staff paid informal and less senior-level visits to their South American counterparts.

Cultural events. The PLA also increased its participation in cultural events in Latin America as a part of China's defense diplomacy package. Such activities included visits by PLA cultural and entertainment teams, such as the PLA band's visit to Granada for that country's 32d anniversary independence celebrations. PLA bands and acrobatic troupes have visited Peru, Equator, Guyana, Venezuela, and Bolivia, while photo and movie exhibits have exalted PLA contributions and exhibited the PLA's fighting prowess in countries throughout Latin America.

PLA units participated in military demonstrations and shows in Latin America as well. Chinese fighter jets and transports were at air shows in Chile, Argentina, Peru, and Brazil, and Chinese defense companies attended arms exhibitions and defense-related conferences and seminars throughout Latin

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America. Beijing military attachés and PLA support personnel have travelled to the 14 Latin American countries that abide by Beijing's one-China policy. The military attachés observe local military exercises and participate in seminars, cultural events, and other activities organized by the host countries' defense academies.

Another way in which the Chinese military has been assisting local militaries is by deploying specialized personnel such as doctors, engineers, telecommunications experts, and other highly trained personnel to Latin America. The absence of such specialized personnel in some of the least developed countries in Latin America makes them a valuable and expensive commodity. China has deployed medical teams to military hospitals in Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela, and PLA engineers to Ecuador and Bolivia.[7]

Gifts and friendship prices. The fact that Chinese arms sales to the southern hemisphere have been marginal has led many observers to underestimate the role of Chinese arms in fostering closer defense ties. For instance, while Chinese arms sales to Bolivia have been negligible, donations of war materiel have not. Since President Evo Morales came to power in 2006, China has given the Bolivian armed forces significant quantities of military equipment and non-lethal equipment such as transport trucks, jeeps, and engineering and logistical equipment. On 11 September 2007, in a ceremony marked by great fanfare, senior Bolivian officials including President Evo Morales, the minister of defense, and the chief of the Bolivian defense force accepted delivery of 43 Chinese-made military transport vehicles for the Bolivian armed forces. A military cooperation agreement signed by the Bolivian minister of defense during a visit to the PRC in August 2006 provided the Bolivian military with $1.2 million in assistance in 2007 and $2 million in 2008.[8] Moreover, China has supplied the Bolivian military with combat equipment such as medium artillery, mortars, heavy machine guns, and assault rifles, and has donated river patrol gunboats armed with light caliber cannons and machine guns.[9] China may replace 38 shoulder-fired HN 5 antiaircraft missiles that a CIA operation took out of the country in 2005. The HN 5s were a concern for the U.S. military because this weapon system found its way to the narco-guerrillas of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, the military wing of the Colombian Communist Party. They used the HN 5s against American-made helicopters operated by the Colombian army. The Chinese missiles were effective in evading the defensive countermeasures aboard the American-made choppers. Thus, the CIA operation removed them from Bolivia after Evo Morales' anti-U.S. government took power.[10]

China has supplied other Latin American countries with "non-lethal" military items. The armed forces of Guyana and other Caribbean nations have received uniforms, tents, field kitchens, vehicles, and engineering equipment. Police and paramilitary groups have received side arms, anti-riot equipment, communications equipment, and vehicles. China helped the Guyanese defense force construct sport and recreation facilities for defense force personnel and donated music equipment and educational materials.[11]

PLA-linked companies. Numerous PLA-linked companies and businesses operate throughout the world and are a rarely noticed component of China's defense diplomacy. Most of these companies are under the General Logistics Department. China Northern Industries has major investments in Latin America in areas such as road-building; bridge-laying and maintenance; construction of electric power plants; shipping ventures; and automobile plants in Brazil, Argentina, Colombia, Peru, and Ecuador. China South Industries Group has invested in car assembly lines in Argentina and motorcycle and bus-manufacturing plants in Colombia. Chinese logistics companies have profited from supplying the private sector with uniforms, boots, gloves, helmets, trailers, construction materials, refrigerators, and air conditioners.

China's major naval firms have also obtained lucrative contracts. In May 2006, Venezuela signed a $1.3 billion contract with China's two most important shielding companies to build 18 oil tankers to bolster exports.[12] Harbin Aircraft Manufacturing sold 10 Y-12s for civilian use to Argentina, Cuba, Paraguay, and Bolivia, and China's fast-growing helicopter industry caters to civilian interests in Argentina, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, and the Caribbean.

Defense diplomacy and arms sales. Because of China's patient, persistent defense diplomacy, the PLA has made steady progress in expanding its links within Latin America. While the Chinese military

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presence in the Americas has been marginal when compared with that of the United States, China is rapidly emerging as a military player in a region where its presence was once non-existent. The Chinese military has carefully nurtured a sophisticated, multidimensional defense diplomacy strategy to create a political environment for more ambitious initiatives in the medium- to long-term future. As argued above, major arms sales tend to take place in the context of a larger political and economic relationship and not in a vacuum. They serve as much as an opportunity for profit as an opportunity to cement political and diplomatic alliances.

Arms Sales

China's blossoming has made it a significant economic player in Latin America. Its trade to the region reached $50 billion in 2006, and its newfound economic power in the Americas increased its political power accordingly. China is conducting its defense relations with Latin America in a political and economic setting that may pave the way for major arms sales. While it is difficult to acquire information concerning Chinese arms sales to countries with regimes the West deems hostile, open-source information and other analytical avenues indicate that Chinese arms sales to Latin America are slowly but steadily on the rise.

In 2005, China signed a contract with Venezuela to supply three JVL-1-type radars, a complete command and control system, spare parts, training, technical assistance, and a communications satellite leasehold for the price of $150 million.[13] While this was a major arms deal by the standards of past Chinese sales to Latin America, making a profit was not Beijing's main objective. Indeed, even for low-cost Chinese systems, the deal was a bargain; buying such a system and its related assets in the West would have cost at least two to three times as much. While making little if any profit, the sale of weapons at "friendship prices" allowed China to penetrate a new market and build good will among Latin Americas militaries.

This strategy seems to be slowly paying dividends. Venezuela purchased 24 aircraft from China's state-owned Nanchang Aircraft Manufacturing Company and 10 more from Harbin Aircraft Manufacturing Corporation. According to *Jane's Defence Weekly*, this included 24 K-8 basic trainers and ground attack aircraft and 10 Y-12 twin-turboprop, short take-off and landing, general-purpose transports.[14] Chinese companies have sold bridges, pontoons, earth movers, and field kitchens to the Venezuelan military, and Hugo Chavez's government has shown considerable interest in Chinese missiles and electronic warfare equipment. However, Beijing seems reluctant to transfer certain systems to the unpredictable Chavez because of the possible negative consequences to Sino-American relations.



AFP, Frederic J. Brown

Visiting Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez walking beside Chinese President Hu Jintao during a review of the honour guard welcoming ceremony, 24 August 2006, at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing.

Chinese military-aviation companies have made inroads into Peru, Bolivia, and Uruguay. In October 2007, the Bolivian air force took delivery of two Chinese-made M60 aircraft after receiving a $35 million line of credit from Beijing.[15] By offering such generous payment terms, China's defense industries hope to slowly accustom local militaries to their products and create a loyal Latin

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...the sale of weapons at "friendship prices" allowed China to penetrate a new market and build good will among Latin Americas militaries.

American clientele. This strategy seems to be working in Bolivia. The Bolivian air force is considering replacing its aging A7 aircraft with the J-7 fighter jet, a Chinese equivalent of the Russian MIG-21.

Financially strapped Bolivia has watched its neighbors acquire modern fighters from the West. Chile has the F-16; Argentina, the Mirage 2000; and Peru has advanced Russian fighters like the MIG-29 and Su-30. It is a matter of some urgency for the Bolivian government to acquire affordable, modern fighter jets; some Bolivian air force officers claim that the air force is 30 years behind those of its neighbors in modern equipment.[16] China's lines of credit and flexible terms of payment have made the J-7 an attractive purchase.

The Uruguayan air force may replace its aging A-7 fleet with J-7s as well by acquiring them on credit or through China's forgiveness of Uruguay's foreign debt.[17] Ecuador has purchased Chinese air defense artillery, heavy machine guns, and military bridges, and Guyana bought a single Y-12 for its tiny air force and patrol boats to enhance its modest naval assets.

To "help the country defend itself," Colombia may buy the PRC armored personnel carriers (APCs), artillery, rocket-propelled grenades, 81-millimeter mortars, assault rifles, logistics equipment, and side arms and submachine guns for the Colombian police and paramilitary.[18]

Argentina may buy helicopters and transport planes, radars, heavy artillery, and antitank missiles. In August 2007, Latin American defense sources disclosed that Argentina was testing the Z-11, a Chinese version of Ecureuil AS 350 B2 built by Eurocopter. Argentina plans to spend $80 million to acquire Z-11s for army aviation. However, a Eurocopter representative challenged the sale's legality, telling the Argentine press, "[China has] no license to produce this helicopter. Their helicopter is a bad copy of our Ecureuil; they bought a second-hand model and copied it."[19] The commander of the Argentine army replied, "The incorporation of this modern machine in to our force will significantly increase the operational capacity of the army's aviation."[20]

A significant 2007 military cooperation agreement may lead to Argentina buying certain Chinese systems and producing them under license. Apart from the Z-11, the PRC will also transfer mobile radar technology, anti-tank missile technology and air defense systems to Argentina.[21] Other licensed production agreements include non-lethal equipment such as transport trucks, jeeps, and engineering vehicles. In addition to its affordable prices and generous terms of payment, China's willingness to transfer sensitive technology to local military industries makes its products an irresistible option. The Argentine government described the agreement with Beijing as "crucial and strategic for Argentina's future."[22]

Technology transfers are likely to become a major factor in deciding future acquisitions by technologically advanced Argentina, Chile, and Brazil, which have been developing military industries for 20 years. Chile has shown interest in advanced communications and transport aviation and has purchased red arrow antitank missiles and Z9 utility helicopters. However, China faces strong competition from Western and Russian companies who have supplied the Chilean air force for decades and have strong links with the local authorities.[23] The Z9's acquisition is certain to cause controversy because the aircraft is a licensed copy of the French Eurocopter, AS 365N Dauphin II.[24]

During President Augusto Fujimori's administration in the 1990s, Peru acquired Chinese weapons by secret presidential decrees outside the control of the Peruvian parliament. Peru purchased weapons with Chinese private firms and individuals acting as intermediaries to avoid any incriminatory government involvement. A Peruvian senate inquiry discovered that six Chinese companies sold about $148 million worth of military equipment to the Fujimori regime between 1990 and 2000.[25] The sales included six Y-12 transport aircraft, artillery, transport equipment, ammunition, and spare parts.[26]

The Fujimori regime's collapse in 2003 curtailed Chinese military sales, but China continued to supply spare parts to Peru and service Chinese-made equipment. China remains an important

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supplier of non-lethal items such as uniforms and logistics equipment, and PLA-linked companies are active in various sectors of the Peruvian economy. However, for the time being, it remains unlikely that Chinese arms sales to the country will experience another 1990s-style bonanza.

In June 2001, the *Washington Times* reported that three Chinese ships carrying weapons and explosives entered the Cuban port of Mariel. China has close military relations with Cuba and a military base on Bejucal Island near Havana. Before an impoverished Russian government reluctantly abandoned it in 2000, the base was its main electronic eavesdropping facility in the tropics. The PRC took over the facility a year later and runs it under the utmost secrecy. The base can intercept civilian phone calls and faxes sent to and from the United States.[27] Moscow also no longer gives Cuba any special privileges in weapons acquisitions. Chinese weapons and equipment use Russian technology, making them easy to integrate into the Cuban inventory while not requiring retraining for their use. Chinese companies are also an ideal source for spare parts, maintenance, and upgrades.

A final advantage of the China option is its cheap price. Most Chinese weapons systems are at least twice as affordable as those of the competition. A Russian SU-30 is as expensive as an American F-16, so Chinese aircraft and technical assistance are attractive alternatives. In addition to low-cost systems, China provides flexible and generous terms of payment. For example, in the 1980s and 1990s, the PRC sold the Thai military hundreds of APCs, infantry fighting vehicles, artillery, and naval vessels for 10 percent of the usual price and gave Thailand a 10-year period of "good will" before requiring it to begin paying for them. Beijing is pursuing a similar, albeit for now more limited, strategy in Latin America.

Special case: Cuba. Cuba has increasingly relied on Chinese assistance for its military because of generous terms. China helped Cuba upgrade its air defense system by providing more advanced communications equipment, improving its integration and central control, and assisting with maintenance and spare parts.[28] China has also helped the Cuban air force maintain its aging Soviet-era fleet and upgrade some of its MIG-21s. China's Northern Industries supplied the Cuban military with APCs, transport vehicles, and logistics equipment. However, it's unlikely Cuba will make any major arms purchases from the PRC or that China will be willing to supply them. Advanced systems that would significantly enhance Cuban power projection capabilities—such as missiles, J series fighter jets, more capable radar and command systems, and naval assets equipped with cruise missiles—are therefore unlikely to come from China.

Cuba is unlikely to acquire such systems for three reasons. First, its doctrine does not envisage any power projection capability. To do so would be futile because of the proximity and tremendous power of the United States. Despite its anti-American rhetoric, Havana is well aware of the risks of provoking Washington when Cuba



AP Photo, Eraldo Peres

China's top legislator Wu Bangguo, left, and Ernesto Heinzelmann, representative of the China-Brazil Business Council, attend a meeting of the China-Brazil Business Council at the Itamaraty Palace in Brasilia, Brazil, 31 August 2006.

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Despite its anti-American rhetoric, Havana is well aware of the risks of provoking Washington when Cuba no longer enjoys super-power protection.

no longer enjoys super-power protection. Second, Cuba's anomalous and stagnant economy cannot afford such systems even at Chinese prices. Third, various Cuban officers and others from across Latin America report that the Cuban military is not happy with the quality of Chinese weapons. (A Thai colonel who served over a decade as an armor officer operating Chinese and American tanks said, "Chinese equipment is fairly good in the first two to three years. After that, it gets all rusty. I would rather use a 15-year old American M-11 than a 4-year old Chinese APC.")[29]

For its part, China believes arming Cuba with advanced weapons systems endangers China's relations with the United States. Challenging the U.S. from a country that neighbors the U.S. and arouses strong emotions in Washington might cost China more than any benefits it gained. Therefore, Beijing is cautious in dealing with Havana. Professor Guo Shuyong, an international relations expert at Shanghai Jiao Tong University, says, "We remember the Monroe Doctrine and respect U.S. influence in Latin America. China is not like the Soviet Union 50 years ago. There will be no Cuban missile crisis."[30]

During a trip to Latin America in 2004, President Hu Jintao of China spent only a short time in Cuba and while there, refrained from making any comments that gave the impression the PRC intended to forge an alliance with Fidel Castro. Since then, Chinese trade and investment has been rather insignificant when compared with its presence in other South American countries, such as Brazil and Argentina.

Brazilian focus. Brazil is perhaps China's most important relation in Latin America. Two-way trade between Brazil and China reached a staggering $20 billion in early 2007. China and Brazil have intensified defense and military ties and launched jointly developed satellites with the PRC funding 70 percent of the costs. By cooperating with the PRC, Brazil may acquire Chinese rocket technology in exchange for its advanced digital optical technology.[31] Chinese rocket technologies enable Brazil's space program to be self-reliant and advance its secret missile program.

Indeed, reports emanating from U.S. intelligence sources claim China and Brazil have cooperated in sensitive military technology for ballistic missiles and advanced communications. We should not dismiss such a possibility given the advanced state of both nations' military-industrial complexes and the West's reluctance to supply sensitive technology to rising powers.[32] Because of the dual-use nature of the technologies involved, Sino-Brazilian cooperation in fields such as civil communications and aviation lends credibility to such a scenario. Brazil's major aviation and arms manufacturing company and the China Aviation Industry Corporation II have jointly developed a medium transport turbojet aircraft, a 30- to 50-seat aircraft with a flying range of 3,000 kilometers and a ceiling of 11,000 meters. They sold 20 aircraft to Chinese airlines, and China may buy another 90.[33]

Another area of growing cooperation between the two defense forces is education and training for mid- and senior- ranking officers. Brazilian colonels have graduated from the PLA's prestigious national defense university. Most Brazilian officers attend the PLANDU flagship course, a one-year defense and strategy course for senior officers and area-specific courses such as a one-month course for Caribbean and Latin American flag officers and civilian equivalents.

Brazilian junior officers have attended specialized PLA schools for logistics, artillery, special forces, intelligence, and command and staff, as well as Chinese language courses at PLA schools and some civilian universities. However, few Chinese officers travel to Brazil for military education because only a few speak the Portuguese language well enough to understand staff and strategic level courses. The PLA may also be reluctant to expose its officers to a foreign environment for a long period, particularly young officers vulnerable to cultural influences.

Frequent, high-level visits by military and defense officials are also taking place. Brazilian senior military officers and defense officials have visited the PRC in various capacities, and Brazil

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expanded its military attaché office in Beijing to cope with the increase in defense cooperation.[34]

Conclusion

Looking at China's defense and military relations with Latin America solely from an arms sales perspective belies the true extent of China's influence in the Americas. However, if one looks at defense and military education, visits and exchanges of personnel and equipment, and donations and sales at "friendship prices," it becomes apparent that China's defense relations with the Americas have been on the rise. While these sales are small when compared with those of Latin America's main arms suppliers such as the U.S., Germany, Russia, France, Spain, and Brazil, one must consider how rapidly they have grown. China's rising political and economic power and sophisticated defense diplomacy have allowed it to establish the necessary basis for future influence. China's strong economic and political presence in Latin America has created the necessary environment for defense and military ties to flourish. Therefore, one may expect China's military influence and arms sales in Latin America to increase. However, the PRC faces considerable challenges. The U.S. has a far longer and deeper defense relationship with Latin America and remains its main arms provider. China also faces competition from other Western nations and regional powers such as Brazil. Chinese weapons have a reputation for low quality and Latin American militaries have used Western equipment for decades. Nevertheless, China is on the march in Latin America. It has made substantial gains in a rather short period of time, and its defense relations with Latin America are multidimensional and sophisticated, reflecting the growing level of refinement and professionalism of the PLA and the Chinese state bureaucracy. ***MR***

NOTES

1. See Statement by Charles S. Shapiro, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs, before the Senate Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere, Peace Corps, and Narcotic Affairs at <http://usinfo.state.gov/eap/Archive/2005/Sep/22-56242.html>; Kerry Dambaugh and Mark P. Sullivan, "China's Growing Interest in Latin America," Congressional Research Service (CRS) Report for Congress, 20 April 2005; Alejandro Kenny, "China's Presence in Latin America: A View on Security from the Southern Cone," *Military Review* (January-February 2005).

2. The author visited the People's Liberation Army (PLA) Navy Command and Staff College in October 2006 and the Navy Technical University in May 2007.

3. Loro Horta, Defense and Military Education: A Dimension of Chinese Power, 29 September 2006 <http://www.deepjournal.com/p/7/a/en/814.html>.

4. Comment made by a Uruguayan air force colonel during one of the trips.

5. "Chinese warships arrive in Spain to conduct joint military exercise," *People's Daily*, 14 September 2007; "Chinese warships arrive in Spain to conduct joint military exercise," *People's Daily*, 17 September 2007.

6. *China's National Defense 2006*, Defense White Paper, Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, 29 December 2006. See also *People's Daily* online archives at <http://english.people.com.cn/90833/90836/review/>.

7. The author met some PLA officers who served in Latin American countries in various areas.

8. Agencia de Noticias del Ejercito de Bolivia (Bolivian Army News Agency), 10 September 2007.

9. A senior Bolivian naval officer, interview by the author, Beijing, April 2006.

10. Bill Gertz, "China proposes missile replacement for Bolivia," *The Washington Times*, 27 February 2006.

11. Lieutenant Colonel Jawahar Persaud, Guyana Defense Force, interview by the author, December 2007.

12. "China to Build 18 Oil Ships for Venezuela," *Xinhua News Agency*, 4 September 2006.

13. "Venezuela cuenta com premir radar," Ministerio del Poder Popular para la Comunicacion y la Informacion (Venezuelan Ministry of Communication and Information), 7 July 2007.

14. "Venezuela evaluates Chinese air package," *Jane's Defence Weekly*, 10 October 2001.

15. "Bolivia comprara dos aviones de tecnologia avanzada com credito de China," *Los Tiempos*, La Paz, Bolivia, 8 August 2007.

16. The issue is openly debated in various military related chat rooms throughout Latin America. *Mundo Historia*, based in Peru, focuses on Latin American military history and defense issues, <http://historia.mforos.com>. In a conversation with the author, Bolivian Air Force Lieutenant Colonel Omar Zivera also confirmed his country's interest in the Chinese fighter.

17. Interview of Colonel Alvaro Moreno Uruguayan Air Force colonel, Beijing, May 2007.

18. "Uribe anuncia que comprara armas a China," *El Universal*, online edition, Caracas, Venezuela, 23 May 2007.

19. "Alerta francesa por helicopteros chinos que comprara el Ejercito," *El Pais*, August 2007.

20. "El Ejercito probo y esta cerca de comprar um lote de helicopteros chinos," *El Pais*, 12 July 2007.

21. "Argentina evalua plantas para producir equipos militares chinos," La Nacion, 22 August 2007. See also "Argentina y China firmaron acuerdo de cooperacion militar," Ministerio de Defensa (Argentine Defense Ministry), press release, 16 May 2007, <www.mindef.gov.ar/info.asp?Id=1155&bus=3>.

22. "Negocia la Argentina comprar helicópteros militares a China," La Nacion, 17 May 2007; "Firmaron un acuerdo militar con China," El Pais, 17 May 2007;"Argentina estudia producir equipos militares chinos, dice ministra Defensa," Los Tiempos, 22 August 2007.

23. "Fuerza Aérea de Chile evalúa compra de nuevos helicópteros," La Nacion, 9 March 2007.

24. "Z-9 Utility Helicopter," Sinodefence.com, <www.sinodefence.com/airforce/helicopter/z9.asp>.

25. Comision Investigadora de la Deuda Publica Externa 1990-2000, INFORME Nro 00-2-2001-CIDPE, Lima, Peru, 5 December 2001.

26. *SIPRI Yearbook*, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), 1988 to 1995.

27. Albert Santoli, "China's Strategic Reach into Latin America," testimony before the U.S.–China Economic and Security Review Commission, Washington, DC, 21-22 July 2005, <www.uscc.gov/hearings/2005hearings/written_testimonies/05_07_21_22wrts/santoli_albert_wrts.htm>. See also William Ratliff, "Mirroring Taiwan: Cuba and China," *The China Brief*, Vol. 6 Issue 10, May 2006.

28. Despite persistent reports, both Beijing and Havana have strongly denied any arms transactions between the two countries. However, senior military officials from Latin America and the United States interviewed by the author suggested there was a strong possibility that a significant quantity of lethal and non-lethal equipment was indeed sold to Cuba. Among the officials interviewed was a senior American civilian official in charge of the China desk at the National Defense Agency. The author interviewed the American official in late 2004 during a three-month course he attended at a U.S. Defense Department School in Hawaii.

29. The author visited Thailand six times since 2005 and interviewed various Thai army officers. Because of the close nature of Sino-Thai relations, it is not appropriate to identify them. The Thai tank officer cited is a close friend of the author and a colleague from a defense course in the U.S.

30. Quoted in Mark Magnier, "U.S. watching China's Latin American moves," *Times*, 15 April 2006.

31. S. Johnson, "Balancing China's influence in Latin America," Backgrounder #1888, The Heritage Foundation, 24 October 2005, <www.heritage.org/Research/LatinAmerica/bg1888.cfm>; "Brazil: Launch Capabilities," The James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies (CNS), <www.heritage.org/Research/LatinAmerica/bg1888.cfms>," available at <http://cns.miis.edu/research/space/brazil/launch.htm>; T. Saucen, *"The China-Brazil Earth Resources Satellites (CBERS),"* International Society for Photogrammetry Research and Remote Sensing, June 2001.

32. Joseph Cirincione, *Deadly Arsenals: Tracking Weapons of Mass Destruction* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2002), 352-55.

33. "China-Brazil Joint Venture to Produce New Turbo-Fan Regional Airliner," *People's Daily*, 3 November 2002.

34. *China's National Defense 2006*, Defense White Paper, Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, 29 December 2006. For news coverage of the visits, see also *People's Daily* online archives at <http://english.people.com.cn/90833/90836/review/>.

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Waging Counterinsurgency in ALGERIA

A FRENCH POINT OF VIEW

Lieutenant Colonel Philippe Francois,
French Marine Infantry

The FLN (National Liberation Front) estimated in 1962 that nearly eight years of revolution had cost 300,000 dead from war-related causes. Algerian sources later put the figure at approximately 1.5 million dead, while French officials estimated it at 350,000. French military authorities listed their losses at nearly 18,000 dead (6,000 from noncombat-related causes) and 65,000 wounded. European civilian casualties exceeded 10,000 (including 3,000 dead) in 42,000 recorded terrorist incidents. According to French figures, security forces killed 141,000 rebel combatants, and more than 12,000 Algerians died in internal FLN purges during the war. An additional 5,000 died in the "café wars" in France between the FLN and rival Algerian groups. French sources also estimated that 70,000 Muslim civilians were killed, or abducted and presumed killed, by the FLN.[1]

—Library of Congress, Country Study of Algeria

ONE OF THE MOST internally divisive periods in recent French history occurred when France waged war (1954-1962) to retain sovereignty over French territory in Algeria. The French-Algerian war offers an unusually rich case study of an insurgency that contains valuable lessons in the dynamics of counterinsurgency and international conflicts arising from ideological, political, and cultural discontents.

Making comparisons between the French-Algerian war and the conflict in Iraq is tempting from a counterinsurgency (COIN) perspective, but one must remain cautious. Conducting a counterinsurgency campaign is not like cooking; lessons learned from one conflict do not automatically translate into recipes for resolving another. Many in the French military view the war in Algeria as a brilliant operational and tactical success story—and a great strategic and political failure, indeed, a debacle that had devastating short-term consequences for France and long-lasting adverse effects on the French military.

Lieutenant Colonel Philippe Francois is head of the Lessons Learned Implementation Office in the French Doctrine and Lessons Learned Center. He is a graduate of Saint-Cyr Academy and of the French Staff College. He has taken part in many operations with the French Marines.

PHOTO: French troops seal off Algiers' notorious casbah, a 400-year-old teeming Arab quarter, 27 May 1956 in Algeria, prior to a surprise 18-hour raid which turned up a store of military booty. The 7,500-man raiding party, including 1,500 special police, rounded up 4,480 Arabs, of which 522 were detained as "super suspects." (AP Photo)

General Background and Context of the War

It is difficult to describe adequately the depth of feeling the French once had toward colonial Algeria. France's relationship with Algeria as a colony was unique. Situated just across the Mediterranean Sea from France, Algeria was the closest non-continental part of the French Empire. Communications and travel were much easier and much greater than with other colonial outposts. France and Algeria had greater economic interdependence, and some

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Many in the French military view the war in Algeria as a brilliant operational and tactical success story—and a great strategic and political failure...

sectors of Algerian society identified themselves with France politically and culturally. Algeria was more than just a colony to the French. It was actual French territory, not just a vehicle for economic exploitation. About one million ethnic-European French citizens lived in Algeria. One out of every nine Algerians was a descendent of French colonists and regarded Algeria as part of France and an ancestral home. Most Frenchmen in Algeria regarded Algeria in the way that American citizens living in such places as Puerto Rico, Guam (or Alaska and Hawaii before statehood) viewed those places—as legitimate national territories.

Before the French arrived, there was no such place as Algeria in North Africa. The French created Algeria by incorporating a collection of independent city-states, coastal trading communities, and tribal areas into a single economic and political entity. In fact, the French-Algerian war gave birth to the nation of Algeria in the way America's Revolutionary War with England gave birth to the United States.

Algeria's origin and the nature of its relationship with France made the 1954 to 1962 conflict wrenching to the French national consciousness. The Algerian war pitted restive, indigenous North African populations seeking independence against die-hard French-Algerians determined to prevent independence. The French withdrew from Algeria under circumstances the military regarded as humiliating, degrading, and needless.

The war provoked national divisions and civil turmoil in France, and to this day the war's outcome still, from time to time, generates tension. Resentment still simmers over what some Frenchmen view as the needless loss of legitimate French territory, and the conflict continues to influence the relationship between France and Algeria.

Part of this tragic legacy stems from the way the French military chose to deal with the emerging Algerian insurgency. Believing it had no alternatives, the military resorted to draconian measures—some of which, in retrospect, seem unnecessarily brutal. In addition, high-level French military officers openly rebelled against their elected civilian leaders, and by doing so soiled the honor of the French military.

The French military's defiance of civilian authority came after a long, bitter struggle in Algeria that many in the military believed France had won at the price of heavy casualties. Many in the military expressed shock, revulsion, and outrage at the decision to grant Algeria independence after France had successfully put down the insurgent rebellion. Some regarded the move as a national betrayal. The decision brought dire consequences for French citizens who had put their trust in the government and the military. More than one million French-Algerian refugees were uprooted from their homes and forced to set sail for France after Algeria was granted independence.

Discontent fuelled by these developments led to the attempted assassination of a French president and two attempted military coups against a government that some in the military regarded as anti-French and illegitimate. Ironically, French military and civilian leaders could have learned many useful lessons from the conflict, but failed to do so. Lamentably, but understandably, the French military chose to have collective amnesia about Algeria for 40 years, and the number of people studying France's involvement in Algeria declined sharply.

In time, the need to apply effective counterinsurgency techniques in Iraq and Afghanistan, Africa, Central Asia, and the Far East sparked renewed interest in the lessons of past insurgencies. U.S. agencies have studied and analyzed the French-Algerian war, but minimal French comment in this area continues to hobble efforts to glean lessons learned from the experience.

France in North Africa. After Rome destroyed Carthage in 146 B.C., the Romans were among the first Europeans to make contact with the Berbers who inhabited what is now modern-day Algeria. The Romans drove the Berbers back into Africa to make room for Roman settlement on the North African coast. Christianity arrived in the area in the second century A.D., and by the end of the fourth century, most Berbers had converted to it. In the fifth century, the Vandals conquered and settled

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the same coastal region. Christianity's influence among the Berbers was relatively short-lived. Arab military expeditions swept through the area in the seventh century, introducing Islam and the Arabic language. In time, the area became known as the Barbary States. Its population lived in urban trading centers, tribal areas in the hinterlands, and in enclaves controlled by pirates or privateers who made their living raiding seafaring traders travelling the Mediterranean.

Modern Algeria's borders began to take shape in 1830 when the French government began exercising political authority over military and trading outposts and a steadily growing area settled by French European *pied noirs* (black feet), so named because of their mainly agricultural skills and merchants' experience. To support the growth of agriculture and commerce, France organized "overseas departments" within the French government with northern Algeria prominently represented in the French National Assembly.

By 1848, France had brought nearly all of northern Algeria under its political and economic control. Subsequently, the Second Republic (under Louis-Napoleon) declared the colonized lands part of France itself. Pursuant to this declaration, it made Algiers, Oran, and Constantine French civil territories and administrative units under a civilian government. During this process, indigenous local leaders were either marginalized or eliminated and the educational system done away with.

The French administration of the Second Republic maintained that Algeria's native Muslims and Jews were French nationals, but not French citizens. During France's Third Empire period, Jews living in Algeria, who had been more amenable to French colonization, were given full French citizenship. In 1865, Napoleon III offered full French citizenship to Muslim nationals as well—if they renounced Islamic sharia law. Since most of the 8.4 million Berbers and Arab Muslims living in the area regarded such an action as apostasy, few sought citizenship.

The practical result of this was eventual dissatisfaction over what a majority of the Muslim population came to believe was an illegitimate French occupation. Ironically, such disaffection grew as exposure to French culture and education popularized the ideals of human equality and natural liberty. Along with the daily humiliation of disenfranchisement, this period was marked by great economic expansion, infrastructure development, and the formation of new Muslim social classes spawned in part by French ideas advocating universal human rights and political independence. This dissonance helped shape a separatist Algerian national identity.

During the early decades of the 20th century, the French administration responded to Muslim political protests and emerging Algerian nationalist sentiment by promulgating laws restricting protest and freedom of expression. This reaction was profoundly counterproductive and had precisely the opposite effect the French intended. Nevertheless, when World War II began, many Algerian Muslims rallied to the French cause.

In March 1943, Muslim leader Ferhat Abbas used war-time Muslim loyalty to France to press for political rights. His "The Manifesto of the Algerian People" demanded the Algerian constitution guarantee Muslims equality under the law and the right to participate in the Algerian political process.

The French government responded to the manifesto in 1944 with a reform proposal of its own that offered full French citizenship to certain Muslims based on a merit system. The Muslim community met this proposal with derision for several reasons, not the least of which was that it allowed only a relatively small number of Muslims to immediately qualify for citizenship. On 8 May 1945, when a pro-independence demonstration turned violent, French military and security forces responded with heavy-handed force to restore order, rounded up protest leaders, and closed centers used for organizing protests. During related actions, approximately 100 Europeans and 15,000 native Muslim activists were killed.

The bloody outcome of the protest produced an uneasy nine-year hiatus in open, organized defiance of the government, but, it also marked an important watershed in the attitudes of many Muslim activists. They no longer believed that peaceful demonstrations or protests would have any impact on changing French policies. Moreover, the French did nothing to change Algerian Muslims' citizenship status.

The French government compounded the problem by focusing on rebuilding continental France from the devastation and disruptions of World War II in a modernization process that had been delayed for decades. France's Fourth Republic, an unstable

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political regime, successfully launched modernization projects but could not manage emergency situations like colonial crises effectively. The government's weakness was complicated by the return of French servicemen from Indochina where they had just suffered defeat. Aware that they had abandoned a large number of Vietnamese loyalists to severe punishment or death at the hands of the Vietminh, the French servicemen saw the withdrawal from Vietnam as a stain on their honor. Embittered French officers and NCOs proclaimed that no experience of that kind would ever occur again in the former colonial empire on their watch.

However, the French people did not share this deep resolve. World War II and Indochina had made them indifferent to the situation in Algeria. Sending draftees to fight and die in what most regarded as still another futile foreign war did not sit well with them. Lack of popular enthusiasm for conducting military operations to retain foreign colonies was in step with the rest of the world as well; colonization was out of international favor. The international community was unified in exerting pressure against nations seeking to maintain their former colonies. The major global powers that had emerged from World War II—the U.S. and the Soviet Union—were both championing decolonization and independence movements, even if they did so for different strategic reasons.

French sovereignty over Algeria became more problematic when Algeria's neighboring states, Morocco and Tunisia, became independent. The example of newly independent close neighbors provided an additional stimulus for Algeria to seek independence by any means necessary, including organized insurgency and terrorism. In 1954, one million Euro-French Algerians were living in Algeria among 8.4 million "half citizens," who resented the situation. This set of circumstances set the stage for the open warfare that erupted.

The National Liberation Front and the National Liberation Army

Indigenous opposition groups emerged in response to French intransigence in granting citizenship to Muslims. They were relatively unorganized and their efforts were ineffective at first, until an umbrella organization called the National Liberation Front (NLF) established itself on 1 November 1954. The NLF gathered most insurgent and activist groups into a single, unified organization to protest social and political inequities, poor economic conditions for the Muslims, poor administration and the lack of social services, and the disregard of religion as a characteristic of national identity, if not government.[2]

In 1954, one million Euro-French Algerians were living in Algeria among 8.4 million "half citizens," who resented the situation.

The NLF began as a secret organization influenced by mushrooming anti-colonial independence movements. Although it was not a communist organization, the NLF successfully drew upon lessons learned from the Vietminh. Though it capitalized on the experience of Algerian Muslim veterans who had served with the French Army in Indochina, the NLF was a nationalist movement greatly influenced by Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, the main political figure in northern Africa at the time.

However, the NLF's public appeal was limited because of the brutality with which it pursued its objective. The persecuted and the poor people who suffered most from its sometimes-indiscriminate terrorist acts hated the NLF. It also employed many common criminals recruited for their ability to perform covert actions. Their dishonesty and brutality stained the NLF's reputation. Nevertheless, the NLF ultimately orchestrated most political and coercive insurgent activity.

To manage the movement, the NLF organized a provisional government consisting of a five-man executive committee and a legislative body. The NLF had two stated aims—independence for Algeria and equality for all. It divided Algeria into eight *wilayas* (regions), organized resistance, and prepared the foundation for a future post-colonial administration. Its major strategic line of operation was taking actions calculated to attract global attention to garner international sympathy for its cause and put pressure on the French government. The NLF used pamphlets, articles in newspapers, free

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radio, and psychological operations (PSYOP) to control the population; guerrilla activity to control rural areas; and terrorism to intimidate populations into cooperation and undermine confidence in French rule. It infiltrated democratic parties clandestinely to expand its control over the population. The authorities underestimated its influence.

The NLF established an armed wing called the National Army of Liberation (NLA) to conduct military and terror operations and maintained firm political control over NLA's two components: guerrilla units and uniformed formations. The more conventional-style units operated from sanctuaries in neighboring Arab countries. Both components were equipped with light weapons, but they were inferior to those of the French.

The NLF organized its political and military wings into compartmentalized cells whose members, except for cell chiefs, were unaware of each other's activities and identities. The chiefs served as links between two adjacent cells to coordinate activities. The typical "cell of three" included the henchman, in charge of a cell responsible for violent actions, pamphlets distribution, and contacts; the collector, in charge of a cell responsible for collecting revolutionary taxes established by the chief; and the chief, the only one in contact with other cell leaders and who received direction from higher authority and organized mission execution.

The NLA organized more than 30,000 fighters into units resembling regular army formations and stationed them in Moroccan and Tunisian sanctuaries. Thousands of part-time volunteers filled their ranks. When war erupted in 1954, the French faced a prepared organization ready to fight. By 1957, the NLA was a disciplined fighting force of 40,000 men.

The four stages of the war. A series of insurgent attacks on government targets during Algeria's All Saint's Day Celebration of 1 November 1954 started the war. The conflict unfolded in four phases:

- Phase I (1954-55) saw the spread and growth of the NLF.
- Phase II (1955-58) saw the rise of the NLF to shadow government status, as it successfully expanded its influence and control with a mix of terrorism and guerrilla tactics, although France rolled back NLF gains during brutal counterinsurgency warfare.
- Phase III (1958-61) saw French armed forces all but completely destroy the NLA in Algeria. However, as the military victory was being achieved. France began secret negotiations to grant Algeria independence. The NLA waited in sanctuaries for the outcome of the negotiations, while the NLF exiled itself to operate from Tunisia.
- Phase IV (1961-62) saw Algeria gain independence and a civil war break out between government forces supporting the NLF and die-hard supporters of French Algeria. This phase also saw a mass exodus of colonists, the slaughtering of indigenous Algerians who had previously fought alongside France, and the beginning of long-lasting tension in relations between the countries.

The seemingly unrelenting series of attacks that started the war killed noncombatants, destroyed property, and ignited outbursts of anger among the population. The police were unable to deal with the domestic upheaval by themselves because the terrorists conducted their campaign on a much grander scale than the French government had believed possible. Several thousand insurgents were involved, instead of the few hundred that some had anticipated. The NLF's terrorism campaign had moved beyond being a simple law-and-order problem. It had become a full-scale insurrection.

Lines of Operations

Three lines of operations were clearly essential from a COIN lessons learned perspective:

- Maintaining the political will to support the conflict.
- Maintaining control of the population (the center of gravity for both sides).
- Destroying the political and military structure of the enemy at each stage of the conflict.

Maintaining the political will to support the conflict. One lesson the war broadly demonstrates is that a nation can win a war militarily and lose it strategically. France achieved an operational victory but suffered a strategic loss. If the goal of any war is to achieve a political end state, not merely defeat an armed adversary in the field, then the end state envisioned provides the framework that dictates every other aspect of the war. Clearly stated and achievable end states provide a unity of purpose and action that shapes the logistical, administrative, and diplomatic efforts necessary to wage the

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war. An undefined, unclear, or wavering end state produces confusion and discord, making success of any kind unlikely.

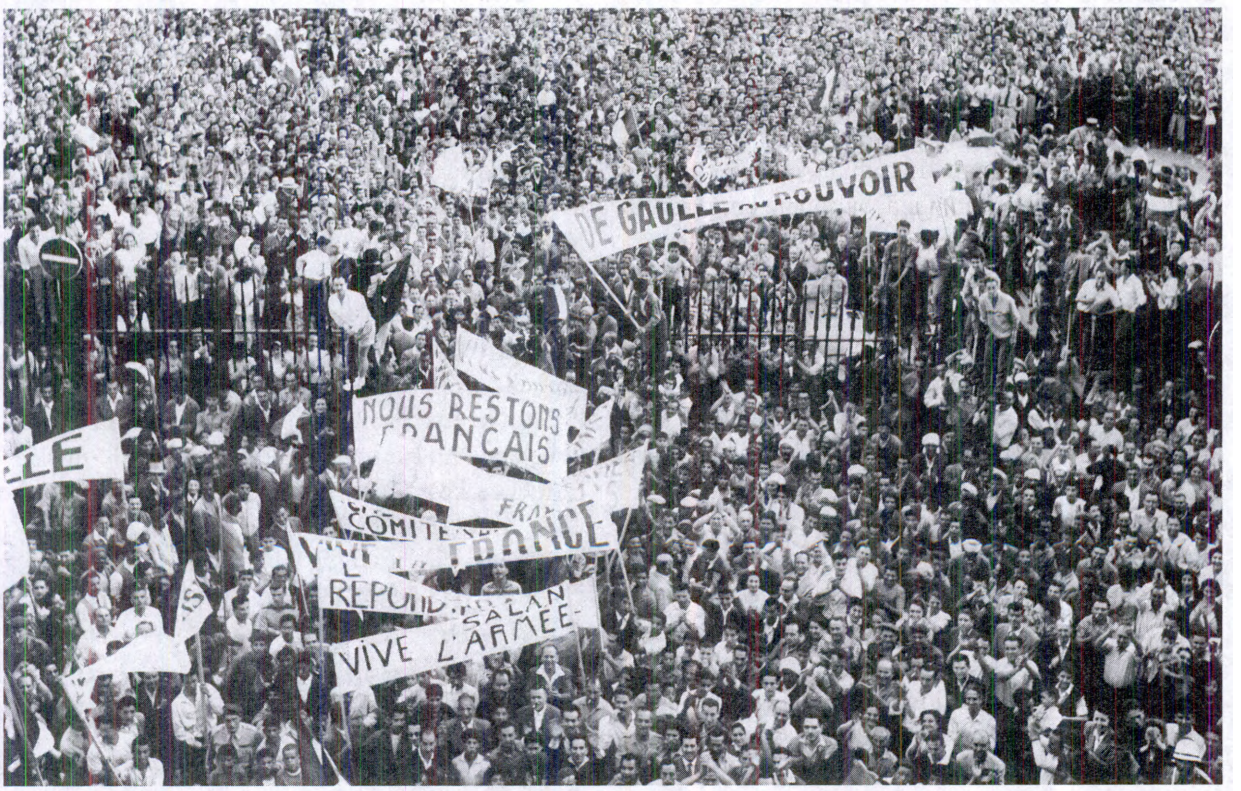
France's desired end state changed three times in less than a decade. It shifted from attempting to maintain a two-tiered society dominated by ethnic European French (in place since 1848), to granting French citizenship to Muslims in 1958 to entice them to support France's retention of Algeria as French territory, to offering Muslims self-determination in 1960. The shifting end states sowed internal discord and ignited more chaos. "How to lose a military victory by the lack of a clear, stable political end state" might sum up the overall French Algerian war experience.

The first step in maintaining political will is to define—and then stick to—an obtainable political end state that provides hope to the population and undermines insurgent legitimacy. If the population does not "buy" the political project, the war is lost from the outset.

Obtaining a clear and stable political end state required maintaining the political will of the French government and people, and moving swiftly to establish law and order in Algeria. Thus, high-priority parallel efforts sought to cultivate favorable domestic and international opinion.

The Algerian conflict demonstrated that a stable end state cannot come from an unstable political entity. Political instability paralyzed France during the Algerian conflict. Because it viewed Algeria as French territory, the French government initially tried to treat the conflict as a law-enforcement issue, but what began as a public-order operation rapidly grew into a full-scale war for which the Fourth Republic was unprepared. Algeria shook the Fourth Republic so vehemently that the government collapsed.

France's slow response to the conflict alienated the Algerian populace in greater numbers as the conflict widened, and those who were uncommitted initially later joined those who desired independence. The French government thus alienated those that offered the best hope to end the conflict on terms favorable to it. Meanwhile, the French public could not decide whether it was best to return Algeria to the pre-war status quo, negotiate for commonwealth status, or support the granting of



AP Photo

An estimated 40,000 people displaying French flags and signs that read: "French Algeria," "De Gaulle to Power," and "Long live Salan and the Army" jam the forum in front of the Government house in Algiers, 16 May 1958. General Raoun Salan was the French Military Commander in Algeria.

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full independence. The political instability inherent within the French parliament led to a regime change in France itself in 1958.

The collapse of the Fourth Republic paved the way for still another change in the envisioned end state. General Charles de Gaulle returned to power in May 1958 and put an end to political stalemate that arose after a French military coup in Algiers. Spawned by perceived mishandling of the war, the coup sought to compel the government to keep Algeria a French territory. The Army presumed de Gaulle was committed to keeping Algeria a French territory and had an implicit, albeit vague, mandate to preserve French Algeria, but this proved not to be the case.

With hindsight, we can see that the Fourth Republic committed political suicide by giving de Gaulle complete authority. After he assumed power, a new constitution was written that granted him sweeping executive power to manage the conflict, and he came to believe that Algerian independence was inevitable, given world opinion and the anti-colonial tides. He initiated negotiations with the NLF that led to the Evian Accords of March 1962. However, de Gaulle's move toward negotiations did not proceed unopposed. Although the negotiations began in secret, right-wing elements of the French Army and colonialists soon learned of them and responded violently. In April 1961, French generals opposed to the negotiations attempted a military putsch. Shortly after negotiations concluded, opponents organized a campaign of bombings in Algeria in an attempt to block the accords' implementation.

In summary, France was paralyzed by the situation in Algeria. None of the branches of government had the power to manage the war efficiently or disengage from it on honorable terms. De Gaulle's popularity made him the only politician with enough public and political influence to end the war against the will of the military and colonists, but even de Gaulle had to take a series of steps to achieve his goal.

Getting France out of the Algerian quagmire was a prerequisite to completing European reconstruction, French modernization, and NATO integration, but de Gaulle appeared to believe that the NLF had to be soundly defeated before negotiations for independence could develop on terms favorable to France. As the situation evolved into open war, some generals (including General Jacques Massu) in Algiers were given nearly free rein to deal with insurgents (as was evident during the Battle of Algiers when the Army began to search houses and detain civilians). The urgency of the situation inclined the armed forces under Massu to take on law enforcement duties. Untrained in police tactics, the Army's extremely heavy-handed methods turned public opinion against the French.

Promoting support for the conflict was difficult. The conflict had much greater immediate interest than the colonial war in Indochina. A million French citizens lived in Algeria, many with close links to friends and relatives in France, and Algeria was close by. The French population was more invested in Algeria and paid much closer attention to the situation there. Volunteers fought the war in Indochina, but two million draftees fought in the Algerian war. These factors spurred a decline in public support for the war.

In addition, the Communist Party, extreme leftist movements, journalists, and intellectuals (such as the philosopher Jean Paul Sartre) contested the legitimacy of the war and its prosecution. The undeniable use of torture was adamantly denounced and became a key issue undermining public confidence.

Both international communist activists who saw the war as imperialistic and Americans who viewed the struggle as playing into the hands of communists opposed the war. Their critiques converged to erode French public opinion and turned world public opinion against the war. The news media played a pivotal role in the process. Controversial photographs called into question the legitimacy of French actions.

The French employed PSYOP techniques developed and formalized during World War II to influence key Muslim populations. However, the

Both international communist activists who saw the war as imperialistic and Americans who viewed the struggle as playing into the hands of communists opposed the war.

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PSYOP undercut their own aims in the world of ideas. Because the intellectually passionate people who formulate PSYOP are often wedded to ideologies and strong biases, operations formulated during chaotic emergencies can easily and inappropriately blur the distinction between legitimate military activity and partisan political advocacy. The French military's relatively unsupervised use of PSYOP served to polarize many formerly respected French officers politically, and may have influenced their opposition to their civilian leaders. After the war, PSYOP were taboo for a very long time in the French military establishment. The lesson learned: senior military leaders and their civilian masters must carefully circumscribe PSYOP and ensure proper civilian oversight of such activities.

Maintaining control of the population. The French had to convince Algeria's Muslims, the principal center of gravity in the conflict, that French control of Algeria guaranteed their security, that political and economic modernization was under way, and that Muslims representing their ethnic and national interests could gain political power. Unfortunately, the French did not fully understand the importance of these imperatives until it was too late to avoid chaos and war.

France eventually gained control of Algeria's Muslims, too much by force, but French sovereignty over Algeria was by that time a lost cause. Compared with other counterinsurgencies, the strength ratio for the French Algerian war was unusually favorable for the French. For every eight Muslims, there was one French citizen determined to keep Algeria French and willing to join or cooperate with French Forces (Zouave units manned by colonists). In addition, many Muslims initially favored continuing under French rule if they could become French citizens. This segment appeared to be growing until 1958, only to decline when agreement on self-determination took place.

Colonist actions calculated to slow down political and economic modernizations that favored Muslim aspirations for citizenship undermined any demographic advantage the French could have gained by granting Muslims equal rights. For example, France could not apply an ambitious 1954 modernization plan designed to garner Algerian Muslim support due to parliamentary opposition mainly engineered by colonial interests. Moreover, the government did almost nothing to curtail or hold anyone accountable for brutal retaliations against Muslims for NLA terrorism. That many such attacks were never investigated, or even condemned, persuaded many Muslims that the French system of justice was never going to be applied equally to them, whatever their citizenship, and that their allegiance would get them nothing socially, politically, or economically.

To secure control over the population, the French methodically established security in one village after the next, trying to convince people the insurgency should be wiped out. They implemented a plan to destroy the rebels all over the country. This effort resulted in the reestablishment of security and law and order by 1958, as French forces uprooted NLF cadres and denied the insurgents control of both the physical and moral terrain in the towns and rural areas. The strategy of expanding influence and control required knowledge of the relationships and whereabouts of virtually everyone in the country.

To accomplish this, the French initiated a "totalitarian-like" urban protection program, designed and sponsored by Colonel Roger Trinquier, identifying family relationships through a careful and thorough census linked to a policy of security enforcement through family accountability. Under the program, traditional heads of every family were responsible for the movement and whereabouts of their kin. Family members were catalogued in small nuclear groups listed by houses, and then by extended family relationships within city blocks, districts, and regions. At each level, the French implemented security policy by making family leaders responsible for the whereabouts of every family member.

French leaders also understood the importance of population control. Because the conflict caused destruction and economic dislocations that aggravated poverty and worsened living conditions, the NLF began to alleviate such inequities and suffering to boost its appeal to the public. Its expanding shadow government was successful in providing services to areas under its de facto control.

When the French began uprooting and destroying NLF cadres and fighters, social problems deepened. To deal with them, the French developed and deployed special administrative sections (SAS), which they embedded in territorial units beginning in 1958. These SAS units divided rural areas where the government had neglected essential

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services into grids and sectors and helped provide assistance and services that filled the vacuum left after NLF structures were destroyed. Modernization programs showed significant local success and helped establish order and population control, but they were launched too late to change the course of the conflict.

The French learned some important lessons from this failure, chief among them the importance of—

- Determining what has fueled popular support for the insurgency (often frustration over economic straits and lack of or poorly administered public services).
- Deploying SAS-like elements as early as possible in the conflict (while the population is still neutral toward the insurgency).
- Striking a balance between opportunistically promoting divisiveness and restoring order through reconciliation among indigenous groups.

Algeria's Muslim population had numerous fault lines—Berbers versus Arabs, towns against rural areas, the burgeoning middle class versus poor peasants, and the rift between insurgents and the so-called native *harkis* (collaborators) fighting in the French Army. The divisions the French had intentionally promoted were so deep that no reconciliation was possible once the civil war began in 1962. Among the consequences was a massive exodus of colonists to France and the slaughter of thousands of harkis (largely abandoned by France and considered traitors by the NLF).

Another lesson learned: the timely empowerment of the elite leader class helps create a sense of hope for the future among the people. But France waited too long to include the Muslim elite in the political process. France missed an opportunity to do this in 1945 when it jailed moderates rather than embrace a system that provided Muslims a path to French citizenship. When France finally offered citizenship to Muslims in 1958, it was nearly too late. The Muslim elite most likely to have embraced citizenship, for the most part, had either been slaughtered by NLF or had defected to it. France's lack of timely decisions created a political vacuum that the NLF and its supporters quickly filled.

Destroying the insurgents' political and military structure. Total destruction of insurgent military units and the uprooting of their political structures were essential intermediate steps to permanently control the population. Military organizational structure, management of intelligence, and rigorous use of COIN principles from the Indochina war were key factors in destroying the insurgency's political and military apparatus.

The French command and control structure in Algeria at the time was well suited for counterinsurgency. It duplicated the existing French system of civil administration to help ensure unity of command in support of operations. Algeria's three main sectors (*igamies*) corresponded to the three French Army corps, its 15 departments to France's 15 divisions, and its 72 districts (*arrondissements*) to 72 regiments.

French military units in Algeria were about 90 percent mobile and light infantry, capable and adaptable for fighting lightly armed insurgents. An army corps reserve on-call at the operational level supported them. Formations of indigenous troops reinforced every organizational level for intelligence and search-and-rescue operations. Some commando-type units were 100 percent Muslim. The NLF was especially wary of these units. After the war, many who remained loyal to France paid with their lives.

Modern-era force structure had to adapt to the guerrilla nature of the war. Army aviation employed lessons from Indochina. Ground units became heavily reliant on air assets for operational mobility and close air support. Twin-engine piston aircraft were called back into service to provide support because jets proved too fast and unwieldy to be effective. Some jet-trained pilots had to relearn how to fly the older aircraft. Ground forces reorganized into smaller, more flexible units, with firepower comparable to older regiments.

Both sides in the war identified the population as the center of gravity. Much of the fighting took place among the populace in which insurgents and terrorist elements freely mingled and were difficult to identify. Once French forces destroyed enemy forces, they had to hold and administer inhabited areas the enemy once controlled, not simply abandon them. Abandoned areas quickly fell into enemy hands. Anybody who had shown support for the French or who had remained neutral suffered the NLF's wrath. Revenge killings terrorized the remaining inhabitants into submission and discouraged cooperation with French forces.

Nevertheless, terrain control was important.

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The policy of gathering rural populations into strategic hamlets left vacant areas where guerrillas could freely roam. French forces subjected the areas to intensive search-and-destroy operations. Harki commandos that spoke the languages and were familiar with the culture and terrain hounded the insurgents.

Victory also required destroying the insurgent shadow government. Once the French eliminated NLF military and political structures in a village, they built pro-French village governments and implemented programs to train self-defense forces to help provide security.

Intelligence collection. Intelligence collection presents special obstacles. In conventional circumstances, it generally involves interrogating uniformed enemies under the Law of Land Warfare as codified by international treaties. Insurgencies, however, usually involve terrorism and criminal activities. Finding enemies hidden among the population or among refugees who wear no uniforms is tricky. It is even trickier to separate criminals from legitimate combatants. The legal status of terrorists under law is separate from that of legitimate combatants (including non-uniformed forces openly carrying arms and not engaged in prohibited practices). This separate legal status offered an excuse to justify otherwise illegal methods.

The French used two methods of interrogation to collect intelligence—torture when they needed information quickly, and standard questioning when they did not. The police were completely overwhelmed and the situation was out of control. The pressure for timely information created by the intensive terrorist bombing campaign prompted General Massu to allow expedient torture methods. Torture was not used by every unit. Some of them refused to do it. Some who had been tortured by the Gestapo accepted it as unavoidable, whereas others who had suffered the same horrid experience did not accept it. French political authorities covertly supported the decision to use torture.

Torturing people produced good short-term results. Following the torture sessions, a thorough and relentless analysis unveiled NLF/NLA organizations cell by cell, and these in turn were systematically taken down. Torturing suspects proved instrumental to short-term military success and helped destroy the NLF. Yet, public revelations that French forces had used torture had catastrophic strategic consequences. Torture was not strategically efficient from a COIN perspective. It had long-lasting negative moral and psychological effects on the population involved and on France's own soldiers and citizens. In practice, its moral corrosiveness proved unconstructive.

In summary, intelligence collection in Algeria hinged upon effective population control techniques. These required—

- A good census.
- The use of indigenous people to infiltrate cells.
- Effective interrogation that included torture if necessary.

However, the interrogations crossed the line into morally and strategically corrosive actions that proved harmful in the long term. Nevertheless, actions stemming from such intelligence were largely successful in the short term because they forced the Muslim population into obedience.

The French special services engineers were able to induce savage domestic killings inside the NLF itself. They did so through manipulating information introduced by agents who had successfully infiltrated cells.

France defeated NLF military formations using four sub-lines of operations:

- Cutting external support from neighboring countries.
- Prevailing in urban warfare that resulted in the NLF losing control of the cities.
- Prevailing in rural areas, in part by fostering civil defense organizations within outlying villages.
- Using successful search-and-destroy techniques in sweeps of refugee areas.

NLA regular formations relied on Tunisia and Marocco for refuge. Tunisia also harbored bases for staging cross-border attacks and preparing supply missions for urban guerrillas. To cut off commu-

The French used two methods of interrogation to collect intelligence—torture when they needed information quickly, and standard questioning when they did not.

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AP Photo

Muslim women and men carry the new nation's flag as they celebrate in the streets of Oran, Algeria, on 3 July 1962, during a liberation parade after 132 years of French rule.

nication and supply routes, the French constructed the Morice Line, a 200 mile-long barrier along the Tunisian border that combined a fence and mobile, mechanized search-and-destroy units supported by artillery and complemented by weapons searches at seaports and airfields.

These measures later taught the French to use covert actions, if possible, against nations supporting insurgencies or terrorist groups. Such secrecy helps minimize outside criticism and political pressure. The French used covert operations to destroy shipments of weapons and neutralize support to the NLF.

In Algeria, the control of urban areas represented legitimacy. In pursuit of such legitimacy, the NLF exerted administrative control over urban centers while simultaneously undermining the government's authority by disrupting security and essential services. To defeat the NLF, the French government had to seize and control those areas while also defeating the NLF's shadow government.

General Massu assumed command of an ad hoc, *in extremis* force of police and armed forces and was granted domestic law enforcement authority for unity of command. Once assembled, the force began using previously collected census data to help formulate courses of action against the insurgents. Two battles for Algiers began.

The Battles for Algiers

In response to the threat of a general strike on 7 January 1957, the prefect of Algiers gave Massu's forces police powers normally kept within the hands of civilian authorities.

In the first Battle of Algiers, the French broke up the strike organized by the NLF, initiated population control measures, and engaged in land warfare using patrols, cordon and search operations, and check points supported by NLF defectors. Meanwhile, covert operatives concurrently destroyed enemy networks.

Within a few weeks, France destroyed NLF's political and military structures, dismantled its bomb network, and killed or neutralized 1,827 *fellaghas* (outlaws), including 253 killers and approximately 200 terrorists. During these stabilization actions, French forces suffered only two dead and five wounded—a resounding victory on its face. The key factors for military success in the battle were—

- Declaration of a state of emergency that empowered Massu with police authority to search homes and to detain people.
- Unity and freedom of action of the armed forces, the administration, the police and of all services, including those that were secret.
- Population control through the census.
- Effective intelligence gathered through infiltration.

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- Destruction of terrorist networks.
- The use of mass interrogation techniques.
- The use of grids that cut up the Casbah like a cake.

Unfortunately, the successes in population control did not last. The NLF rebuilt its organization quickly, requiring France to engage in a second battle of Algiers to eradicate the enemy once again.

The second battle was more like a police operation; it required the support of only one airborne regiment. Success came largely from a disinformation campaign conceived and promoted by Captain Paul-Alain Leger in which agents infiltrated into the NLF and introduced rumors that created a tide of destructive suspicion and internal violence in NLF covert networks. The disinformation campaign convinced the NLF to execute a large number of suspected traitors within its ranks.

The French used harsh measures to secure Algiers and other urban centers, but this tactical success came at a high strategic and moral price. Some of the tactics used to wage the battle converted the victory into a moral disaster, with long-lasting negative effects on public support.

Conclusion

The study of the French-Algerian War is useful to contemporary students of counterinsurgency and revolutionary warfare. Its history reveals many of the same root sources of conflict and the same complexities found in the current global security situation. The lingering traditions, expectations, and policies of a past colonial power were the source of the conflict. Was the war winnable if France had handled matters more realistically from a political point of view?

One important lesson that emerges from the conflict is that a clear political end state is essential to shape all aspects of conducting such a war: if the end state is not clear, the use of force is often wasteful at best, and at worst, corrosive. In addition, the conflict highlighted the need to balance the use of force with measures aimed at winning the population's hearts and minds. France eventually controlled the population, but never really won it completely over to its cause. French forces did much to alleviate the suffering inflicted on the population during search-and-destroy operations, but the use of brutal methods to obtain intelligence (i.e. torture or threats of violence) only traumatized the Muslim population into obedience and alienated them from France in the end. The morale and technical problems of mass interrogation marred France's conduct of the war and remain in many ways unresolved.

A final lesson from the war is that in any COIN environment, it is likely that the old order is irretrievably gone; the conflict represents the birth of a new order, not an opportunity to return to an old order; and success depends on accepting, adapting, and shaping, not attempting to turn back the clock.

Key principles learned from the conflict still shape French Army operations today. These include recognition of the need to—

- Give a high degree of operational autonomy to units operating in such an environment.
- Require that units maintain close contact with the population to foster understanding and avoid alienation and loss of objective focus.
- Train indigenous troops to ensure loyalty to the cause and freedom of action for the force.

France continues to apply lessons learned from the French-Algerian experience throughout Africa and elsewhere four decades after the conflict in which they were learned.

The Algerian War left behind a mixed legacy in the French Army. It involved two military coups and brutal methods of intelligence collection, and it caused misunderstanding between politicians and segments of the military brought on by differing agendas during the prosecution of the war.

Finally, because Algeria obtained its independence in the midst of a civil war that took many years to settle, it has had a very complex and chaotic relationship with France, one of both hatred and love. The page is being turned right now for the best for the future of France and Algeria. ***MR***

NOTES

1. Library of Congress country study, Algeria.
2. The Islamic component of the Algerian insurgency should not be confused with the fundamentalist Islamic movements calling for Islamic rule in governments which exist today, and against which the modern NLF also fought fiercely in the 1990s.

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OPERATION BOA:
A Counterfactual History of the Battle for Shah-i-Kot

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Counterfactual: pertaining to, or expressing, what has not in fact happened, but might, could, or would, in different conditions.

—Oxford English Dictionary

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PHOTO: U.S. Marine Corps (USMC) CPL Jose A. Aguilera, 13th Marine Expeditionary Unit, Special Operations Capable, provides security as a USMC CH-53E Super Stallion helicopter prepares for a mission in support of Operation Anaconda, in Afghanistan, as part of Operation Enduring Freedom, 10 March 2002. (USMC, SGT Nathan J. Ferbert)

THIS ARTICLE IS COUNTERFACTUAL, but is based on accounts of Operation Anaconda in Afghanistan. Although intended to last only 72 hours, Operation Anaconda took place from 2 to 16 March 2002. It was a coalition attempt to clear Al-Qaeda and Taliban forces from the Khowst-Gardez region in Afghanistan before they could organize a spring offensive against the interim Afghan government of Hamid Karzai. Anaconda involved special operations forces (SOF) from the United States and six other nations fighting alongside about 1,400 conventional U.S. ground troops in a complex, high altitude, non-linear battlefield. The battle between U.S. troops and Taliban/Al-Qaeda was the largest ground engagement of Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) and took place at elevations over 10,000 feet.

This article describes how an Anaconda-like operation *might* have occurred by applying employment lessons from earlier phases of OEF as well as lessons from the actual event. This narrative is one of many possible versions and benefits from the clarity of hindsight and the clarifying direction of joint and service doctrine. The lessons of Operation Anaconda are not merely academic. The U.S. lost eight brave warriors and numerous others were wounded during more than two weeks of intense fighting. The authors hope this story and its approach to learning honor the brave Soldiers, Sailors, Airmen, and Marines who fought heroically in the Shah-i-Kot Valley in March 2002.

December 2001: OEF Lessons Learned Conference

In December 2001, U.S. Air Force, Navy, and Army personnel from bases, ships, and command centers throughout the Middle East met at the U.S. Navy's 5th Fleet headquarters in Bahrain for a lessons-learned conference. (*This is counterfactual. In reality, although U.S. Air Forces, Central Command hosted a Tactics Review Board, there was no Joint Forces Command-wide hotwash of OEF ops.*)

The attendees had just completed months of planning, controlling, and fighting in OEF, a SOF and air-centric offensive to take down Osama Bin Laden's Al-Qaeda network and culpable Taliban theocracy in Afghanistan. The campaign had been a swift and overwhelming success, but like every military operation, there were lessons to be learned. These Soldiers, Sailors,

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ACRONYMS

ACCE	air component coordinating element
Aco	airspace control order
ASOC	air support operations center
AAGS	Army Air-Ground System
A2C2	Army airspace command and control
BCD	battlefield coordination detachment
BP	blocking positions
C2	command and control
CAOC	combined air operations center
CAS	close air support
CFACC	coalition forces air component commander
CFLCC	coalition forces land component commander
CJTF	Combined Joint Task Force
CSAR	combat search and rescue
FAC-A	forward air controllers-airborne
HUMINT	human intelligence
ISR	intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance
JFC	Joint Forces Command
JIC	joint intelligence cell
JSOA	joint special operations area
LZ	landing zone
QRF	quick reaction forces
SOCC	special operations component commander
SOLE	special operations liaison elements
TACP	tactical air control party
TAD	tactical air direction
TAC	terminal air controller
TACS	Theater Air Control System
TAGS	Theater Air-Ground System
TOT	time-on-target



U.S. Army, SPC David Marck Jr.

Soldiers with 1st Battalion, 187th Infantry Regiment, 101st Airborne Division, scan a ridgeline for enemy movement during Operation Anaconda in March 2002.

Airmen, and Marines spent four days in Bahrain assessing OEF operations from Mazar-i-Sharif to Kabul and Kandahar and identifying key areas for improvement in planning and execution. They also debriefed recent operations from the Spin Ghar and White Mountain ranges, better known as Tora Bora. The warfighters identified two primary lessons from the first few months of OEF: 1) the importance of joint component coordination in planning and execution; and 2) the necessity of dedicated and capable ground troops to block Taliban/Al-Qaeda egress routes.

The ground component of SOF and Marines in close coordination with the air component had performed spectacularly in OEF. One of their success enablers was the use of first-rate communications systems, laser designators, and precise coordinate-generating equipment for targeting. These lessons were not lost on the Army's conventional ground-force planners attending the Bahrain conference.

The conference also highlighted the importance of having highly trained Airmen work closely with ground forces to deliver airpower where and when it was needed. Attaching a USAF combat controller to every OEF SOF A-Team had enabled close coordination across a dynamic, nonlinear battlefield. With their in-depth knowledge of both airpower and special operations, these combat controllers ensured air support during the first months of OEF. However, the coalition forces air component commander (CFACC), land component commander (CFLCC) and special operations component commander (CFSOCC) all agreed that upcoming OEF stabilization operations would use more conventional ground forces. In the event that these forces were challenged, they would need an increased level of air support and thus a more robust Theater Air-Ground System (TAGS). Both the CFLCC and the CFACC directed their staffs to build plans for bringing the Army Air-Ground System (AAGS) and the Air Force Theater Air Control System (TACS) to full capability in the near future. (*This is counterfactual. There was no evidence of a perception that future operations would require full TAGS capability. On 23 February 2002 when the CFACC was first briefed on Anaconda five days before the operation's planned start date, the CFACC began to piece together the Air Force's portion of the TAGS, called the Theater Air Control System*).

Late December 2001: Focus on Shah-i-Kot

While the Bahrain conference progressed, the Joint Force Commander's (JFC's) multi-spectral intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) assets persistently stared down on Afghanistan,

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making it the most imaged piece of real estate on the planet. National assets, E-8 JSTARS, RC-135s, U-2s, EP-3s and unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) combed the valleys and roadways near Tora Bora. They revealed, and human intelligence (HUMINT) confirmed, numerous Taliban and Al-Qaeda survivors of Tora Bora moving towards Gardez in the Paktia province. The JFC's chief of intelligence, the Central Command J2, estimated that approximately 1,500 to 1,800 enemy fighters were converging on the Shah-i-Kot valley in the Arma Mountain range in the same terrain that stymied Alexander the Great, the British, and most recently, the Soviets. It appeared Taliban and Al-Qaeda fighters intended to stave off the American military from these mountains as well. That estimate was more than enough to spur the JFC to action.

5 January 2002: JFC Established CJTF Pinnacle

With President Karzai leading a new Afghan government and with the enemy on the run, the JFC saw a tremendous opportunity to kill or capture large numbers of Al-Qaeda and Taliban fighters, and perhaps even a few high value targets, at Shah-i-Kot. At the same time the JFC and his staff were in the initial stages of political, operational, and logistical planning for a possible Iraq campaign. The JFC wanted to keep significant pressure, focus, and resources on Afghanistan and knew any operation into the Arma Mountains would be led by SOF and supported by air and conventional ground forces. With this in mind, the JFC established Combined Joint Task Force (CJTF) Pinnacle under the command of CFSOCC to focus specifically on the mission at Shah-i-Kot. The JFC's initial order established CJTF Pinnacle's mission and a joint special operations area (JSOA), assigned forces, and defined supported and supporting relationships with the other component commanders. CJTF Pinnacle was now the primary focus of the OEF forces.

(*This is counterfactual. The JFC's 5 January 2002 FRAGO directed the CFLCC—not CFSOCC—to develop a concept of operations to kill/capture the forces believed to be gathering near Gardez. The FRAGO did not establish a CJTF or define the area of operations (AO). Most important, the FRAGO did not establish clear supported or supporting relationships with the component commanders.*)

6 January 2002: Operation Boa Planning Begins

CJTF Pinnacle set up operations at Bagram Air Base, Afghanistan. The move from Karshi-Khanabad Air Base, Uzbekistan, not only moved the CJTF staff closer to the operation, but also avoided the problems of mounting political tension between the Uzbek and American governments. Each of the force components sent personnel to Bagram to form CJTF Pinnacle's joint staff. CFSOCC, now the CJTF Pinnacle commander, sent experienced O-6s and small staffs as Special Operations Liaison Elements (SOLEs) to both the Combined Air Operations Center (CAOC) and the CFLCC's headquarters.

(*This is counterfactual. Contrary to joint doctrine, the CFLCC established CJTF Mountain on 13 February 2002, commanded by the 10th Mountain Division Commander. Contrary to joint doctrine, there was no J-staff for the JTF. There was also no significant change in liaison officer manning until a few days prior to execution*).

CJTF Pinnacle's second order of business was to resolve the disparity between varying enemy force estimates and intentions. The CJTF/J-2 stood up a joint intelligence cell (JIC) at Bagram and, working closely with the entire joint force intelligence community, built a collection and analysis plan to focus ISR forces on a 70-square-mile area. On 23 January 2002, the refined JIC estimate confirmed the earlier highest estimate of 1,500 to 1,800 fighters. Additionally, HUMINT sources believed Al-Qaeda and Taliban forces intended to stay and fight for the Shah-i-Kot valley by holding key high ground and transit routes to their bases in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Area. The high enemy estimate and its intention to stay and fight were catalysts for Pinnacle planners to choose the "heavy" option for their nascent campaign plan, taking shape as Operation Boa. (*Counterfactual. In reality, the discrepancy between enemy force estimates was never resolved and little work was done to build a plan if the enemy chose the most dangerous course of action—staying and fighting.*)

By 1 February 2002, planners saw Operation Boa as a large force operation requiring significant coordination, integration and synchronization of the unique capabilities of each combined force component. Most important, with the first large-scale use of conventional ground forces, CJTF Pinnacle and

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the component commanders clearly understood the need for comprehensive joint planning and execution, the likes of which had not yet been required in OEF. The first step was to identify requirements. (*Counterfactual. 23 February 2002 was the first time the CFACC was briefed on the extent of the air component support required for Anaconda, scheduled to begin five days later on 28 February 2002.*)

Two narratives influenced CJTF planners in the requirements phase. First, allied Afghan ground commanders relayed stories about the Soviet Union's experience in Shah-i-Kot, where the mujahedeen drew 200 to 250 Russian soldiers into close combat and stoned them to death. To avoid this scenario, planners wanted to use overwhelming force from air and ground forces. CJTF Pinnacle planners estimated that 200 SOF, 1,600 conventional ground troops, and 1,000 allied Afghan troops supported by 24/7 close air support (CAS) coverage were needed for Boa. The introduction of 12 A-10s and 24 AH-64s, along with 1600 conventional troops would strain the old Soviet base and its support structure to the limit. (*Counterfactual. The eight available AH-64s were actually tasked by CJTF Mountain as emergency CAS only. Also, A-10s were initially based in Kuwait and then forward deployed to Bagram four days into the operation.*)

Bagram's precious ramp space would also be needed to support the airlift cycles required to deliver personnel, ordnance, equipment, and fuel for Boa. (*Counterfactual. Because there was inadequate joint component coordination and planning, the logistics requirements to support the air operation were not planned for. Only the ingenuity and flexibility of the joint warfighters made the operation possible.*)

The second narrative that heavily influenced CJTF Pinnacle planners was the success of SOF and airpower during the first months of OEF. SOF teams had refined this working relationship to a deadly art but lacked the blocking power to cover the Shah-i-Kot escape routes. The conventional ground force had the manpower and firepower to block the escape routes but needed to resolve several coordination and equipment issues to fully integrate with the air assets. The component commander's plan for a robust TAGS now paid off. Using that plan, CJTF Pinnacle requested additional personnel and equipment from the JFC. For the Army, building up the



U.S. Air Force

A U.S. Air Force controller during Operation Anaconda.

AAGS meant ensuring the command and control, air traffic control, airspace management, and fire support coordination pieces of Army airspace command and control activities were fully functional. (See Army FM 3-52, *Army Airspace Command and Control in a Combat Zone*, 1 August 2002, Chapter 2.) The CFLCC ensured that the assigned division and brigade Tactical Air Control Parties (TACPs) were in theater and ready for Boa and that the Battlefield Coordination Detachment (BCD) at the CAOC was correctly sized and trained.

Although many parts of the TACS were fully functional during the first months of OEF, the CFACC's part of the robust TAGS plan required three key changes. First, the CFACC established an air support operations center (ASOC) at Bagram to coordinate air support requests and conduct time-sensitive targeting within the joint special operations area (JSOA). (See Air Force Doctrine Document 2-1.7, *Airspace Control in the Combat* Zone, 13 July 2005, 37.)

Second, the CFACC sent an Air Force general officer to CJTF Pinnacle's headquarters as the head of an air component coordinating element (ACCE) tasked with integrating air and space operations within the CJTF and the overall joint force. The AACE focused on exchanging current intelligence, operational data, and support requirements with the CJTF staff, and on coordinating CFACC requirements for airspace coordinating measures, joint fire support coordinating measures, and close air support. (See Air Force

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Doctrine Document 2-1.7, *Airspace Control in the Combat* Zone, 13 July 2005, 31.)

The final requirement for the TACS was a fully functional air request network integrated with the components of the Air Force TACS and Army AAGS. The CFACC worked closely with the CFLCC and CJTF Pinnacle to ensure TAGS organization. Personnel and communications infrastructures were in place by 17 February 2002. (*Counterfactual. The CFACC did work closely with CFLCC and CJTF Mountain to get the best TAGS possible after 23 February 2002*).

The air-ground concept of operations, while not new to CJTF Pinnacle, called for ground commanders to submit air support requests through their assigned tactical air control parties to the air support operations center at Bagram, which would prioritize and coordinate with the CAOC in Saudi Arabia to provide airpower. Due to the high terrain in the JSOA, the ASOC would need help from JSTARS for C3 and air request relay. Terminal air controllers and forward air controllers-airborne (FAC-As) would control assigned aircraft and give weapons release authority within the JSOA for CAS and defensive fires. Preplanned strikes for air interdiction targets would be cleared through the CENTCOM target approval board. (*Counterfactual. CAS C2 and weapons release procedures were not thoroughly understood by all Anaconda players and had not been tested in such a robust combat environment prior to Anaconda.*)

By early February 2002, CJTF Pinnacle and the component commanders had refined the enemy estimate, determined force and logistics requirements, drafted a new airspace control order and started augmentation of the TAGS. (*Counterfactual. None of this was done by early February 2002.*)

With this critical planning and C2 infrastructure in place, CJTF Pinnacle planners turned their attention to the detailed concept of operations (CONOP) for Operation Boa.

Boa CONOP Refinement

CJTF Pinnacle planners, working closely with component staffs, developed the following CONOP for Boa:

"Seven days prior to Boa's H-Hour, ISR assets conduct intelligence preparation of the battlefield, combing the Shah-i-Kot Mountains to find and fix enemy concentrations, mortar positions, and likely escape routes. Using this information, planners determine the best SOF insertion points and task ISR assets to monitor for enemy activity prior to the insertion. UAVs form an outer cordon to search for leakers heading east from Shah-i-Kot.

"The SOF insertion takes place 24 hours prior to initial airstrikes at H-Hour. SOF teams observe the entire list of preplanned targets Shah-i-Kot valley and relay any additional targets to JSTARS, ASOC, and CAOC. CAS assets are airborne during the SOF infil and CSAR forces are on alert at Bagram. After insertion, AC-130s remain over the objective at night then pass the mission to A-10s before sunrise to keep CAS firepower over SOF teams in the Boa JSOA.

"At H-Hour, air interdiction strikes begin on 53 JFC-approved targets to reduce the risk to U.S. troops if the enemy chooses a defense in depth, the most dangerous enemy course of action. . . ."

(*Counterfactual. Only seven of 66 approved targets were approved for pre-infil airstrike due to the CFLCC's desire to conduct sensitive site exploitation. Half of the planned pre-infil airstrikes did not occur because un-briefed ground forces directed the aircrews to abort their bomb runs.*)

"Although the JFC approved 66 targets for pre-infil bombing, CJTF Pinnacle will conduct sensitive site exploitation on 13 of the 66 targets. The targets include enemy encampments spread over a large area, pinpoint firing positions, cave entrances, and landing zones. GBU-31 joint direct attack munitions (JDAMs) can strike most of them. Some can be destroyed by airburst M117s and dispenser munitions, but a few require the greater penetration of the 5,000-pound GBU-28 or the near-horizontal entry provided by laser-guided GBU-24s. To safely accomplish the strikes in minimal time, aircraft comply with strict time-on-target (TOT) windows, operating altitudes, and egress routes. Strike aircraft check-in with AWACS to get major situation updates (e.g., weather delay, aircraft fallout, target changes) then get pushed to JSTARS for the real-time Boa JSOA update immediately prior to their attack runs on the interdiction targets. If SOF teams are not in pre-briefed positions, or need to add or remove a target, SOF representatives onboard JSTARS inform the CAOC and the ASOC via the SOLE. The CAOC retains control of the strike aircraft until the end of the TOT window.

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"The next movement in Operation Boa is the Afghan army force's move to Phase Line Emerald west of "the Whale," the western boundary of the Shah-i-Kot Valley. The Afghan hammer force, accompanied by U.S. SOF with TACPs, is the main effort of Operation Boa. The hammer force separates into a north and a south component and holds at Phase Line Emerald until the air interdiction strikes are complete.

"The first weapons are laser-guided bombs from F-15Es on 12 mountain-side caves to kill Al-Qaeda/Taliban fighters and close the entrances with laser-guided bombs. AC-130s monitor the cave strikes and engage enemy leakers attempting to escape. B-52s destroy enemy encampment areas with airburst JDAMs, Wind-Corrected Munitions Dispensers, and strings of M117s. U.S. Navy fighters and USAF F-16s employ JDAMs on enemy fighting positions and airburst JDAMs on insertion LZs immediately prior to the air assault. At the end of the 30-minute TOT window, the strike force moves out of the immediate area to refuel and await follow-on CAS tasking from the forward air controllers (FACs). Ground commanders assume weapons release authority and the ASOC gains control of the CAS aircraft marshaled in the JSOA after the air interdiction TOT window.

"After 30 minutes of airstrikes, blocking forces from the 101st Airborne Division and 10th Mountain Division air assault into seven landing zones on the eastern upslope of the Shah-i-Kot valley and move to designated blocking positions (BPs). A-10s and AH-64s escort the force to the LZs and, along with AC-130s, provide CAS. The AH-64 Apaches remain in radio and visual contact with the insertion helicopter force until they egress clear of the JSOA. The AC-130s remain overhead the SOF forces while the A-10s assume FAC-A responsibilities and establish communications with the terminal air controllers at each BP. With the "anvil" force in place and with airspace, communications, and FAC-A control established, the Afghan "hammer" force executes a pincer tactic around the north and south ends of the whale and moves to contact in the vicinity of three known enemy encampments in the valley. This main attack will force the enemy to stay, fight, and die, or attempt escape into the deadly fire of the BP forces and CAS.



U.S. Marine Corps, CWO2 William D. Crow

A Minnesota Air National Guard C-130 Hercules aircraft waits to be unloaded on the airfield at Bagram, Afghanistan in support of Operation Anaconda, 11 March 2002. A U.S. Air Force C-17A Globemaster III is parked in the background.

"U.S. and coalition SOF will form an outer cordon along choke points to the east of Shah-i-Kot valley and the seven BPs. Paired with terminal air controllers, these forces will engage enemy forces who escape the main effort and bypass BPs. Combat operations will terminate when the Shah-i-Kot valley is cleared of enemy fighters and secure. Operation Boa should last no more than one week."

Deception Plan: Operation Python

With a new TAGS system established for CJTF Pinnacle, new U.S. conventional ground troops operating new equipment in an extremely tight airspace structure and a new aircraft carrier on station, commencing Operation Boa from a "cold start" was an operational risk that CJTF Pinnacle and the component commanders wanted to mitigate. They needed a mission rehearsal for their significantly more capable and complex joint fighting force prior to facing 1,500 seasoned fighters at Shah-i-Kot. (*Counterfactual. There was no mission rehearsal and no deception plan. Operation Python is purely fictional.*)

They also realized this rehearsal presented them with a triple opportunity. First, the rehearsal would use the exact personnel, equipment, timeline, airspace, and TAGS structure as Boa. It would expose the task force to mountainous operations and allow evaluation of the Afghan ally's responsiveness and the overall soundness of the Boa plan. Second, the

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rehearsal would be part of a comprehensive deception plan designed to inject ambiguity about the time and location of Operation Boa. The purpose of the plan was to draw forces and focus away from Shah-i-Kot, induce a false sense of security at Shah-i-Kot, and shorten the enemy's reaction time when the real operation was discovered. Third, the rehearsal would be a real-world operation north of Jalalabad on Afghanistan's eastern border with Pakistan to look for small pockets of Taliban/Al-Qaeda. The Jalalabad operation would be called Operation Python.

18 February 2002: Operation Python Execution

The pre-infil ISR results for Python resulted in two changes to the plan. First, the air assault landing zone was moved due to increased activity detected in a nearby village. Several cave entrances were also marked for exploitation due to infrared signature and detection of communication signals. High mountain wind turbulence delayed the SOF insertion for five hours but proceeded well after the delay. However, the pair of AC-130s assigned to cover the SOF infil were already airborne on a normal OEF air traffic operations (ATO) cycle, resulting in a requirement to hand off the infil coverage to other AC-130s and to conduct extensive airborne coordination between the aircraft and C3 nodes. The new AC-130s established communications with the SOF teams and then handed off coverage to A-10s out of Bagram before daybreak.

The Python airspace structure was specifically designed to constrain strike aircraft in preparation for Boa. Interdiction targets for Python were limited to the air assault LZs, which were easily hit. Although not planning to engage other targets, remaining strike aircraft flowed into the Python AO on assigned timelines and altitudes to exercise airspace control measures. While deconfliction issues arose due to strike platforms' varying turn performance in tight airspace close to the Pakistan border, these issues were resolved quickly.

The CH-47 troop carriers departed Bagram with their escorting AH-64s to the Python AO. A-10s waited over the Python AO for the conventional force as Predator drones and AC-130s focused their sensors on the LZs. Unfortunately, one soldier was injured at the second LZ and required extraction from the area by combat search and rescue (CSAR) and Medevac forces. All joint tactical air controller (JTAC) communications were established with A-10 FAC-As and the ASOC pushed strike aircraft to cycle through the different FAC-As and JTACs through the Python AO on simulated, and a few real-world, 9-line CAS attacks. The A-10s and JTACs had to sort through several instances of "who owned which aircraft when" but the air control plan worked well through the day.

After an hour of air control, the SF-supported Afghan force began their move southward. The SF officers assigned to the Afghan force knew that Python was a prelude to Boa and a post-Tora Bora evaluation of the Afghan force. AC-130s established contact with the Afghan force as it moved into the Jalalabad valley. After two days of movement-to-contact and additional air control, the Python force was extracted back to Bagram. Lessons would be rolled into the Boa plan that was scheduled in less than two weeks.

Operation Python resulted in some sporadic engagements with Taliban who had uncharacteristically fled north to Jalalabad after Tora Bora. The operation enabled all players to build their situational awareness about Operation Boa's operational timeline and relative position of friendly forces in the JSOA. (*This is counterfactual. These lessons were learned during and after Anaconda.*)

More importantly, Operation Python had verified the basic logistics and coordination of the Boa plan and highlighted stress points within the tight airspace and C3. Several problems with the TAGS were identified and fixed, including adding tactical air direction (TAD) frequencies so each JTAC had a discreet TAD; clarifying rules of engagement for air interdiction strikes with SOF in close proximity; refining the roles and responsibilities of the AWACS, JSTARS, ASOC, and CAOC during mission execution; and specifying how CSAR and quick reaction forces would be tasked and controlled.

2 March 2002: Operation Boa Execution

CJTF Pinnacle and component commanders were ready to execute Operation Boa on 28 February 2002. The ISR force had intensely imaged the JSOA for the preceding seven days, focusing on target and LZ locations. The intelligence preparation of the battlefield confirmed the enemy estimate and gave planners high confidence in the location of

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enemy forces, likely escape routes, firing positions, and cave entrances. Operation Boa was delayed two days due to adverse weather in the Shah-i-Kot Mountains. SOF team infiltration proceeded on schedule with AC-130 coverage. The teams observed the area and the 53 interdiction targets, and reported back to JSTARS that all targets were cleared for interdiction strike. The SOF-supported Afghan hammer force moved as planned and held at Phase Line Emerald.

At H-30 minutes, F-15Es hit all 12 caves with one requiring immediate restrike due to a weapon malfunction. All pre-planned LZs, enemy encampments, and fixed fighting positions were hit as well. However, one of the airburst JDAMs failed to detonate on an LZ, forcing the use of an alternate LZ due to unexploded ordnance.

At H-Hour, the strike force flowed out of the area as the blocking force infil began. AH-64s swept over the LZs in front of the Chinooks while Predator UAVs, A-10s, and AC-130s monitored the infil from directly overhead. One CH-47 aborted a landing due to unexpected ground fire. Fortunately, both the Predator and AC-130 located the firing position, which was neutralized by the AC-130 and AH-64s. After a 10-minute delay, the CH-47 returned to the LZ and uneventfully disembarked troops. At another LZ, a ranger was injured fast-roping into rough terrain. As in Python, a Medevac team was called to extract the Soldier. A-10s escorted the Medevac H-60 into the LZ and monitored the extraction.

Although all JTACs established radio contact with the A-10 FAC-As, one JTAC radio lost its crypto load, requiring calls in the clear using pre-briefed code words. Several A-10s responded to calls for suppressing fire and the ASOC pushed Navy attack aircraft and a B-52 to work with FAC-As and JTACS. Most targets were enemy mortar tubes, which were quickly located through night vision goggles and infrared sensors and engaged by air assets.

With the anvil force in place, the Afghan hammer force executed the double-envelopment. During this maneuver, they called for fires from airstrikes. Pressured from both the north and south, many Al-Qaeda and Taliban forces attempted to flee eastward out of the valley. Airstrikes engaged and killed scores of them before they reached the blocking positions. Those that reached the blocking forces along the exit routes were captured or killed. A few enemy troops who knew the terrain well attempted to escape via remote donkey trails or "rat lines" leading through the valley. With SOF eyes and an ISR umbrella scanning every square foot of the Shah-i-Kot valley, these fighters were spotted and engaged by the outer cordon of SOF and CAS airstrikes. In one instance, a B-52 aborted its bomb run 10 seconds prior to release when a civilian airliner flew directly under its bomb release point. The CAOC staff worked with civilian air traffic control authorities to re-route traffic around the JSOA enabling the bomber to reattack the enemy fighters after a 10-minute delay.

4 March 2002: Objective Gilligan

As the Afghan hammer force was mopping up the last fighters in the three valley villages, and the outer cordon SOF were killing and capturing leakers, a SOF team was inserted at Objective Gilligan, a southern Shah-i-Kot BP. (*This part of the narrative is loosely based on the actual events on Robert's Ridge, also known as Objective Ginger or Takur Ghar.*)

Several cave entrances on this mountain were in the group of 13 reserved targets because intelligence sources believed there was a high probability of high-value Al-Qaeda leadership hiding there. Twenty-four hours of persistent ISR coverage showed significant enemy activity near the planned infil point so the SOF team inserted lower on the ridge and moved by foot. (*The initial SOF team landed high on the ridge, unaware of intel given to the CJTF Mountain HQ hours earlier showing significant enemy activity in the area.*)

Throughout the night, moderate-to-heavy fire from small arms, Dishka machine guns, and mortar attacks was quelled by the bravery and effective tactics of the SOF team, an embedded JTAC, a ranger quick reaction team and Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines air assets that provided CAS around the clock. By noon on 5 March 2002, Objective Gilligan was secured, dozens of the enemy were killed, and several were captured. Unfortunately, one U.S. SOF Soldier was killed in action and eight other U.S. Soldiers were injured.

Operation Boa continued for two more days as small pockets of fighters were killed or captured,

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and sensitive site exploitation was conducted. Helicopters extracted the anvil force back to Bagram. The Afghan hammer force left a small company to hold the valley as the rest of the Afghan forces returned to Gardez.

Conclusion

Operation Boa was a tactical and operational success. The commander's objective was attained: hundreds of Al-Qaeda and Taliban troops, including several top lieutenants, were killed and scores were taken prisoner. Although no high-value targets were discovered, several key pieces of intelligence were gathered that aided CJTF Pinnacle in follow-on operations.

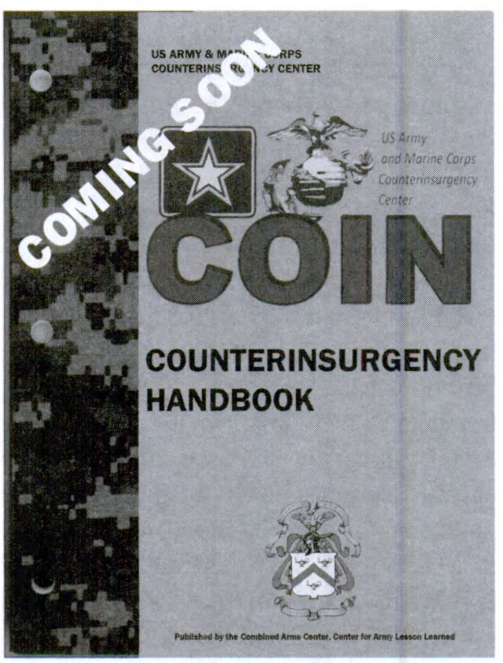
The initial key to success was the establishment a Joint Task Force with a clear command structure and well defined supported/supporting relationships that ensured unity of command. Establishing liaison and coordination elements (SOLE, ACCE, ASOC, BCD, etc.) at the JTF and component headquarters ensured clear communication and unity of effort for both planning and execution. Standing up a JIC and focusing ISR ensured refinement of disparate intelligence assessments and established accurate estimates of enemy strength and intentions.

The combined planning effort built a universally understood CONOP, utilizing overwhelming force to engage worst-case enemy strength, tactics, and intentions. By employing a new theater air ground system with a new conventional ground force in a constrained airspace structure, the Operation Python mission rehearsal increased JTF command and control capabilities, interoperability, situational awareness, and confidence while also serving as a key part of an integrated deception plan. In the end, weeks of JTF planning, close coordination, and employment had developed a confident, capable, and synergistic joint air and ground team for Operation Boa. ***MR***



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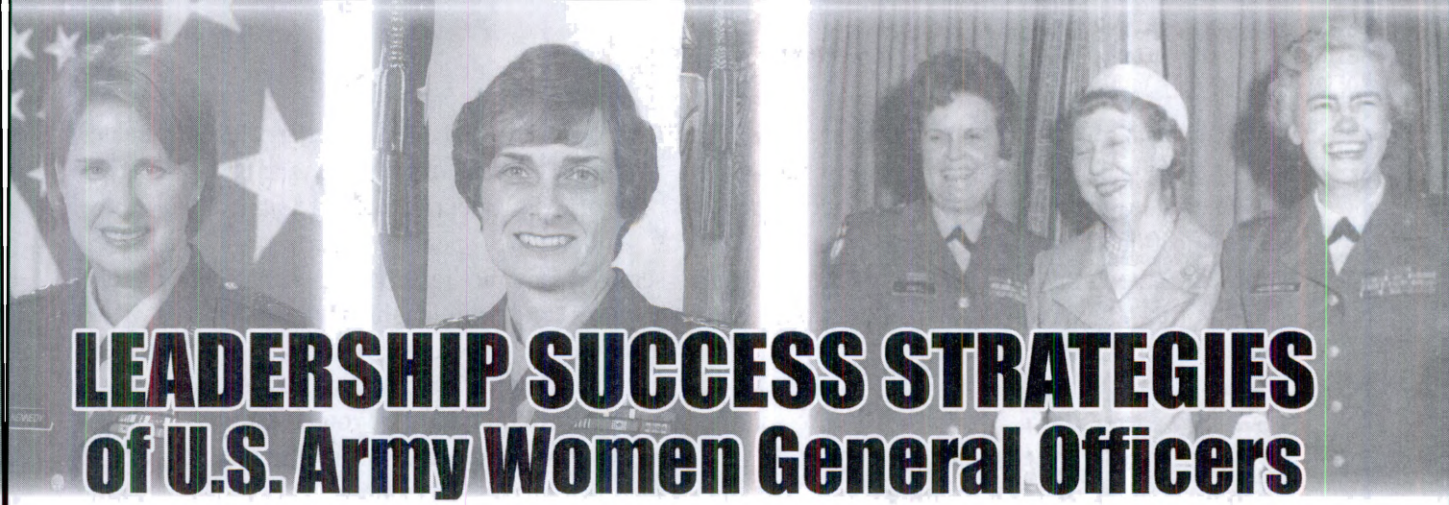
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LEADERSHIP SUCCESS STRATEGIES of U.S. Army Women General Officers

Lieutenant Colonel Yvonne Doll, U.S. Army, Retired



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PHOTO: Counterclockwise: BG Anna Mae Hays, Chief of the Army Nurse Corps (left), and BG Elizabeth P. Hoisington, Director, WAC (right), with Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower on their promotion day, 11 June 1970; Marine Corps LTG Carol A. Mutter promoted in 1996; Army LTG Claudia J. Kennedy promoted in 1997; LTG Ann E. Dunwoody, 2008. (DOD)

ON 23 JULY 2008, Army Lieutenant General (LTG) Ann E. Dunwoody was confirmed by the U.S. Senate for promotion to the rank of general (four stars). This promotion is historically groundbreaking because Dunwoody is the first woman in the U.S. military to attain the rank of general. Her achievement is a milestone that has taken 12 years to reach since LTG Carol Mutter, U.S. Marine Corps, was nominated and approved as the first woman to attain three-star rank in 1996. LTG Claudia Kennedy followed Mutter a year later as the Army's first woman three-star. Progress to the four-star tier has been slow in coming, given the relative numbers of women officers, but the July 2008 Army promotion list to Brigadier General (which had five women selected for promotion) inspires hope that competent women in the Army can and are advancing to the highest levels in the male-dominated hierarchy.

Research on the views and opinions of senior women leaders in the U.S. military is rare. Army nurse Anna May Hayes was the first Army woman promoted to brigadier general in June 1970. Including BG Hayes, only 42 women have been selected and promoted to general officer (GO) rank in the active duty Army.[1] Even in progressive societies, male dominance remains a fact of life, a legacy from a pre-reflective, pre-technological past. Except for history's handful of warrior queens, senior military leadership positions have always belonged to men. Biographies and histories document pervasive male dominance in military roles. Female progress in military leadership has yet to be documented beyond mere statistics.

This article's research data clearly point to factors and competencies the male-dominated Army had already enshrined as roles, norms, and values. In that sense, my results differ not at all from what one would expect from an all-male GO study. Does this convergence of expectations for Army officers represent an objective, legitimate validation of the roles, norms, and values—or is it an unavoidable solidarity, perpetuating male-dominance within a social construction?

Post-modern analysis has not yet varnished the perceptions and experiences that the women in this study have articulated, and this study cannot address the question of whether the military culture is hopelessly chauvinistic, or not. Their answers to questions simply reflect what leadership factors and competencies they think enhanced their ability to be selected for senior leadership positions. One can only observe that it would be surprising and ironic if these factors and competencies did not reflect already well-defined Army expectations.

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My analysis reveals seven universal themes:

- Professional competency and doing a good job.
- The value of interpersonal skills, including good communication skills and taking care of people.
- Being known by your good reputation.
- Taking and excelling in demanding positions such as being a commander.
- Luck and timing.
- Not aspiring to make general officer too early.
- Mentoring, sponsoring, and coaching.

The above suggest that the same expectations and behaviors contribute to career progression and selection as a general officer, regardless of one's gender.

Background of Women in the Army

Although women have been in the U.S. Army unofficially since the Revolutionary War and members of the Women's Army Corps (WAC) since its inception, Congress did not pass the Women's Armed Services Integration Act until 1948. The act made women (other than nurses) eligible to serve in the active duty military in times of peace as permanent regular and reserve members of the Army, Navy, Marines, and the then recently formed Air Force.[2] It also set limits on the number of women who could serve in the Armed Forces. Enlisted women could total no more than 2 percent of the total force in each branch of the service, while women officers (excluding nurses) could not exceed 10 percent of the enlisted women strength. The act also limited career opportunities. It did not allow women to have command authority over men.[3]

Another major change occurred in the mid-1970s after the Vietnam War when the military became an all-volunteer force. Because enlistment in the new all-volunteer Army was low, the Department of Defense concluded that widening roles for females would ameliorate troop shortages and fill vacant positions.[4] President Gerald Ford signed Public Law 94-106 in 1975, opening the formerly all-male U.S. service academies to female applicants, and thereby creating conditions in which women officers would lead men.[5] Public Law 94-106 also deliberately expanded leadership positions beyond those previously allowed under the Women's Army Corps.

Women volunteered for the military services in record numbers after these changes, and, as the number of military women increased, the military and the government saw the large numbers of female volunteers as essential rather than optional to the readiness of the service branches.[6] Especially in the Army, these increased numbers of women brought about a major change in Americans opinions about gender, the full of effects of which we have yet to see.

In the 30 years since then, the percentage of women soldiers serving in the U.S. Army has increased significantly. In 1972, 1.8 percent of Army soldiers were women. In 1991, with 93,100 women serving, the ratio had risen to 11 percent.[7] By 2005, the number was 14.3 percent. A corresponding increase occurred in the number of women selected, trained, and placed into officer or primary leadership roles. Department of Defense personnel tables show 15.3 percent of active duty Army officers were women in 2005. Army officer rank by gender for that year is shown in Table 1.

Although women have been in the U.S. Army unofficially since the Revolutionary War and members of the Women's Army Corps (WAC) since its inception, Congress did not pass the Women's Armed Services Integration Act until 1948.

Demographic Data of the General Officer Participants

When I conducted this study in 2006, there were 38 living women Army GOs. Of the 38, 14 were serving on active duty. There were also 24 living women GOs who had retired from the Army. I interviewed 12 of the 14 serving GOs and 11 of the 24 retired women GOs, for a total of 23 participants.

Age and time in service. The youngest general interviewed was 47 years old. She had served on active duty for 25.5 years, and she had been commissioned an Army officer in 1981. The oldest general interviewed was 77 years old. She had retired from the Army in 1986, at age 57. The oldest GO interviewed entered the Army in 1954, and she had served 32 years in the Army: 2 years as an enlisted member of the Women's Army Corps and 30 years

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Rank/Grade	Total	Male	Female	% Female	% Male
General	10	10	0	0	100
Lieutenant General	45	45	0	0	100
Major General	100	94	6	6	94
Brigadier General	152	147	5	3.3	96.7
Colonel	3,775	3,328	447	11.8	88.2
Lieutenant Colonel	9,134	7,975	1,159	12.7	87.3
Major	14,835	12,822	2,013	13.6	86.4
Captain	24,967	20,449	4,518	18.1	81.9
1st Lieutenant	7,490	5,879	1,611	21.5	78.5
2nd Lieutenant	8,666	6,926	1,740	20.1	79.9

NOTE: Table 1. Adapted from U.S. Department of Defense, 2005. This information is U.S. government public domain material and is not copyrighted.

Table 1. Army active duty officer personnel by rank/grade and gender. (30 September 2005)

as a commissioned officer in the Regular Army. She retired in 1986. The average amount of leadership experience among all 23 participants serving as an Army officer was 30.5 years. The number of years serving as a general ranged from 1 to 11 years, with an average of 3.8 years spent as a GO.

Commissioning sources. The 23 participants entered the Army and were commissioned through five sources. Most of the GOs (15 or 62.5 percent) entered the Army as a direct appointment rather than going through a more typical precommissioning process like the Reserve Officer Training Course (ROTC) program or Officer Candidate School (OCS). Twelve of the 15 participants (or 80 percent) who entered the Army through a direct appointment were members of the WAC. Of the remaining 8 GOs, 3 (13 percent) were commissioned through ROTC, 2 (8.7 percent) were commissioned through OCS, and 2 (8.7 percent) were commissioned through the United States Military Academy (USMA) at West Point. One GO was commissioned through the Air Force Health Professions Scholarship Program prior to transferring into the Army.

Education. The education levels of the participant GOs included: 2 with only baccalaureate degrees, 11 with 1 masters degree, 6 with 2 masters degrees, 1 with 3 masters degrees, and 3 who had earned doctorates or an equivalent degree.

Marital Status. The 23 participants included 13 who were currently married and 10 who were currently single (including 2 women who had divorced and 2 who were widows).

Branch. The participants' Army training included an array of branches and specialties. They included 4 Adjutant General GOs, 3 Signal Corps GOs, 2 Transportation GOs, 3 Army Nurse GOs, 1 Medical Corps GO, 1 Medical Service Corps GO, 1 Aviation GO, 1 Military Police GO, 1 Military Intelligence GO, 1 Quartermaster GO, 1 Chemical GO, 1 USMA professor GO, 1 Finance GO, 1 Ordnance GO, and 1 Judge Advocate General GO.

Sampling and confidentiality. Purposive sampling is a deliberate method researchers use to select study participants with particular characteristics from an accessible population determined to be appropriate for the needs of the study.[8] I selected active duty women Army officers who currently hold or who have held high leadership responsibilities within the Army, and who have been selected and promoted to the rank of brigadier general or higher. To protect the identity of the participants and allow the participants confidentiality, I assigned pseudonyms for each participant.

Findings

I asked each of the 23 participants several questions. Three interview questions directly provided insight and a better understanding of the factors and competencies that might contribute to the career ascension of a female U.S. Army officer into the role of GO.

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Interview question #1. *From your experience, what specific personal competencies and skills contributed most to your career development and advancement?* GO14's response was typical; "I think the skills I had [that] sustained me [were] teamwork, effective communications, [and] inspiring others to reach their potential; all of those things, just really working and developing those that work around you. It's really been those personal things that have guided me. It's really all about the Soldier. You know, taking care of Soldiers. Leading them well, managing them." The majority of the participants (13 or 56.5 percent) stated working with other people, interpersonal skills, or communication skills were the most important skills that contributed to their career development and advancement.

GO2 replied, "I think first of all is basic confidence in my abilities to lead people, to command, to make tough decisions, and to take risk." GO6 stated, "I believe I'm really good with people. I'm empathetic. You know there is a whole body of literature about the way women lead. We lead differently. I think that's part of it. People have always said how good I am with people, and that they've enjoyed working with me and for me. So, I think that was key. Also being physically fit was important. That's one of those things, at a young age in the Army, I recognized that my ability to run and to work out [was important]. Men noticed me because I could run well. Leadership recognized that and whether or not that's fair or not, that was reality. I am also an excellent speaker."

GO10 stated, "I am very mission-focused and results oriented. I understand the role that my organization has in the overall mission accomplishment. I've always understood that. I've always been able to communicate that to people. I'm very dedicated to getting the mission done."

GO20 stated, "I'm nice. I like people. If you don't like people you can't be a leader, because you're not sensitive to what's going on with them. I think more than anything else, it would be a love of people."

Table 2 lists a composite summary in order of rank of specific participant skills and competencies based on the participant experiences that contributed to their career advancement and development.

Skills and Competencies	Number of Responses	Participant Percentage
Communication skills (speaking/listening)	14	60.9
Interpersonal skills/People-person	19	43.5
Leadership/Command	9	39.1
Good value system/Courage/Confidence/Loyalty	8	34.8
Hard work/Take tough jobs	6	26.1
Teamwork	5	21.7
Physical fitness	5	21.7
Domain knowledge/Education	4	17.4
Good sense of humor	4	17.4
Develops/Helps people	3	13.0
Flexible/Adaptive	3	13.0
Caring/Trusting	3	13.0
Mission focused/Results oriented	2	8.7
Values history	2	8.7
Emulates good practices	1	4.3
Lifelong learner	1	4.3
Organized/Disciplined	1	4.3
Innovative	1	4.3

Table 2. Participant skills and competencies that contributed to Army career advancement.

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Interview question #2. *How did you prepare yourself for high levels of command and leadership?* Several participants expressed that their actual Army experiences and performing well in various duty positions was a very important factor in preparing for higher levels of command and leadership in the Army (48 percent).

GO2 said, "When you are being looked at as a colonel or brigadier general, then what you bring to the table are the lessons learned from your cumulative experiences and hopefully everything that I had learned, or the real lessons, the nuggets you take from commanding at three separate levels before I made brigadier general."

Almost half (11) of the GOs mentioned the importance of directly observing both good and bad leaders and learning vicariously through their accomplishments or failures.

GO8 stated, "I think a lot of it was done by paying attention to what was going on. Picking and choosing the best of everybody around me. Learning; learning from other people's mistakes." GO5 commented, "I had the opportunity to watch general officers at high levels do their jobs and hear their philosophy on what works and what doesn't work. Of course that goes two ways: you learn what you want to do, and you learn what you don't want to do." GO17 reported, "Observation; looking at other officers and other individuals that I thought were very good. Learning as much from those that I thought had bad attributes as those that did good [*sic*]."

A large percentage of the participants, 43 percent, stated education and military schooling were instrumental in their preparation for increased levels of responsibility and leadership. For example, GO23 replied, "I think the Army prepared me. They [the Army organization] prepared me through professional assignments and schooling and mentors and coaches who I met throughout my career." Over a third of the 23 GOs (35 percent) believed that the mentoring they received from males or females throughout their career helped develop their leadership abilities and the qualities expected of leaders. GO4 mentioned, "I think the key is finding someone who can help encourage you and help you look at opportunities that you did not see for yourself. I had great mentors who encouraged me to take on a lot of hard jobs. Jobs that I did not think I was qualified for or that I would not succeed at. They said, 'Look, you have nothing to lose by trying. Go and do it. You can do it. We believe you can do it. Now just trust in us and go try.'"

"I think a lot of it was done by paying attention to what was going on. Picking and choosing the best of everybody around me. Learning; learning from other people's mistakes."

Interview question #3. *From your lived experiences or perceptions, what factors do you think are important in getting promoted to general officer?* This interview question was intended to provide factors the participants thought were important in getting promoted to GO. The responses to this question allowed me to compare and contrast factors the participants considered important. Core themes of the research question emerged from this interview question.

Over half of the participants (15 or 65 percent) stated that working hard, taking the hard jobs like command, and being professionally and technically competent were factors they believed are important in the process of getting promoted to GO. GO6 stated, "I think those that get promoted have had all of the right kinds of jobs, especially the command-track jobs. You've got to command, at all of the levels, to get promoted to general. Part of it also is networking. You're not going to get assigned to PERSCOM [Personnel Command] or HR [Human Resources] Command unless you know people and they've heard about you. So it's commanding at all of the levels and then networking."

Almost half of those interviewed (11 or 48 percent) stated one's reputation, visibility with other officers in different branches or specialties, or being known by others in other Army career fields is important in getting promoted to general. To illustrate this idea, GO2 said, "There are people who will be sitting on your board who know you for good and or know you for bad. Those people will more or less direct the destiny of whether you will be promoted or not." Similarly GO16 stated, "If you

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are fortunate enough to be selected for promotion, the number one reason is your reputation."

Almost one third (7 or 30.4 percent) of the participants believed luck and timing is an important factor in getting promoted to general officer. GO4 stated, "I ran the brigadier general boards as a recorder on the selection boards. I ran a couple of them. There is that factor of timing that's incredible. We all know people who should have been generals that weren't. A lot of that has nothing to do with anything except timing."

"If you are fortunate enough to be selected for promotion, the number one reason is your reputation."

Mentorship and sponsorship were also cited as factors in being promoted to GO, but some of the participants did not have a mentor or sponsor when they were selected for promotion to brigadier general. GO11 said, "We've lots of great colonels. Unfortunately the Army can't pick all of them for general officer. I think probably the ones that do get picked, they have someone who along the way had sponsored [them] in their words or in their actions; then [recommended them] to other people so that they [became] known entities among the senior folks. And of course, their record; I think it's understood, it [your record of performance] has to stand on its own. You have to have an outstanding record."

It was interesting to note that 5 of the participants (22 percent) stated an important factor in getting promoted to GO was not worrying about it or not making the promotion a priority in an officer's career. GO10 commented, "I guess, I never signed up to be a general officer. I never said that's what I want to be. In fact, my goal was to make major. As a lieutenant, I thought majors could do anything."

Conclusions

The data presented in this article provide career strategies or ideas for Army senior leader advancement, female or male, and parallel experiences of senior managers in the business world. While the seven major themes and patterns noted above emerged from female participant responses to questions, clearly the answers are pertinent to leadership and management in general. Although other themes emerged in this study, the seven noted were overarching themes and were consistently mentioned during the interviews.

Doing a good job with professional competence emerged as the most common theme perceived as important. Professional job competence aligns with the research of Ruderman, Ohlott, Panzer, and King who stated the skills, abilities, and behaviors an organization valued included: "working hard, demonstrating technical proficiency, having good people skills, accomplishing goals and contributing to the bottom line, exhibiting strategic thinking and being open to change, taking risks, making good decisions, applying creativity and innovation, and dealing effectively with conflict." [9] The majority of the participants (65.2 percent) mentioned competence and doing a good job paramount for promotion to Army GO.

Answers to interview questions also accentuated the importance of having good interpersonal skills to lead others effectively. The majority of the study participants (60.9 percent) reported communication skills such as their speaking and listening skills contributed most to their career development and advancement. GO9 mentioned, "I would definitely say, being able to articulate oneself, either in writing or orally, because that is a very important skill set; to be able to concisely counsel someone, to motivate them, to encourage them, whether that is on a one-on-one basis, or in a crowd." GO17 commented, "God gave me an ability to speak. I think you can't underestimate the power of being able to talk to people; being able to use the way you speak as influencers [*sic*] with people."

Being known by your good reputation was also an important theme shared by the GOs. The participants spoke of having your good reputation known by others as: "reputation," "visibility," "exposure," and "being known." Almost half (47.8 percent) of the participants believed a person's reputation and being known to the board members sitting on the brigadier general promotion board is an important factor for selection to general officer. This data aligns with the research of Mainiero, Williamson, and Robinson who reported executive women

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discussed the importance of obtaining support and acknowledgement from higher leaders in an organization.[10]

Taking, and doing well in, the tough jobs is a theme replicated in the business world. Catalyst conducted a worldwide research study of executive men and women and their career advancement. Both genders reported that having been provided leadership opportunity (83 percent) and receiving challenging assignments (80 percent) were very helpful factors in their personal success in the organization.[11] It appears that job experience and taking the challenging jobs (and doing well) can advance both men and women in their careers.

Luck and timing was cited by 30.4 percent of the female GO participants as important in getting promoted to general. Cummings defined luck as, "successful or unsuccessful outcomes that appear to result from the convergence of confidence, control, preparation, and opportunity."[12] GO19 stated, "Then [after professional competence and taking the tough jobs at Division and Corps], probably the most important factor in making general officer, is standing in the right place when lightening strikes."

The comment, "do not aspire to make GO" frequently came up as the GOs shared their experiences. GO11 stated, "I'd tell them not to aspire. I think this is the approach I took, and I give that as advice, and that is, do your best. I don't think you can be a lieutenant coming in [the Army], planning to be a general officer. I think at some point you get to be much more self-serving than the servant or the shepherd serving our Soldiers and our men and women in uniform." The researcher thought it was interesting that 39 percent of the participants stated they were surprised when they made GO, or that they had not made making general officer a goal in their Army career. GO2 described herself as an "accidental general" because when she entered the Army in 1959, the highest rank a woman officer in the WAC could attain and serve in was lieutenant colonel.

Mentoring relationships have always existed in the workplace, although the term mentoring has not always been used to describe the relationship. Mentoring, also called "sponsorship" and "coaching," was a factor mentioned by 26.1 percent of the participants when asked what factors they thought were important for promotion to Army general officer. Through mentoring relationships, some of the participants believed they were given tough assignments or assignments they had not considered that played a major role in their career selection and ascension to GO. Many of the participants in this study mentioned the helpfulness of mentoring or coaching (primarily by senior male Army officers). GO3 commented, "I listened to my mentors; all of which were men, because there really weren't any women out there."

The comment, "do not aspire to make GO" frequently came up as the GOs shared their experiences.

In summary, the study's methodology involved questions aimed at understanding what 23 women GOs perceived as critical factors and competencies for their selection and promotion. The results of this study indicate that female general officers have the same attitudes and draw the same conclusions from their experiences as their male counterparts: Any officer who aspires to higher levels of Army leadership should do the best possible job in the assignments they are given; prepare themselves mentally, physically, and emotionally; accomplish the mission; take care of their soldiers; mentor and be mentored; stay true to their Army values; and not aspire to make general officer until they are colonels in the Army. ***MR***

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Amnesty, Reintegration, and Reconciliation in RWANDA

Major Jeffrey H. Powell, U.S. Army

IMAGINE EVERY MAN, woman, and child in an American city of 781,000 brutally murdered in four months, the victims mostly hacked to death with machetes. In 1994, Rwanda, which lies at the crossroads of the Great Lakes Region of central Africa, experienced murder on such a scale—a genocidal frenzy. The following discussion examines what conditions could possibly set off such a horrific slaughter and how the country has attempted to recover from the calamity.

Until 6 April 1994, few people in the world knew about Rwanda or its rich history. Even as the slaughter occurred, the world knew little of the event, or that the major players in Rwanda's internecine holocaust lived well beyond Rwandan borders. The country's colonizers, Belgium and Germany, and world powers such as the United States and France helped create the conditions for genocide as much as the Hutus and Tutsis themselves did.

A Legacy of Hatred

Rwanda was born of European colonialism. The calculated policies of Belgium, Germany, and France divided Rwanda against itself for easier colonial rule. These policies of 19th century rule had a lasting effect and are currently the major reasons for obstacles to 21st century reconciliation and stability.

Different theories suggest origins for traditions that divide the Hutus from the Tutsis, but discernable facts prove that Hutus and Tutsis are ethnically and anthropologically the same. They have always shared the same language, territories, traditions, and taboos. Moreover, Hutus could (and still can) become Tutsis by marriage or the procurement of wealth. The arbitrary identity of Tutsi or Hutu could change based on the number of cattle a person owned. Classically, Hutus have been farmers and Tutsis have been herdsmen, a divide as ancient as the mythology of Cain and Abel.[1]

This Hutu-Tutsi societal division thrived as a colonial caste system based on folklore and perpetrated through political policies.[2] Every European country responsible for the colonial rule of Rwanda exploited the so called "anthropology" of Hutuism and Tutsism for economic purposes. The Belgians, for instance, designated Tutsis as the administrators and Hutus as the workers under their rule.[3] Two other factors accentuated this artificial distinction: the Belgian requirement that Hutus and Tutsis carry identification cards denoting them as such and the "Hamitic Theory" emphasized by the Hutus when they subsequently came to power in 1959.[4]

These societal distinctions led to official and unofficial bigotry before and after Rwandan independence. Before independence, the colonial departments

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PHOTO: Aftermath of Rwandan Genocide photo taken in 2001 during the visit of U.S. Representative Frank Wolf. Original caption states: Deep gashes delivered by the killers are visible in the skulls that fill one room at the Murambi School. (DOD)

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governed through a Tutsi hierarchy. After independence in 1959, international support switched to the Hutus. During the entire period of Hutu governance, Tutsis became the scapegoats for all failed policies and suffered decreased educational opportunities, segregation from government positions, removal from positions of influence as teachers and judges, and massacre at the hands of the Rwandan Armed Forces (FAR).[5]

Resentment from the societal divide has always threatened Rwanda's security environment with instability. From a political standpoint, the rift has led to the perceptions of nepotism in government positions, biases in the adjudication of justice, and divisive attitudes about governmental re-education of both Hutus and Tutsis. These conditions undermined efforts of any tribe or party that came to power. War and the cataclysmic genocide subsequently had a devastating effect on the Rwandan economy, totally destroying the country's basic industry, civil services, and key infrastructure.

Only by overcoming segregation and its humiliating effects will Rwanda become a functional, stable country. Progress will require internal and external security from a functioning government not based on a caste system. Recovery will also mean revitalizing an integrated economy through international funding and cooperation. The Rwandan government will have to develop political policies that encourage economic renewal for Hutus and Tutsis and a security apparatus that ensures the success of both. Full reconciliation will not be possible without these measures.

Today, Rwanda is rebuilding to this end, establishing new civil-support apparatuses, and trying to reconcile populations who have regarded themselves more as Hutus and Tutsis than as Rwandans. As with conflict resolution case studies in other *Military Review* articles in this series, foundations for progressive change rest in the societal framework: the political, security, and economic policies forged by the country in transition.

In Rwanda's case, the three-part process of amnesty, reintegration, and reconciliation (AR2)—developed as a rubric for this series of articles—fits only roughly in helping understand what has so far transpired. For instance, at present, there is no amnesty in Rwanda, only a "victor's justice." Theoretically, the country must have some form of amnesty to achieve reconciliation. As the AR2 model suggests it would, lack of amnesty has led to a retributive form of justice that inhibits reintegration and eventual reconciliation. Worse still, reconciliation in this case—not only forgiveness but also the belief that all Rwandans can contribute to Rwanda's success regardless of their social origins or caste—will mean overcoming hundreds of years of fear and ignorance created by forced segregation undergirded by policy, myth, and folklore. Such conditions present a formidable challenge to AR2. And without AR2, Rwanda will face bleak prospects in the future, which could include another civil war.



AP Photo, Jean-Marc Bouju

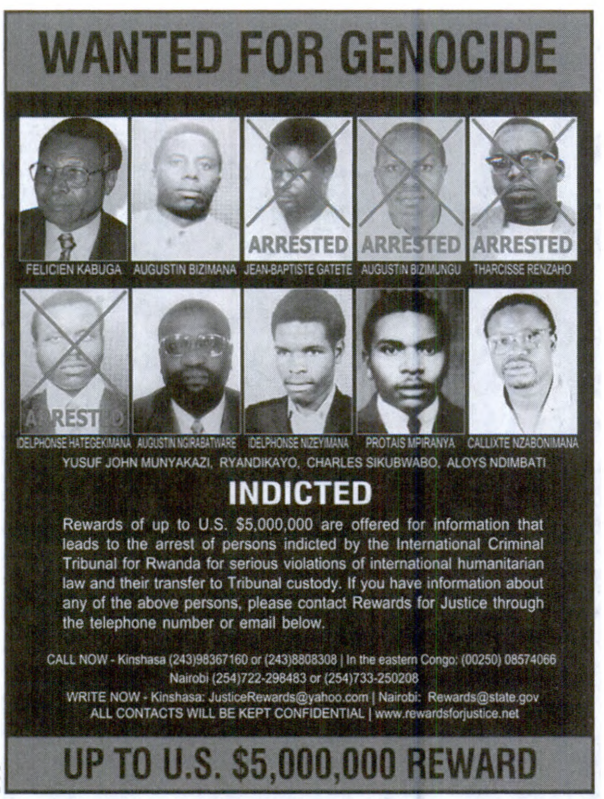
A pickup truck on the road near Rugende, some five miles east of Kigali, carries Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) rebels to front line positions closer to the Rwandan capital of Kigali, 14 May 1994.

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War, Assassinations, and Genocide

The Rwandan civil war lasting from 1990 until August 1993 stemmed from the inability of Tutsis and Hutus to form a mutually nurturing society that benefited all Rwandans. Rwandan Government Forces (FAR), representing the politically and socially dominant Hutus, and the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) (essentially exiled Tutsi rebels) fought a 4-year war. Rwanda was on the verge of reconciliation from this struggle via the Arusha Accords when the country collapsed into the final throes of civil war and genocide in April 1994.

In August 1993, when regional and international actors arranged detailed peace negotiations to be enforced by the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), a brokered reconciliation effort began. From October 1993 until April 1994, there was little movement towards peace and reconciliation, or implementation of the Arusha Accords. Failures by both the Hutu-led government of President Juvenal Habyarimana and the RPF bogged down the comprehensive peace plan.[6] The Secretary General of the United Nations, as well as leaders of African regional neighbors (particularly Tanzania), made a concerted effort to put the peace initiative back on track.



DoS

Poster for fugitives wanted for the Rwandan genocide made by the U.S. Government for the Rewards for Justice program to assist the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, 20 February 2003.

During this effort, Rwanda's President Habyarimana flew to Dar-es-Salaam, Burundi, to meet with other signatories of the accords. On his return flight, Hutu extremists in the Presidential Guard shot down his plane on its approach to Rwanda's capital city, Kigali.[7] This assassination ignited one of history's worst genocides.

Colonel Theoneste Bagosora, the Secretary-General of the Ministry of Defense, seized power. Although Bagosora did not ascend to the presidency of Rwanda, his machinations led to the murder of Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana. In the first hours after the downing of Habyarimana's plane, Bagosora began consolidating Hutu-extremist power by proscribing key Tutsi and moderate-Hutu leaders. Within 48 hours, Bagosora replaced the entire government.[8] Bagosora was able to whip the FAR and local militias, known as *interahamwe*, into a frenzy bent on mass extermination of all Tutsis.

Almost immediately, Major General Paul Kagame of the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA), the military arm of the RPF, began an offensive to halt the murderous FAR attacks on the civilian population. Kagame made his intentions known by remaining in constant contact with the UNAMIR force commander, Canadian General Romeo Dallaire. Kagame's RPA intended to capture Kigali and end the Tutsi slaughter. The RPA alone was responsible for ending the Rwandan genocide. From their offensive on 8 April 1994 until the fall of Kigali on 4 July 1994, Kagame's forces handily defeated the numerically superior FAR.[9]

However, during these four months, Hutu extremists massacred nearly one million Tutsis and moderate Hutus, with very little intervention from the international community. The UNAMIR force was militarily incapable of stopping the rampaging FAR. It lacked both the United Nations mandate to act as an armed reconciler and the military force structure to accomplish such a daunting task. Furthermore, on 21 April 1994, the UN Security Council (UNSC) amazingly voted to reduce the UNAMIR's mandate and force structure, further

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weakening its capability to stop the genocide. In May 1994, the UNSC reversed itself, increased the UN mandate, and increased the troop strength to 5,500 in order to help restore peace, but it was already too late.[10] The genocide did not end until the RPA achieved a fragile peace with the fall of Kigali and the routing of the remaining FAR forces to Zaire in July 1994.

Even with the RPA's victory, Rwanda faced complex internal, external, and regional security problems. Reintegration and reconciliation required a degree of security not then found in Rwanda. Indeed, the Hutu-Tutsi conflict spilled into the Democratic Republic of Congo and Burundi. The challenges of securing Rwanda thus began immediately after the fall of Kigali in July 1994. Hundreds of thousands of Hutu Rwandans fled into neighboring Zaire, now the Democratic Republic of Congo. Intermingled with the fleeing civilians were the interahamwe, the Hutu militia that had carried out most of the genocide. The exodus also included key FAR leaders, and 20,000 FAR soldiers with 62 armored vehicles and numerous heavy weapons.[11]

Other Hutu extremists escaped into a security zone created during Operation Turquoise. In June 1994, the French government declared it would set up a "safe zone" in the southwest of Rwanda. On 20 June, France introduced a draft resolution to the UNSC that authorized the French-led force for a two-month mandate. After two days of consultations and the personal approval of the UN Secretary General, the Security Council adopted the draft as UNSC resolution 929. Operation Turquoise began on 23 June 1994 when a force of 2,550 French and approximately 500 African troops from Senegal, Guinea-Bissau, Mauritania, Chad, Egypt, Niger, and the Republic of the Congo entered Rwanda. They established a safe zone (known as Zone Turquoise) that comprised a fifth of the country. This action largely stopped the mass killings; however, several smaller-scale Hutu operations to kill Tutsis in the zone continued. The UN force left when its mandate expired on 21 August.

For approximately the next two years, Hutu forces launched attacks into Rwanda against the RPA. Finally, the RPA allied with the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire (ADFL) and counterattacked into Zaire, raising the ire of the international community but effectively securing Rwanda's western border. The RPA incursion also led to the Zaire government's fall and a UN Mission that secured the Zaire-Rwandan border.[12]

Continuing the conflict into Zaire placed enormous strain on the RPA. Already stretched thin by casualties from four years of fighting and conducting the campaign to seize Kigali and operations to secure the western Rwandan border, the RPA had to police Rwanda, secure internally displaced persons, and guard the overcrowded prison systems. Beset with untrained volunteers and expatriates, and no longer the well-trained, disciplined force that had achieved victory over the FAR, the RPA began seeking revenge for the genocide.[13]



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A view of the Kibumba refugee camp. An estimated 1.2 million Rwandan refugees fled to Zaire after a civil war erupted in their country, August 1994.

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The RPA's incursion into Zaire had drawn the Great Lakes Region states into the fighting, but it all seemed to end with the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement on 10 July 1999. The DRC, Rwanda, Angola, Namibia, Uganda, and Zimbabwe agreed to end the conflict.[14] The Lusaka Agreement failed within months of its implementation however, as fighting ignited again. The struggle only ended later in 2002 with the signing of the Pretoria Agreement.[15]

By then, hatred between Hutus and Tutsis had magnified, having festered in the 12 years of armed conflict. Thoughts of amnesty and reconciliation were unimaginable. Rwandans still faced cross-border attacks from Hutu insurgents despite the presence of the largest on-going peacekeeping mission on record, the United Nations Mission in the DRC. Facing constant threats to their security, Tutsis felt no sympathy for Hutus displaced beyond Rwanda's borders or for Hutu citizens in Rwanda. Lack of empathy and inability to forgive their enemies for the genocide persisted after the Pretoria Agreement. And although Rwanda had achieved a ceasefire, the social divisions between Hutus and Tutsis continued to make an offer of amnesty out of the question.

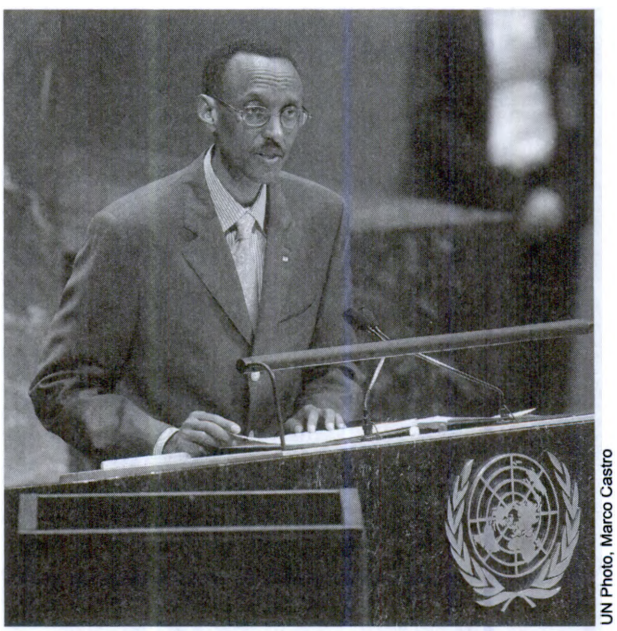
Political Hurdles to Reconciliation

After 12 years of armed conflict and attempts to gain international recognition, Rwanda is finally implementing policies allowing reconciliation. The Rwandan Patriotic Front placed many of its military leaders in government leadership positions to stabilize the country, restore infrastructure, and bring the perpetrators of genocide to justice.

Rwanda is ostensibly a democracy with the RPF as the government. (Rwanda moved from being an authoritarian to a semi-authoritarian state after holding elections in 2003.) Like the former Hutu regimes, the RPF killed or exiled its adversaries. Currently, political parties with views contrary to those of the RPF, such as the Democratic Republican Movement, are said to have a "genocidal ideology" or are seen as threats to state security and have been disbanded. Tutsis, and a smattering of Hutu moderates that ascribe to the political and ideological beliefs of the Tutsis, make up the current regime led by President Paul Kagame.[16] The authoritarian/semi-authoritarian path gives the government great latitude to implement two major policies for reconciliation and reintegration—the *gacaca* (grassroots) courts and the *ingando* camps. These institutions have replaced the international community's initial attempt to implement justice for the Rwandan genocide.

Gacaca courts. Perhaps Rwandan reconciliation began in November 1994 with UN Security Council Resolution 955, which implemented the International Tribunal for Rwanda to prosecute crimes from the genocide.[17] The tribunal was supposed to bring the interahamwe to justice. However, when many of those convicted faced execution, the retributive justice of the tribunals further widened Rwanda's societal divide. In addition, given the large number of persons charged with crimes, experts estimated that the international tribunal process would require almost a century of adjudication to complete. As a result, the Rwandan government introduced the gacaca tribal justice courts to speed up the process and to deliver restorative justice.[18]

The gacaca court system placed the power of reconciliation with the people. Local populations elected the judges of the courts. After a short training period, during which judges received instruction on types of genocidal crimes, punishment, and how to interpret the laws, local communities



UN Photo, Marco Castro

Paul Kagame, President of the Rwandese Republic, addresses the general debate of the 62d session of the General Assembly at UN headquarters in New York, 27 September 2007.

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could begin implementing their gacaca courts. The genocide law passed in 1996 determined four levels of interahamwe:

- Planners, organizers, and leaders of the genocide.
- People guilty of voluntary homicide.
- People who committed violent acts without intent to kill.
- People who committed crimes against property.

Gacaca courts could adjudicate all but the highest level of interahamwe.[19]

The gacaca courts lightened the burden on Rwanda's traditional court system and began a kind of low-level reconciliation within Rwandan communities by meting out punishments ranging from community service to life imprisonment.

Although innovative, the gacaca system has its drawbacks. When accused persons confess to committing acts of genocide, they must meet three criteria to gain their freedom. First, they must give the court all information about the crime they committed. Second, they must apologize to those against whom they committed the crime. Third, they must implicate their co-conspirators in the crime. The final requirement creates the possibilities of false accusations and acts of revenge that could slow the reconciliation process. Even so, the gacaca system is the best vehicle to achieve reconciliation without further aggravating the societal rift that has long divided the Rwandan people.

Ingando camps. Another government policy to heal the rift in Rwandan society is the policy of ingando, or solidarity camps, aimed at illuminating Rwandans about their history, bringing them together as one people, and indoctrinating them in the principles and ideologies of the Rwandan Patriotic Front. The ingando program is for all members of Rwandan society, from former soldiers of the Hutu regime to prostitutes to gacaca judges. Its goal is to make Rwandans identify themselves as Rwandans instead of as Hutus or Tutsis. The program seeks to wipe out the Hutu-Tutsi caste system in Rwandan society. Rwanda's public education system teaches ingando principles at all levels of education. While ingando is well intentioned, it has several shortfalls. It does not acknowledge all of Rwanda's history, it identifies colonialism as the root of Rwanda's societal division, and it has characteristics that tempt some to compare it to Marxist-Leninist indoctrination.[20]

The goal of ingando camps is to ensure that all members of Rwandan society have upward mobility and that identifying labels based on a caste system do not hamper their aspirations. If the program achieves its goal, it could change the country's future. By allowing all members of society to compete equally regardless of their previously assigned or inherited social caste, Rwanda will be able to grow and compete economically with other countries on the African continent.

Economics and Reconciliation

The greatest international aid to Rwanda has come in the form of economic assistance. At the focal point of the international aid is the World Bank, which funds the Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Program (MDRP):

MDRP complements national and regional peace initiatives, providing vital support for the social and economic reintegration of ex-combatants. It provides comprehensive support for demobilization and reintegration by helping establish standard approaches throughout the region, coordinating partner initiatives, and providing financial and technical assistance in the demobilization, reinsertion, and reintegration of ex-combatants.[21]

The MDRP is vital to Rwandan reintegration and reconciliation. It provides needed financial support to critical programs that will enable Rwanda to reconcile itself with the 12 years of conflict it endured.

MDRP has four objectives in Rwanda:

- Demobilize an estimated 36,000 ex-combatants from the RPF and other armed groups and support their transition to civilian life.
- Support the repatriation of ex-FAR in the spirit of the Arusha Agreement.
- Support the social and economic reintegration of all demobilized ex-combatants who remain socioeconomically vulnerable.
- Facilitate the reallocation of government expenditures from defense to the social and economic sectors.[22]

Founded in 2002 by the World Bank, the MDRP coordinates funding, but the funds come from a multitude of sources. It also provides expertise to help rebuild Rwanda's government and economic infrastructure. By integrating 10 different UN programs, the World Food Program, the International Labor Organization, the European Union,

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MDRP Secretariat, Harald Hinkel

Demobilization of FDLR combatants (FDLR: forces démocratique de la libération du Rwanda), 2005.

the African Union, and the Food and Agriculture Organization, the MDRP is helping Rwanda solve many economic problems with expertise rivaling that of developed nations.[23]

The MDRP is thus bringing about change in Rwanda. By reconciling and reintegrating ex-combatants—whose numbers include most of Rwanda's male population—the MDRP is helping build a country that observes the rule of law, contributes economically to the region, and respects its neighbors. With economic progress, Rwanda could become a stalwart of stability in the Great Lakes region of Africa.

Building a New Rwanda

Amnesty, reintegration, and reconciliation are conceptual tools for clearing centuries of moral debris from the Rwandan societal landscape. One of the RPF's failures was its inability to forgive the Hutus and grant them amnesty. Because of the genocide's ferocity and the ensuing civil war, the RPF had to begin reconciliation in 2002 without granting amnesty. The RPF also has not acknowledged facts pointing to the illegal actions of some members of the RPA during the conflict and the possible need to grant amnesty to them as well.

The failure to grant amnesty has mired the reconciliation process. Despite the international tribunals, the gacaca courts, and the ingando camps, an undercurrent of hatred still exists between Hutus and Tutsis. This hatred, coupled with the semi-authoritarian regime, could lead to another humanitarian crisis in Rwanda. The policies of the current regime neither include nor forgive Hutus. They do not recognize that throughout the civil war both sides committed atrocities against each other, and one way to overcome the cyclic legacy of those crimes is to forgive the perpetrators and grant them amnesty. Rwandans have taken great strides in the last five years, but they still have a long way to go to complete reintegration and reconciliation.

Throughout its history, Rwanda has been divided. Only a true AR2 process can pull Rwanda out of a downward spiral and make it a viable member of the international community. For that to happen, Rwanda must have an amnesty that all members of society accept. A government policy of amnesty is only half the solution. The people of Rwanda must embrace that policy. From amnesty, the roots of reconciliation and reintegration can grow, beginning the stabilization of Rwanda for future generations. ***MR***

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Winning Battles but Losing Wars:
Three Ways Successes in Combat Promote Failures in Peace

Christopher E. Housenick, Ph.D.

RECENT DIFFICULTIES in post-conflict stabilization and reconstruction efforts in both Afghanistan and Iraq stand in stark contrast to the overwhelming successes of their respective maneuver combat operations. While reasons abound for why these problems have arisen, one rationale is still under examined—the methods utilized when conducting direct combat operations. Only by making fundamental changes in American military doctrine can these problems be alleviated, thereby increasing the likelihood of success in stabilizing post-intervention states.

While the U.S. military has always played a role in post-conflict reconstruction operations during phase IV operations, current rebuilding efforts in both Iraq and Afghanistan have been stymied by instability. A resurgent Taliban in southern Afghanistan and increasing opium production raise questions about the effectiveness of U.S. and NATO reconstruction efforts in that country. Reconstruction efforts in Iraq have often stalled because of a dangerous and unpredictable security environment; violence perpetrated by insurgents, militias, cults, foreign terrorists, and profiteering criminals has made the security situation in Iraq untenable. At one point, the Iraqi security environment deteriorated to the point that over two million Iraqis fled their homes and entered neighboring countries.[1]

These daunting post-conflict challenges stand in stark contrast to the successes during the maneuver operations (phase III operations) during these two wars. When conventional U.S. military forces began their campaign in Afghanistan in October 2001, Afghanistan's capital, Kabul, fell in only two months, and most major cities in the country fell by the end of the year. During the 2003 invasion of Iraq, it took a mere six weeks to push into and capture Baghdad. Maneuver operations in both conflicts were powerful, quick, and decisive.

There is no lack of opinions as to why reconstruction was far more challenging than expected in Iraq and Afghanistan. Some critics point to intelligence failures before the wars began and during reconstruction efforts; others point to underdeveloped and ad hoc approaches to post-conflict reconstruction

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PHOTO: A vehicle used by Al-Qaeda in Iraq fighters is destroyed by Soldiers from the 1st Special Troops Battalion, 1st Brigade Combat Team, 101st Airborne Division, after enemy fighters engaged coalition forces by detonating a suicide vest, 23 February 2008. (DOD)

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planning, while still others place the blame on senior leaders of reconstruction efforts.[2]

One potential explanation is rarely discussed: the conduct of combat operations before the beginning of reconstruction. Oftentimes discussions of phase III and phase IV operations occur in relative isolation, and we assume the operations are independent of each other. However, these two components of military actions are highly intertwined and interconnected. Is it possible that the way the U.S. military conducts wars makes it harder to achieve long-lasting, peaceful outcomes?

I believe that the "American way of war," that is, the doctrine followed and tactics used used during phase III operations, creates great difficulties and additional problems to solve during phase IV operations. Methods that are highly successful during the maneuver phase of conflicts directly contribute to increasingly difficult post-conflict reconstruction efforts.

Is it possible that the way the U.S. military conducts wars makes it harder to achieve long-lasting, peaceful outcomes?

Cause and Effect

We cannot expect easy post-conflict stabilization operations in our current military operations because of three conditions we either fostered or failed to control. The overwhelming use of force espoused by the Powell Doctrine, the targeting of state infrastructure, and the presence of increasing numbers of foreign nationals, all create problems that continue to plague efforts in reconstruction. I will discuss each of these considerations in turn.

Overwhelming use of military force. One of the most common axioms of military action is to use overwhelming force in order to defeat an adversary.[3] A commonly held guideline when planning an offensive operation is to possess a 3:1 advantage in personnel in combat operations and an even greater numeric advantage during military operations in urbanized terrain.[4] In practice, however, the United States military almost always attacks with less than that ratio. By employing advanced technology, such as next-generation attack aviation assets and advanced armored vehicles, the U.S. often makes up for differences in numeric quantity.

This approach has been quite successful in recent history. Even though coalition forces barely outnumbered the Iraqi military forces in 1991, U.S. and allied forces soundly defeated an entrenched Iraqi army with a five-week air campaign and a 100-hour ground offensive. In 2003, the predominantly U.S. and British invasion coalition force of 263,000 soldiers attacked and defeated an Iraqi army of approximately 375,000 soldiers and captured Baghdad in six weeks. The use of overwhelming force made these difficult military maneuvers possible even though the coalition was at a noticeable numeric disadvantage.

While stunning military defeats through the use of tremendous amounts of force are important for successful phase III operations and force protection, these types of devastating defeats of American adversaries may come with unintended and problematic consequences once phase IV operations begin. The overwhelming use of military force can spawn a desire for revenge or retribution in defeated adversaries.[5] There are several instances where a humiliating defeat in one war planted the seeds for future wars. As Robert Harkavy writes:

> The extent or depth of defeat may be very important in determining the level of resulting humiliation. The Arabs in 1967 and Iraq in 1991 suffered overwhelming, humiliating defeats of the kind that produces lasting shame. In both cases, before-the-war boastfulness (enemies were going to drown in their own blood) was followed by almost comic-opera levels of military performance, widely interpreted throughout the world as something akin to cowardice that, subsequently, was to produce high levels of shame.[6]

This sort of relationship is not limited to the Middle East. The contentious relationship between Germany and France during the balance of power era in the late 1800s and the numerous wars between India and Pakistan demonstrate that defeat in one war has sown the seeds of the next conflict in direct, explicit terms, a psychological need for the restoration of state honor through military might.

Former enemies often point to one significant indicator when discussing damage to and loss of

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> ... defeat in one war has sown the seeds of the next conflict in direct, explicit terms, a psychological need for the restoration of state honor through military might.

their honor and respect—vast differences in casualties from their opponents. When one side takes a disproportionate level of casualties, it often believes their lives are seen as less valuable or important than the lives of their adversaries, and the need for revenge and retribution grows. This argument is very common when discussing the conflicts and wars between Israel and the Palestinians.[7] Anger because of dramatic differences in casualties has surfaced in U.S. military activities. In the 1991 Persian Gulf War, more than 25,000 Iraqi soldiers were killed compared to only 268 American soldiers. During Operation Restore Hope in Somalia, 18 U.S. soldiers were killed in the October 1993 Battle of Mogadishu, while more than 1,000 Somalis were killed in the fighting.[8] These statistics clearly illustrate that there was a significant difference between the number of U.S. soldiers killed and the numbers of adversaries killed, and in both instances, these battles created dramatic and appreciable levels of hostility.

Targeting infrastructure during combat operations. Infrastructure has always been a critical component of military and security operations. The Roman Empire was able to maintain its control over vast expanses of territory because of the road system it constructed throughout Europe and Western Asia. Strategic road junctions at Gettysburg made the battle there a critical point of the U.S. Civil War because the army that possessed those crossroads would have far greater freedom of maneuver throughout the country. In World War II, German harbors, railroads, and bridges were bombed to curtail and cut off re-supply and troop reinforcements. During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, U.S. warplanes targeted communications nodes and major highways so Saddam Hussein's armies could not coordinate and plan a coherent defense or retreat, leaving them isolated, without instructions, and more vulnerable to coalition attacks.

While it is an important and viable military consideration to target, damage, and destroy these systems during phase III operations, these same infrastructure networks are critical systems that are necessary for successful reconstruction operations in the occupied state during the aftermath of an invasion. A telephone exchange, which can be used to pass along orders and information when attempting to stop a U.S. advance or invasion, is also used in peacetime to pass along information and orders from the central government to outlying areas of the state. A bridge used for moving tanks during wartime can be used to move trucks containing food and other tradable goods during post-conflict rebuilding and peacetime. Targeting these systems in war denies everyone their use in times of peace.

The problem of targeting infrastructure stands out in the Balkan countries. When NATO authorized and implemented an air campaign against Serbia in 1995 and against Kosovo in 1999, one of the primary targets of these campaigns was the infrastructure of these states. The logic of these strikes was to stop the flow of troops, weapons, and orders into Serbia and Kosovo, thereby slowing and potentially stopping the ethnic cleansing in those regions.[9] The costs of targeting infrastructure in those countries is still being paid today, almost a decade after those conflicts. Large numbers of bridges, roads, and tunnels are still not rebuilt, leaving the fabric of those countries torn, and the long process of rebuilding infrastructure prolongs U.S. involvement in that region.

Compounding these problems is the systems' generally diminished and degraded status in many conflict-torn countries. When a country breaks down and the primary focus of the central government is state survival, funds and efforts to maintain or construct infrastructure become almost non-existent. This problem is most acute in states that were involved in long-term civil wars, such as Haiti, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, and Sudan. At a minimum, the infrastructure in these states is neglected, and it is far more common that these important systems are often completely ignored for a substantial length of time (perhaps even for decades).

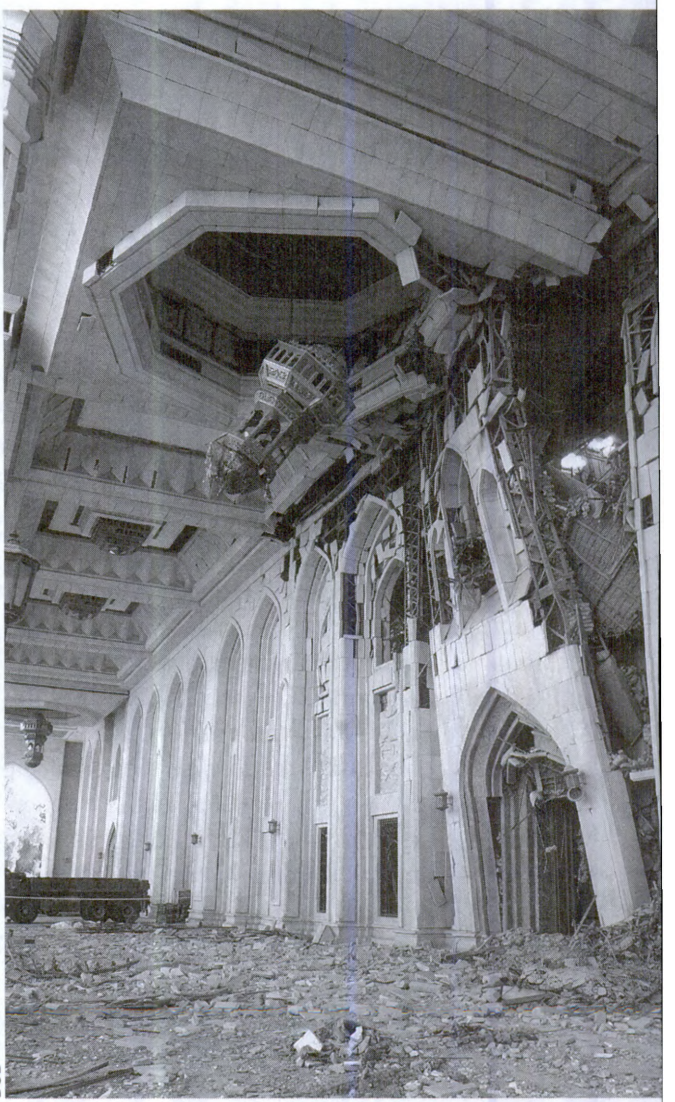
Phase IV reconstruction is going to be far more difficult and costly without these infrastructure systems, regardless of whether combat operations

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or years of government neglect destroyed them. Moving material into remote locations without roads or bridges often requires the use of helicopters or air drops, which are far more expensive to operate than convoys of trucks. Loss of potable water because of combat operations often means that expensive water systems have to be shipped into reconstruction zones, again taking substantial amounts of time and funds. Coordinating phase IV operations across an entire country without a working, serviceable phone system will be considerably more difficult than if a functioning system were in place. Rebuilding destroyed infrastructure costs money that could best be spent elsewhere, and it substantially prolongs U.S. involvement in post-conflict reconstruction.

Non-indigenous combatants in conflict zones. The presence of foreign fighters and support personnel operating against the United States in combat zones should be a growing concern for military planners and policy-makers alike. Many times, we assume the invading force will be fighting and pacifying the people of the state they are "standing in," and will only have to deal with the citizens of that country, but assuming the population and military of a target country only consists of one nationality is dangerous. Greater numbers of foreign nationals are now present in states where military interventions are planned. Broadly speaking, there are two types of foreign nationals that are increasing in numbers and could be involved in direct combat operations against the U.S.—foreign combatants and employees of private military firms (PMFs).

During any international conflict, a number of foreign nationals are drawn to the sound of warfare and combat. Whether they are mercenaries that seek wars for profit or warmongers that seek combat because of bloodlust, when conflicts and wars arise there is an appreciable pull into combat for certain foreign citizens as soldiers and combatants. This pattern has been most obvious and prevalent in various conflicts throughout the Middle East in the last three decades. When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1980, there was a heavy flow of foreign-fighters into the ranks of the Afghan Mujahadeen. When civil war broke out in Lebanon in 1983, large numbers of foreign fighters streamed into that state to fight against whichever side they found objectionable, and they continue



DOD

The front facade and portico of the bomb-damaged Ba'ath Party Headquarters in the International Zone, Baghdad, Iraq, 23 November 2003.

to do so today. This same problem has manifested itself in Iraq. Foreign nationals from Afghanistan, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Syria and a diverse array of countries-of-origin have entered the combat zones of these three conflicts. This trend is not isolated to the Middle East; the phenomenon is quite prevalent on the global stage. During the interstate and civil wars in East Africa, fighters from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, and Uganda intermixed and operated across their respective national borders.

While foreign nationals are one source of trouble, they are not the only foreign presence on today's battlefields that can complicate military operations. Private military firms are increasingly utilized by

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all states of the international system. More than 160 countries contracted some form of PMF to help provide services to promote state security.[10] Many of these firms are neither based nor headquartered in the United States, and several operate in multiple countries simultaneously. The global increase in the use of these companies heightens the probability that U.S. or other intervention forces will encounter the citizens of a third-party state during wartime.[11]

Foreign fighters from any source create additional challenges for any military during both phase III and phase IV operations. Foreign fighters often fall outside standard chains-of-command of the official state military. Because these troops operate outside a formal command structure, it is far more difficult (and potentially impossible) to stop their violent activities when a cease-fire or other peace agreement is made or established. They may continue to fight based on their ideological dispositions or contractual obligations, rather than abide by the terms of a cease-fire agreement.

In addition to the above, foreign fighters in a combat zone can create larger diplomatic challenges and potentially initiate additional crises. The presence of foreign nationals in any combat zone, regardless of whether they are active combatants or not, can create international tension and incidents. The accidental bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade during the air strikes on Serbia created appreciable diplomatic tensions between the U.S. and China during that conflict, even though those personnel were in no way involved in the conflict. If a group of foreign nationals takes up arms against U.S. forces, the capture or death of these nationals could create a large-scale diplomatic or even a military crisis with their country-of-origin.

Policy Recommendations

While it is important to identify what phase III actions make phase IV operations difficult, it is not enough just to criticize them; setting forth guidelines and recommendations for future planning is



DOD

After spotting several Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) fighters fleeing the area, a Kiowa provides security for the Soldiers of the 1st Special Troops Battalion, 1st Brigade Combat Team, 101st Airborne Division, as they apprehend the AQI operatives, 23 February 2008.

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equally important. Some will note that the changes presented here are often political as well as military proposals. Because the military is the instrument that carries out combat operations, it will be in place immediately as reconstruction efforts begin. Speed of restoration and repair of former combat zones is of the essence; the first 60 to 90 days are critical during phase IV operations. Civilian organizations, while quite useful, may not arrive in a timely enough fashion to help during this critical period, so the military must be prepared to be the lead organization on a variety of issues for several months in order to increase the chances of post-conflict success.

Minimizing humiliation and the need for revenge. It should be a priority for future military planners to identify a middle ground between the need to use overwhelming military power to end wars quickly and the need for defeated enemies to "save face." If a military force is overwhelmingly defeated to the point of humiliation, they will be far more likely to look toward terrorism, insurgency, and guerrilla warfare as an avenue to restore their lost honor and reputation. If the force can be defeated in such a way as to leave it some level of dignity and honor, it should be less likely to try to restore its reputation through the aforementioned methods. Working this consideration into tactical, operational, and strategic planning is not an easy task and is probably the most challenging of the recommendations made here. Force protection is one of the most important considerations for military commanders. However, leaving the honor of an adversary intact is a vital consideration that must be addressed and realized in order to increase the chances of success in post-conflict stabilization.

Wars are becoming more deadly for soldiers and civilians alike. Unrestricted warfare is taking a greater toll on everyone involved, from the soldiers doing the fighting to the civilian populations engulfed by conflict. Every casualty during maneuver operations or in post-conflict reconstruction, civilian or military, intentional or accidental, makes some person more likely to decide to support or join an insurgency. The United States should become a world-leader in working to reduce casualties, both military and civilian, in every conflict around the globe. It should be a U.S. policy goal to make the sterile, cold term "collateral damage" a thing of the past. "Human protection"—a policy of preserving the life and limb of both foreign civilians and enemy military personnel alike—must stand on equal footing with force protection to reduce the dangers to people in conflict zones and reduce and remove the motivations for taking up arms against U.S. soldiers in post-conflict environments.

It should be a priority for future military planners to identify a middle ground between the need to use overwhelming military power to end wars quickly and the need for defeated enemies to "save face."

One way the U.S. military can begin to promote this viewpoint is to focus far greater attention on the increasing development and deployment of mass-effect, non-lethal technologies. Recent technological breakthroughs have made these instruments far more viable and important than they were only a few years ago. Parabolic megaphones and focused microwaves can subdue people without causing permanent harm to them, thereby reducing casualties. These weapons systems have shown dramatic promise in Iraq and elsewhere; we should widely distribute and heavily utilize them during post-conflict reconstruction, and doctrinal planners should begin to incorporate their use into phase III operations.

Targeting, reconstruction, and expansion of infrastructure. The U.S. should change its approach of attacking infrastructure during both phase III and phase IV operations. Future campaigns cannot leave a country in shambles as was done in Serbia or Kosovo. Continuing this approach will lengthen post-war commitments, dramatically increase financial costs of reconstruction, and therefore necessitate longer military involvements in reconstruction efforts. Part of the remedy for this problem is already beginning to take shape with the advent and increasing importance of "effects-based targeting."[12] Rather than damaging and destroying infrastructure in its entirety, military planners are working towards identifying critical hubs and points where the greatest effect can be achieved with the least amount of damage, thereby making post-war

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reconstruction efforts easier. While this is an important first change in approach, it is far from sufficient, and new standardized policy directives need to be incorporated during phase IV operations to increase the chances of success once the shooting stops.

It should become part of standard military planning for phase IV operations that any and all infrastructure damaged or destroyed should be restored to pre-conflict conditions within 60 days of the conclusion of major combat operations. If the basic infrastructure systems are so repaired in such a dramatically short period of time, inconvenience to civilians will be minimal and the economic and social fabric of the state will be quickly restored, thereby minimizing the social displacement that contribute to people taking up arms against the U.S.

While repairing damage caused by an invasion is important, it is often not enough to promote the long-term health and welfare of a state. Both military and civilian planners should consider and decide, during pre-combat planning and preparation stages, the degree to which they need to improve and elevate the infrastructure of a state facing a military intervention beyond its pre-war, pre-intervention capabilities. Infrastructure is critical for the basic operation and functioning of all states, and most states that are target candidates for interventions lack adequate infrastructure systems to function. Only by improving these systems throughout a country can state-building efforts take root and promote a long-lasting, stable society capable of governing and defending itself without outside support. Before the shooting starts, military and civilian planners should systematically examine and draft a plan to improve the infrastructure capacity of the state to ensure lasting, successful post-conflict operations.



U.S. Marine Corps, SGT Andrew D. Pendracki

U.S. Marines from Marine Wing Security Battalion 372 engage in civil disturbance training on Al Asad Air Base, Iraq, 23 December 2007. During the training, the Marines learn how to neutralize aggressive rioters using nonlethal tactics in the event of a disturbance on base.

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Quarantining and minimizing external combatants in conflict zones. It is impossible to completely alleviate the prospect of foreign nationals being killed during a military intervention. However, proper military planning can ensure that this problem does not become worse as the conflict and post-reconstruction phase progress. A major objective in any future intervention effort should be to seal off all of the invaded state's borders to reduce the influence of foreign combatants. Allowing the free-flow of terrorists and extremists into a country is a recipe for disaster. Many are well trained and experienced soldiers and combatants, bringing their dangerous expertise to bear against U.S. forces. By sealing off a country's borders, we contain the threat of foreign fighters and do not permit it to worsen. While there may still be foreign fighters present in the battlespace, when the borders are sealed their number will not increase and exacerbate post-conflict reconstruction problems.

When it comes to private military firms, fewer solutions are available. Many PMFs would be deterred from supporting governments directly opposing the U.S. because nothing hurts their profit margin more than their utter military defeat. There are very few scenarios worse for these firms than to openly oppose and fight against the U.S. military. However, deterrence may not be enough. Gaining intelligence on firms and the roles they fulfill should be a fairly straightforward and public endeavor using open-source research because these firms operate in the corporate and legalistic domain. With this information, the U.S. should ensure that any and all PMFs have been notified that they are potentially in the line of fire from a military intervention, by making it a practice to send notices and warnings to both the corporate offices of PMFs and the countries where they have corporate headquarters. When it is clear the U.S. is planning to invade, most firms will make it a point to evacuate the target country of an intervention.

Conclusions

Overall, current U.S. military practices are second to none in successful warfighting. However, the problems that seem to have plagued post-conflict reconstruction efforts over the last six years somewhat overshadow this record of success. Working to modify warfighting techniques can alleviate some post-conflict reconstruction problems. The military will have to take the lead on attempting to reduce and minimize human casualties, the destruction of state infrastructure systems, and the numbers and influence of foreign fighters within combat zones. If the United States can be successful in this effort, it will increase the long-term success of post-conflict reconstruction. ***MR***

NOTES

1. Sudarsan Raghvan, "War in Iraq Propelling a Massive Migration." *Washington Post*, 4 February 2007, A01; and Associated Press, "Report: 1 Million Iraqis May Flee in '07." *Washington Post Online* Friday, 16 February 2007.

2. Some of the books that have contributed to these discussions are Thomas E. Ricks, *Fiasco* (New York: Penguin Books, 2006); Michael R. Gordon and General Bernard E. Trainor, *Cobra II: The Inside Story of the Invasion and Occupation of Iraq* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2006); Bob Woodward, *State of Denial* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2006); and Rajiv Chandrasekaran, *Imperial Life in the Emerald City: Inside Iraq's Green Zone* (New York: Knopf Publishing, 2006).

3. The use of overwhelming military force is best captured in the Powell Doctrine. For further readings on the origins of the Powell Doctrine, see Jeffrey Record, *Making War, Thinking History: Munich, Vietnam, and Presidential Uses of Force from Korea to Kosovo* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2002); and Kenneth J. Campbell, "Once Burned, Twice Cautious: Explaining the Weinberger—Powell Doctrine," *Armed Forces and Society* 24 (1998): 357-74.

4. Timothy L. Thomas, "The Battle for Grozny: Deadly Classroom for Urban Combat." *Parameters* 29 (1999): 87-102.

5. Robert Harkavy, "Defeat, National Humiliation, and the Revenge Motif in International Politics," *International Politics* 37 (September 2000): 345-68.

6. Ibid, 361.

7. Assaf Moghadam, "Palestinian Suicide Terrorism in the Second Intifada: Motivations and Organizational Aspects." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 26 (2003): 65-92.

8. Statistics on casualties come from two *Correlates of War* project data sets: The "Interstate War Participant" data set and the "Militarized interstate Dispute" data set. Both are available at <http://correlatesofwar.org/>.

9. Andrew J. Bacevich and Eliot A. Cohen, Eds., *War Over Kosovo* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); Benjamin S. Lambeth, *NATO's Air War for Kosovo* (Santa Monica: Rand, 2001); and Stephen T. Hosmer, *Why Milosevic Decided to Settle When He Did* (Santa Monica: Rand, 2001).

10. P.W. Singer has written extensively on this topic. His works include *Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry* (Cornel University Press 2004), "Peacekeepers, Inc." (in *Policy Review* 119, June-July 2003), "Outsourcing War" (in *Foreign Affairs* 84, March-April 2005), and "War, Profits, and the Vacuum of Law: Privatized Military Firms and International Law" (in the *Colombia Journal of Transnational Law* 2004).

11. It is important to note that this type of an encounter between U.S. and a private military firm has not happened yet. However, with the increasing utilization of these companies by so many countries, the chances are rising that U.S. forces will engage military contractors of a PMF in the foreseeable future.

12. Ward Thomas, "Victory by Duress: Civilian Infrastructure as a Target in Air Campaigns." *Security Studies* 15 (Jan-Mar 2006).

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A National Security Strategy for the NEXT ADMINISTRATION

Amitai Etzioni

A JULY 2008 REPORT laying out a "Framework for a 21st Century National Security Strategy," composed by a group of highly regarded foreign policy mavens, lifts the dialogue about post-Bush foreign policy to a new level. Instead of focusing on what must next be done on one or another specific front such as Iraq, Afghanistan, Iran, or China, the report lays out a set of broad principles to guide U.S. military and diplomatic policy. Better yet, the report fully realizes that no state has unlimited resources and leverage, and accordingly, it sets clear priorities. Most significantly, the report recognizes that security can and must be promoted in failing states and in dealing with rogue states *without first democratizing the regimes involved.*

Some of the report's authors (mainly Democrats) have served in key positions in previous administrations and some have been identified as advisers to the Obama campaign. I list them here in the same non-alphabetical order as the document: Anne-Marie Slaughter, Bruce W. Jentleson, Ivo H. Daalder, Antony J. Blinken (Majority Staff Director of the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations), Lael Brainard, Kurt M. Campbell, Michael A. McFaul, James C. O'Brien, Gayle E. Smith, and James B. Steinberg. The report also includes a brief foreword by Susan Rice, senior foreign policy advisor to the Obama campaign.

I cannot stress enough, that although a good part of what follows spells out different ways we may march forward, there is no doubt in my mind that the report points us very much in the right direction.

The Ending of U.S. Supremacy

An important underlying theme of the report is that the days of the United States as *the* leading global power are numbered. While the United States held a virtual monopoly on power at the end of World War II and then in a bi-polar world, in recent years it has faced a world marked by what the report refers to as a "diffusion of power," and what others have referred to as a "multi-polar" or even a "non–polar" world. The United States, the report argues, must now function in a world also marked by high and increasing levels of "interconnectedness," where no one is entitled to leadership; it must be earned.

To put it differently, because power is sectoral, the decline of American supremacy is uneven but fairly comprehensive. In some areas, and in nuclear capabilities in particular, U.S. capabilities remain unmatched. Yet for most exercises of power, nuclear weapons are not useful. Similarly, U.S. conventional forces remain the best and strongest in the world, but their relative

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PHOTO: View of the Statue of Liberty as seen from the water on the morning of 11 September 2001 with the World Trade Center towers in the New York skyline. (National Park Service)

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strength is not as obvious as it was at the end of World War II, especially in dealing with so-called non-state actors. U.S. economic and ideological power is much diminished. Moreover, there is no reason to expect these trends to reverse. On the contrary, as China's and, arguably, the EU's economic power increases, as still other nations accrue more economic and military power, and as non-state actors continue to threaten and wage asymmetrical warfare, the diffusion of power in several sectors is likely to further unfold.

We can draw two different conclusions from this observation: one, the U.S. will have to work more closely with existing and new potential allies and let others take the lead on some fronts. The other: it will have to rely more on international laws and international institutions such as the UN and even the International Criminal Court (ICC). (As has long been noted, playing by the rules is of greater interest to weak or weakening parties.) While urging that both approaches be followed, the report wisely leans towards pursuing a division of labor among allies (say, let the allies deal with the next Kosovo) and multilateralism than towards internationalism. Recent developments with North Korea, if they continue on course, support favoring this multi-national approach, although it has not worked so far in dealing with Iran. It is hence important to note that the report, though written by people considered progressive, explicitly recognizes that there are circumstances in which the U.S. will have to act unilaterally.

In reaction to the global criticism the United States has faced in recent years, amounting to what the report describes as "an historic nadir" of "America's international standing," much attention has been paid to the importance of regaining legitimacy. Some starry-eyed liberals believe that nations could gain security by being on the side of what people across the world consider just; by abiding by what international law, especially the Geneva Conventions, dictates; and by adhering to what the Security Council rules—a particularly odd notion given the very unrepresentative nature of the UN. (India and Lichtenstein, Germany and Grenada each have one vote in the General Assembly; Cuba, Saudi Arabia, and China are among those in charge of human rights; the composition of the Security Council is antiquated at best, and so on.) Most advocates of soft power—including the authors of this report—realize that it must be combined with hard power; a combination often referred to by the infelicitous, yet fashionable term, "smart power." While the report favors paying much more mind to legitimacy than the current administration has, the authors are clear that the U.S. will have to rely on its economic power, and, when push comes to shove, on military force. Soft power is good, but not good enough.

...much attention has been paid to the importance of regaining legitimacy... Most advocates of soft power—including the authors of this report—realize that it must be combined with hard power...

The report centers on the promotion of security, liberty, and prosperity. One might breeze past such a statement as merely rhetoric, echoing the Declaration of Independence. But, neither the founding fathers nor the authors of this report assembled these key goals in random order. Security is listed first—before liberty. This reflects a direct reversal of the key neocon precept that only democracies (best if prosperous, based on free markets) make reliable partners in peace. This precept provided the justification for forced regime change as an essential step toward security. Indeed, when it comes to the five top priorities set by this report, democracy building is not among them.

I may as well disclose my "bias." I tried to show elsewhere in some detail (*Security First,* Yale, 2007) that (a) the right to live is more basic than all others, as all others are contingent on security; in plain English, dead people have few rights; and (b) when people lack basic security, whether in Baghdad

... when it comes to the five top priorities set by this report, democracy building is not among them.

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(2004–7), in Moscow (early 1990s), or in the U.S. (when violent crime was high, and in the months following 9/11), most people are all too willing to trade liberty for security. Only once security is reasonably secured do people become keen to have their legal and political rights respected. (Note that in the most often cited cases of successful democracy building, Germany and Japan after World War II, democracy building took place after hostilities ceased).

The report does not deal with the question of how the primacy of security over political and economic development should influence the approach to the Muslim world by the United States and its allies. As long as the West makes the litmus test for who is a "good" Muslim based on whether he or she favors a secular, liberal democracy and the full plethora of human rights, the West will continue to define most Muslims as part of the opposition with which we must vie. If instead the West uses as its first litmus test the rejection of terrorism and a willingness to forego WMD, it will find that most Muslims—including those in the biggest nations such as Indonesia and Bangladesh—are on its side. They can be partners in peace, working with us against the small violent minorities among their ranks.

Libya is a small but telling case in point. One of the greatest successes of the Bush Administration has been to lead Libya to give up its support for terrorism and cough up its program of WMD (not merely open its facilities to inspection). In response, the administration wisely allowed Libya to emerge from isolation and sanctions, despite the fact that it has barely begun to reform its authoritarian regime. Such reforms can now be promoted as a second stage. In short, putting security first, no regime change required up front, can work well. This approach is now being tried in dealing with North Korea, and should be with Iran.

Setting Priorities

There is one other crucial conclusion that a diffuse world points to, one that held true even under earlier circumstances but holds true ever more strongly under current ones: setting priorities is essential. Anyone who has read about the U.S.'s confused dealings with North Korea in *Meltdown* by Mike Chinoy, or about the chaos in dealing with post-war Iraq in *Bad Days in Basra* by Hilary Synnott, or *Imperial Life in the Emerald City* by Rajiv Chandrasekaran will have a vivid sense of why setting such priorities is necessary. The setting of clear priorities, and the choices made in the process, is the major contribution of this report. One naturally has some questions about the way each of these is spelled out—as well as a considerable number of kudos. I will review them in the order they are laid out by the authors.

Prevent catastrophic terrorism. The report not only grants security its due (rather than considering it what social scientists call "a dependent variable"), but also sets clear and appropriate priorities among the various security measures that must be undertaken, as not all of them can be delivered in short order. It defines preventing catastrophic terrorism (namely, WMD terrorism) as the highest priority. (The report does not differentiate among WMD. Actually, nuclear weapons and some biological agents are much more threatening than chemical and radiological arms.) Several sound measures are listed to advance this goal, such as preventing terrorists from gaining access to nuclear bombs and the material from which they can be made, reaching terrorists before they reach us, disturbing their financing and training, and improving our collection and processing of intelligence.

Regrettably, the report repeats—in this context and elsewhere—the very widely held notion that socioeconomic development can help prevent terrorism, especially by curtailing the sea in which terrorists "swim," the sympathizers. However, there is very scant data to show that socioeconomic development turns sympathizers against terrorists, especially when religious or nationalistic motives are involved. For instance, there are more sympathizers in Iran, Iraq, and Palestine than in poorer countries in sub-Saharan Africa.

Even if socioeconomic development were a viable security tool, the U.S. and its allies still could not do much to develop the many nations whose governments are deeply corrupted, wasteful, and

... there is very scant data to show that socioeconomic development turns sympathizers against terrorists...

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poorly managed. The West has been unable to turn around even small countries like Haiti and East Timor. Larger ones pose far greater challenges, as is all too evident in Afghanistan. I am all in favor of helping others—those who go hungry, who are ill or abused—out of humanitarian, moral reasons. However, framing such efforts as security building, admittedly a common practice, may not seem credible to many Americans. Preventing terrorism, especially of a catastrophic nature, is mainly a job for security forces, backed up by diplomacy.

Curb nuclear proliferation. Listing non-proliferation as the second priority for a new national security strategy is of great merit. The more nations that acquire nuclear arms, the more likely nuclear war becomes. The fact that the U.S. and USSR came close to nuclear blows on several occasions suggests that one cannot rely (as some have suggested) on the "rationality" of the actors to restrain themselves and deter one another. Israel reportedly has come close to using its nuclear arms when its defense minister believed the country was overrun. One can hardly presume that the messianic religious leaders of Iran will not seek to wipe out Israel—or attack Saudi Arabia, and even the United States—if they acquired nukes and long range missiles.

Regrettably, the report embraces an idea that has been recently championed by four senior and influential statesmen (George Schultz, William Perry, Henry Kissinger, and Sam Nunn). These statesmen argue that the way to proceed is for the United States and Russia to significantly cut their nuclear stockpiles. Such cuts, they assume, will generate sufficient political capital to propel other nations to give up their arsenals or to prevent them from acquiring any. In the same vein, the report calls for the United States to "reaffirm the vision of a world free of nuclear weapons," suggesting that the America "start by reducing nuclear force levels to 1,000 weapons, provided Russia does likewise."

At best, it might take the next administration years to reach such an agreement with Russia, and even more years to implement the cut. Meanwhile, nuclear hot spots would be left simmering. The possibility of the Taliban acquiring a Pakistani nuclear weapon poses a serious danger that must be dealt with in the near future. The Cooperative Threat Reduction Initiative must be accelerated to reduce the danger of loose nukes and the material from which they can be made in Russia and the former Soviet states. Even the Global Threat Reduction Initiative, which deals with reactors and fissile materials in the third world, ought to be accorded a higher priority than dealing with the stockpiles of the superpowers.

Even if the U.S. and Russia cut their arsenals in the near future, other nations are unlikely to follow. Pakistan, for instance, which relies on nuclear arms to counterbalance the much larger Indian conventional force, *might* be persuaded to give them up if the Kashmir territorial dispute was somehow resolved, and if UN peacekeepers were in place to secure the new border (and of course if India did the same); but not because of what the United States and Russia do or don't do with their nukes. The same holds for Israel and Iran.

The other measures the report lists in service of non-proliferation are highly commendable, albeit not necessarily attainable. These include: negotiating an end to the production of weapons grade nuclear materials; a five-year global moratorium on the construction of all fissile material production facilities; establishing an international fuel bank for fissile materials under multinational control; and securing



U.S. Navy, Mass Communication Specialist 1st Class Chad J. McNeeley

Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Navy Admiral Mike Mullen converse prior to testifying before the House Armed Services Committee regarding the security and stability of Afghanistan during a hearing in Washington, D.C., 11 December 2007.

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universal ratification of the nuclear test ban treaty. So far, there are next to no indications that most nations that seek to enrich uranium are willing to rely on foreign suppliers or that the nations which have yet to sign the test ban treaty are inclined to do so now.

Importantly, the report goes way beyond the concept on which the non-proliferation treaty (NPT) rests without ever stating so. Rather than allowing countries to build dual-use nuclear facilities, and then relying on inspections to ensure that they are not used for military purposes (as the NPT permits), we need—at least the way I see it—to move to a world in which nations forgo the use of highly enriched uranium which is close to weapons grade. And, rather than allowing nations to quit the NPT after brief notice and take with them their dual-use nuclear facilities, we need a world in which nations do not have such facilities. Much can be done on this front, correctly highlighted as very important by the report, but it needs to be done without awaiting a Russia-United States nuclear arms reduction deal.

Climate and oil? The weakest part of the report combines the very popular notion of climate improvement with the need for reducing U.S. dependency on imported oil. Despite some claims to the contrary, climate improvement, however desirable, is not a pressing national security issue for the United States. Moreover, progress on this front is particularly hard to come by. As the report duly notes, whatever the United States and its allies do in this realm is most likely to be more than offset by damage to the climate from China and India and other emerging economies. At best, climate improvement is a very slow and costly process.

In contrast, a serious disruption in the supply of oil from other nations would pose a very serious and immediate threat to the United States economically, and even militarily. (The German counteroffensive in World War II stopped dead in its tracks when the tanks ran out of fuel.) Even without such a supply disruption, American import of oil at current prices amounts to a major wealth transfer that enriches its adversaries and helps finance their misadventures. The weekly oil bill from Iran exceeds whatever annual damage sanctions cause to this rogue nation. Venezuela and Russia are also emboldened.

The report lists several very sound measures that can be undertaken to reduce U.S. dependency on oil, including encouraging innovation and competitiveness in the energy sector and setting new standards for efficiency in automobiles and the electricity industry. To this list, I would add a twenty-dollar tax on every imported barrel of oil. Even if half the revenue from such a tax were dedicated to reducing the deficit and only the other half to equipping every public building (e.g., jails, schools, hospitals, military bases, etc.) with solar panels and other "greening" measures (such as improved insulation), this would cut consumption drastically and, above all, quickly. Better yet, the funds might be made available only to municipalities that provide dedicated lanes to busses and passenger vans. Throwing in higher Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) standards, accelerated approval of nuclear plants, rededication of the highway trust fund to public transportation, and, yes, allowing for some careful and well-regulated, environmentally sound off-shore drilling, would further enhance our security while also contributing to improving the climate. In short, reducing our dependency on foreign oil is indeed a top security priority, but climate improvement, which might be highly desirable for all kinds of reasons, is hard to defend as a high priority national security issue, and its treatment is particularly challenging.

Throwing in higher CAFE standards, accelerated approval of nuclear plants, rededication of the highway trust fund to public transportation, and, yes, allowing for some careful and well-regulated, environmentally sound off-shore drilling, would further enhance our security...

Middle East: bite the bullet? The report favors a drawdown in Iraq, and hopes that it would lead to political stabilization. At the same time, it stresses the importance of ensuring that Iraq not become a haven for terrorists. Yet, it is not clear that these two goals are reconcilable if the United States and its allies' forces are withdrawn in the near future.

With regard to Iran, the report favors using diplomatic and economic carrots and sticks. It strongly

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implies that, although a military option ought to be considered, it is a very poor choice. And the report calls for intensifying the efforts to solve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. All represent worthy but elusive goals. There are no big novel ideas (what about the Mediterranean Union, promoted by Sarkozy?) and no biting of the bullet with regard to Iran.

The report avoids the mistaken notion that the road to peace in the Middle East leads through Jerusalem, that resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict would magically turn the "Arab street" in the U.S.'s favor. However, it seems not to realize that the road to losing the Middle East leads through Tehran, that if the U.S. lets Iran become a nuclear power, thus the Middle East superpower, all bets are off.

Thus, this priority is also well placed, although there is room to differ on the ways it is best advanced.

The report avoids the mistaken notion that the road to peace in the Middle East leads through Jerusalem, that resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict would magically turn the "Arab street" in the U.S.'s favor.

East Asia: new tigers? The report calls for integrating China and India into a "cooperative global liberal order" for them to remain vibrant and open economies and become members in good standing of regional and global institutions. At the same time, the United States ought to prepare for the possibility that internal developments in China, over which the U.S. has no control, will lead it to become more of an adversary, not just economically but also militarily.

I am unqualified to comment on East Asia, as I am unfamiliar with the region and with writings and reports on that part of the world. (In contrast, I lived for 21 years in the Middle East and spent two and half of those years fighting.) However, my sociological instincts warn me against linear projections. It is far from obvious to me that China will continue to grow at anything near its current rate or that it will be able to avoid the internal turmoil that results from economic and technological changes already in place. It might well be wise to follow the caution expressed in the report—to be safe rather than sorry, and to be prepared for the worst—but, as the report does recognize, it seems too early to sound the alarm regarding China.

The Wrong Public Diplomacy

Major segments of the paper are devoted to soaring rhetoric, which many believe such documents need in order to inspire the public. Thus, the report calls on the United States to "stand up to tyranny, inequality and injustice" and "help [other nations] regain their power and prosperity as members of a spreading zone of liberty and peace." The United States must "work to widen the circle of winners at home and abroad." The report stresses that "in the American tradition, security goes hand in hand with liberty—for Americans and for all peoples." What can one say?

Even when it was the only superpower, when its economy was in a much better shape than it currently is and its military was not overstretched, the U.S. was unable to deliver on any of these goals, let alone on such a demanding list. Inequality is growing in the United States, and it is far from clear which policies could curtail it *and* win the voters' support. (For instance, raising taxes on the richest may be a good and fair idea, but the record shows it does not do much to decrease inequality because the super-rich find ways to circumvent such new taxes, and their income keeps rising.) Presumably, the West would have a hard time urging others, say Russia, to curb their rapidly rising inequality if the United States and its allies do not know how to do it themselves. Moreover, a case can be made that as long as all boats rise, and some will rise more than others will, this is a morally acceptable development.

Standing up to tyranny is surely a very worthy idea, but the United States has not found a way to curb the abusive regimes in places such as Burma and Zimbabwe, or even—what I consider a very basic, minimalist humanitarian goal—to stop the genocides in the Congo and Sudan. When the United States sought to promote democracy in Egypt and Saudi Arabia, it got cold feet after Hamas won the election in the West Bank and in Gaza.

If public diplomacy is going to pay homage to such lofty goals with little reality to back them up, a jaded public (quick to note when nations do not

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deliver on what they promise) will dismiss it. If you favor democracy, people across the world will wonder about your support for Saudi Arabia and Egypt. Did the CIA not train the police in brutal interrogation methods all over Latin America? And so on. Soon the public becomes first disenchanted and then resentful.

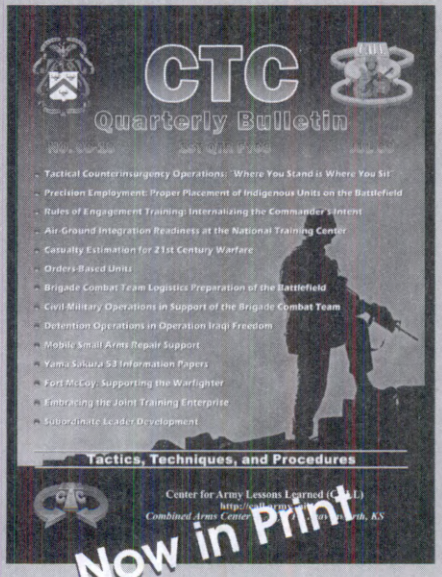
One cannot but wonder whether the time has come for the United States and its allies to frame their public diplomacy in the same terms in which some hold we should address our own disadvantaged citizens: we shall give you a hand up, but you must do your share. If you do not curb corruption, cease to support predatory government, change behaviors that lead to the spread of HIV, allow girls to be educated and all children to learn to think critically—we cannot and will not do the job for you. We should warn all concerned that the road to democracy and prosperity is a long one, which we will walk with them one step at a time, but one must expect setbacks and circumstances under which we will be unable to proceed. Above all, we ought to put ourselves in a position where we shall deliver more than we promise, and exceed expectations rather than so often disappoint.

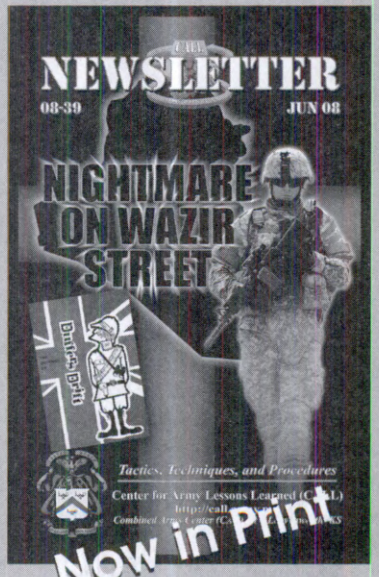
The report lifts the dialogue about which security policies the next administration should follow to a higher level, and above all, to the needed scope. It sets priorities that make sense, at least to this observer, and it leaves ample room to re-specify, sharpen, and modify the agenda to which these priorities point. ***MR***

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FINDING THE FLOW

Shadow Economies, Ethnic Networks, and Counterinsurgency



Captain Robert M. Chamberlain, U.S. Army

OFTEN PORTRAYED as Iraq's shining "City on the Hill," Tal Afar is the place where coalition and Iraqi forces successfully implemented a "Clear, Hold, Build" strategy and got things moving in the right direction again. In some areas of Tal Afar, markets bustle, children play, and Iraqi Security Forces (ISF) mingle with the local population. Yet nearby are endless rows of empty stalls, abandoned houses, and the scars of war. The Sunni population is gone, but not forgotten. It launches mortars, rockets, and massive truck bombs against the Shi'a community. The Tal Afar mayor's office has embarked on an ambitious project to entice Sunnis back to the city in the belief that if Tal Afar achieves the ethnic balance it had before the war, sectarian tensions will dissipate. But is this true? Does reuniting Iraq's religious communities represent the best hope for the fledgling democracy, or is it a hopeless quest to turn back the clock?

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PHOTO: Tal Afar, Iraq with castle in the background, 2005. (U.S. Army)

The Only Constant is Change

Many refer to Iraq as a society that is "thousands of years old" and point to the millennia of human habitation in the Euphrates river valley to explain away contemporary politics. However, Iraq is not thousands of years old, and Iraqi society has changed considerably over the past century. In 1908, Baghdad had a population of approximately 150,000.[1] The population today is about 5.7 million.[2] That's the equivalent of the population of Topeka, Kansas, growing to be the size of Miami/Dade County, Florida, in a century, with an independence movement, a couple of revolutions, three massive foreign wars, and a decade's worth of economic sanctions thrown in for good measure. Moreover, according to scholar Yitzhak Nakash, "there is no evidence

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that would suggest that the Shi'a were ever close to being a majority of the population in Iraq before the 19th or even the 20th century."[3] Iraq's architecture may look timeless, but in fact, many of the cities in Iraq are of relatively recent vintage. Nasariya, for instance, only grew into its current manifestation "in the latter part of the [20th] century."[4] Iraq is moving from a Sunni nomadic culture to a culture of educated Sunni elites ruling over rural Shi'ites, to a multi-ethnic modern urban democracy. Violent contests over tribal, religious, and ethnic identity have accompanied political changes. Current societal divisions cannot be attributed to mythical conflicts in eons past; they stem from relatively contemporary political and economic contests.

For us to understand the alienation of the Sunni Tal Afar community, we must remember the former privileges it enjoyed. Ahmed Hashim suggests that most insurgents are Sunnis who used to be among Iraq's elite and found themselves jobless and humiliated after the U.S. invasion: "Many of [Tal Afar's] able-bodied men from the Sunni and the Shi'a tribes, but especially the former, joined the armed forces, security and intelligence services, and the Ba'ath Party in significant numbers. A considerable number of Turkmen NCOs and senior officers returned to the city either as veterans or as purged personnel after having served in Iraq's three ruinous wars."[5] They took part in a brutal Salafist occupation that the 3rd Armored Calvary Regiment (ACR) defeated decisively in a battle that fundamentally altered the city in 2005. Shi'as now dominate a community that was formerly 70 percent Sunni. Shi'as made up 98 percent of the applicant pool in a July 2007 recruiting drive for the local police. The Sunnis moved to nearby villages and sought shelter with families and tribes, but they still think of Tal Afar as "their" city.

Follow the Money

Social divisions drive the violence in Tal Afar. To understand this, look at Tal Afar's markets and supply chains and how people live—specifically, how they feed, clothe, and house themselves. In the West, society operates on the assumption that "business is never personal." Consumers try to find the cheapest and most convenient way to purchase the goods they want, and it doesn't really matter who's selling them or how they got there. By contrast, in Tal Afar, business is *always* personal. Business ties exist alongside and are a part of family connections, political affiliations, and ethnic kinships. Markets "belong" to a particular group, and the group's capacity for violence underwrites the safety of its supply chain.

One of the easiest ways to gauge the health and relative power of a community is to explore and understand its markets. A drive around Tal Afar is revealing in that regard. The southern half of town is predominately Shi'a. Its markets are thriving. Shops radiate outward from the gas station, and sell a wide variety of consumer goods—not only staples like food, clothing, and construction materials but also jewelry, appliances, and car parts. The shops appear to be heavily trafficked, and pedestrians dart back and forth between the cars that line the sides of the road.

However, as you drive north you cross an invisible line, and suddenly all signs of human activity disappear. There could be no starker indication of the success of one community and the hardships of another. Dozens of shop fronts still line the streets, but instead of colorful displays and bustling shoppers, a line of closed blue garage doors runs for blocks, each door identical to the next one except for the battle damage that marks it. Shop signs hang pointlessly overhead as a reminder that this was once a place where people worked and thrived.

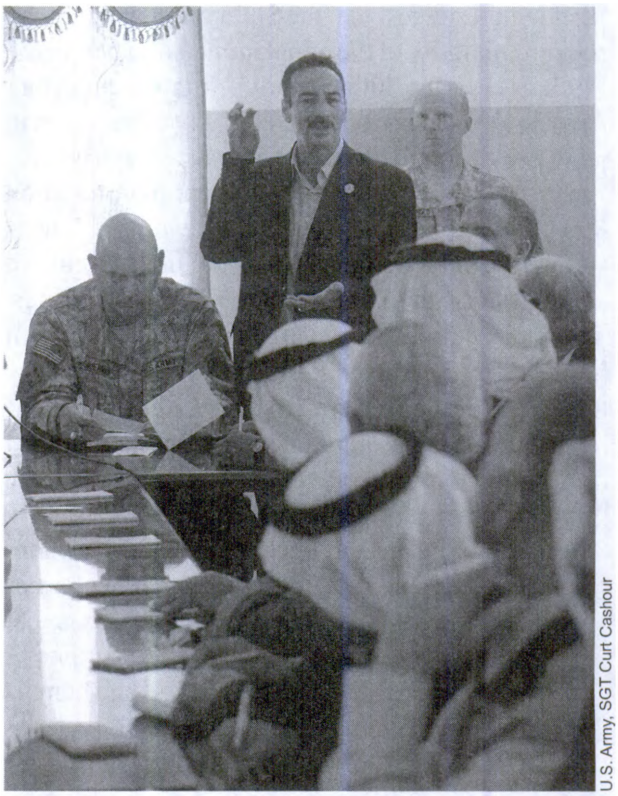
However, the relationship between sectarian conflict and economics goes deeper than the health of local markets. In the words of Carolyn Nordstrom, you have to look beyond "place" and look at "flows." The local market is embedded in a web of loyalties and identities.[6] If everyone in the local market imports goods from the same merchant, the merchant is likely a well-informed and influential member of the community and affiliated with a political party, tribe, or insurgent organization that offers protection as his goods move to the local markets and money moves back to him—or he might be a political, military, or insurgent leader with business interests on the side.

Current societal divisions cannot be attributed to mythical conflicts in eons past; they stem from relatively contemporary political and economic contests.

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On the other hand, local shops may only buy goods from merchants within their tribal or political networks. If this is so, there is no pre-eminent merchant supplying the market, and everyone uses shared resources (like roads, cell phone towers, or an electric grid) to generate income. Or perhaps the Shi'a and Sunni communities are really so estranged that even though they exist side by side, invisible boundaries separate them.

In Tal Afar and the surrounding area, Shi'as and-Sunnis use different supply chains. When the Sunnis fled, they resettled to the east, along tribal and kinship lines to villages on the highway between Tal Afar and Mosul, and to the west, along the highway to Syria. They built new shops and enhanced the business of old ones. Most goods Sunni retailers sell come from Mosul (or the smuggling networks that flow from the Syrian border). By contrast, Shi'a merchants do not shop in Mosul; they go to Dohuk or other Kurdish cities. Iraqi Turkmen Front, a Sunni political organization, has even placed a trade embargo on Tal Afar and set up its own checkpoints to prevent the free flow of goods into the city. The Sunni and Shi'a communities are separate, self-contained universes, where commerce enriches only one side or the other.



U.S. Army, SGT Curt Cashour

The Tal Afar mayor addresses local sheikhs as LTG Ray Odierno, commander of Multi-National Corps-Iraq, checks his notes during a meeting at the city's government center, 1 April 2007, in Tal Afar, Iraq.

Separate but Equal?

The political leaders of Tal Afar understand the seriousness of the situation and are trying to entice Sunni families back to the city to reinvigorate their markets. The mayor and Iraqi brigade commander have broadcast an appeal to the Sunnis who left, and they meet regularly with Sunni sheiks, scrupulously enforce Sunni-Shi'a parity in micro-loan programs, and actively try to recruit local Sunnis into the Iraqi Police (albeit with limited success so far). The provincial government has released millions of dollars in funds for infrastructure repairs and improvements in roads, water, electricity, and other public services. All this is in accordance with U.S. counterinsurgency doctrine.

Even so, Tal Afar remains the target of massive truck-borne IED attacks on such facilities as power stations, gas stations, and Shi'a markets. Some believe the violence is the work of outsiders trying to undermine the Iraqi government and coalition forces.

The Sunnis believe that they have no stake in Tal Afar and regard city improvements as support for the Shi'as from their patrons in Baghdad. The Shi'as can use additional fuel or power capacity to expand their dominance. The concentration of funds for reconstruction and services to be used in Tal Afar to the exclusion of the Sunni communities along the highway reinforces this perception. The coalition says its goal is to get Sunnis to move back to Tal Afar, not to make them more comfortable in their "shantytowns". However, this approach contributes to Sunni disaffection and support for attacks against the Shi'as. Every project enriches the Shi'a in Tal Afar and the Shi'a do not share their wealth.

Should we focus on reintegrating communities or on facilitating peaceful coexistence? The International Organization for Migration reports that the Iraqis' move "from religiously and ethnically mixed communities to homogenous communities" will have "long-lasting political, social, and economic impacts."[7] Post-invasion, post-Samarra Iraq is undergoing social reorganization as it searches for a post-Saddam identity. Ideally, that identity would embrace political pluralism, religious tolerance, a commitment to the rule of law, and

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democratic governance. But, in reality, none of this might happen.

Secular, educated, and affluent Iraqis have fled the country in droves, leaving behind a population ripe for sectarian mobilization. This situation presents a serious challenge to coalition forces. If the coalition focuses on reintegration despite popular sentiment against it, either the Sunnis or Shi'as will misread the effort and add fuel to the cycle of violence. On the other hand, distributing resources along tribal and religious lines only reinforces the primacy of these irrational affiliations.

If your sheik or imam is your representative to the government and the coalition, then obedience to his authority becomes pretty important and your elected representative is a fairly insignificant leader by comparison. Thus, the widely held belief that Iraq is nothing but a quasi-democratic tribal confederation that uses government officials to distribute patronage becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Principles and Insights

A growing body of work suggests that civil conflicts end when economic elites believe they can make more money from peace than from war.[8] For example, opposing forces in Africa work in close proximity in an uneasy truce, because skirmishing disrupts business and is not worth the limited gains it brings. Unfortunately, the presence of primary resources (like oil) to export, a large quantity of young men, and easy access to cheap, durable weapons make this unlikely.[9] A totally peaceful Iraq may be a long, long way off.

Still, economic analysis offers insights to help resolve local conflicts:

Principle 1: Business is always personal. This means that not only do you have to go to the markets to assess the markets' health, but also you have to figure out to whom the markets "belong." If 80 percent of the markets in an area are thriving, but they are all Shi'a, then the Sunni minority is likely to keep conducting attacks in the area until its own business returns.

Principle 2: Think "flow," not "place." Mapping the supply chains that feed local markets is critical to understanding the power relationships in your area, developing your area of interest, and identifying key leaders. Don't just count the goods in the market. Understand how the goods get to the market.

A growing body of work suggests that civil conflicts end when economic elites believe they can make more money from peace than from war.

Principle 3: Everybody wins. Spread civic improvements evenly. They lift the economic vitality of an area. Doling out projects that benefit communities separately encourages one community to attack the other one, lest it accrue too much power. Projects should extend into insurgent enclaves and benefit the whole area. This creates collective ownership of public resources—and undermines the insurgent narrative of alienation. If everybody is getting power from the new substation, everybody has an interest in protecting it.

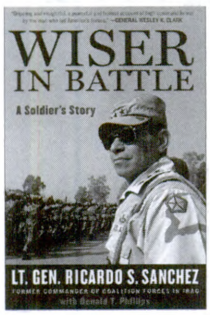
Principle 4: Make war bad for business. If a market belongs to a tribal sheik and the tribe buys goods from its kin near the border, then anything that threatens the flow of goods from the border to the market takes money out of the sheik's pocket. This includes coalition vehicle searches and interdiction of smugglers as well as enemy IED attacks. Require the sheik to personally vouch for cargo trucks delivering goods to market because he has a relationship with both wholesale and retail merchants. Align your interests with the local merchant's and the local population's interests.

The war in Iraq remains difficult, dangerous, and unpredictable, but adhering to the principles above can help commanders understand the communities surrounding them. A wise, market-conscious counterinsurgent can help build a local peace after years of war. ***MR***

NOTES

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WISER IN BATTLE: A Soldier's Story, Ricardo S. Sanchez with Donald T. Phillips, HarperCollins, New York, 2008, 494 pages, $26.95.

Featured Reviews

America's experience in Iraq has inspired dozens of contemporary histories, many critical of the decisions made by American leaders in the days and weeks after Baghdad fell. With his autobiography, *Wiser in Battle*, retired Lieutenant General Ricardo Sanchez now adds his perspective to the collection.

Four years after he relinquished command of coalition forces in Iraq, Sanchez remains a controversial figure. A steady performer with considerable experience in joint staff assignments, Sanchez was commanding the 1st Armored Division in April 2003 when Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld handpicked him to command V Corps in Iraq. Coalition forces had just occupied Baghdad, and the Pentagon was already planning the withdrawal of American ground forces.

Iraqi cities descended into lawlessness, the White House appointed career diplomat L. Paul Bremer III to establish the Coalition Provisional Authority to rebuild Iraq as a free-market democracy. After President George Bush announced the conclusion of all "major combat operations" on 1 May 2003, the U.S. military began redeploying from Iraq. Lieutenant General David McKiernan and the "dream team" of senior American officers who had run the war departed, leaving Sanchez, the Army's youngest and newest three-star general, commanding not only his own corps but also all coalition ground forces in Iraq.

By most published accounts, including his own, Sanchez inherited a no-win situation. Senior policy makers in Washington showed little interest in Iraq's social problems, instead focusing on mopping up Ba'athist dead-enders and finding Saddam's weapons of mass destruction. To his credit, Sanchez spent the next 13 months fighting to establish security and rebuild Iraqi infrastructure while struggling with Bremer and senior Pentagon officials to obtain the manpower and money necessary to do so. During his tenure, however, coalition forces conducted an often heavy-handed occupation marked by major blunders at Abu Ghraib and Fallujah. By most measures, the coalition's first year in Iraq was a failure.

Spoiler alert: don't blame Sanchez. While he concedes some mistakes, Sanchez argues convincingly that his best efforts were stymied by a well intentioned but misguided Coalition Provisional Authority, by a lack of support from Army and Pentagon headquarters, and by conflicting political priorities at the White House. These obstacles have been widely reported in other publications, and Sanchez does not dwell on them.

Instead, he focuses on his own thoughts and actions as he navigates from crisis to crisis, and the book's primary value derives from this account. As commander of coalition forces, Sanchez interacted on a daily basis with senior officials in Washington and junior leaders in Iraq. That unique, albeit tenuous, position allows Sanchez to convincingly describe sniper fire in Najaf on one page and cheap shots in Congress on the next. The book also provides Sanchez's own version of the controversial events surrounding the prisoner abuse scandal at Abu Ghraib, along with his response to three official investigations of the incident. Sanchez's most intriguing contribution, however, may be his description of conversations with nearly every senior American official involved with Iraq, including the president, Rumsfeld, Bremer, General Tommy Franks, and General John Abizaid.

The book is not, however, without significant flaws. The first of these is the decision to devote half of the book recounting Sanchez's life story, starting with his impoverished childhood along the Rio Grande River and progressing through his education and military career. This lengthy and often tedius account portrays Sanchez as a competent officer whose career owed at least some debt to the mentorship of several influential senior leaders.

Additionally, the author insists on drawing important lessons from every anecdote. Recounting his first tour of duty as an Army officer, for example, Sanchez presents a laundry list of valuable observations that presumably shaped his future decisions. Later, during the first Gulf War, Sanchez speaks with a group of Iraqi soldiers captured by his unit: "That conversation proved to me the need to be ruthless in battle, but benevolent in victory . . . once victory is achieved, we must take care of our prisoners and treat them with dignity and respect." These reflections suggest a gratuitous *a priori* defense of the conditions leading to the Abu Ghraib scandal, implying that because he knew better, Sanchez could never have sanctioned such misconduct.

Finally, Sanchez's account of his nomination for a fourth star does more harm than good to his reputation. Regardless of whether Sanchez deserved the promotion senior officials promised him, the Administration's decision to withhold that nomination now appears to have been a calculated political move heavily influenced by the impending 2004 election. Some readers may find, however, that the tone of this account implies a disturbing sense of entitlement.

Despite these drawbacks, Sanchez's memoir constitutes a credible

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and important contribution to the history of the war in Iraq. He presents a convincing argument that he accomplished as much as could be expected given the many challenges he inherited. One finishes this account wondering whether a Pershing, Eisenhower, or Marshall would have fared any better given the same conditions. This autobiography will hardly be the last word on the subject.

LTC Bill Latham, USA, Retired, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas



BAGHDAD AT SUNRISE: A Brigade Commander's War in Iraq, Peter R. Mansoor, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 2008, 365 pages, $28.00.

Memoirs written by Soldiers are usually either self-serving and badly written or merely self-serving. Occasionally, some efforts transcend these two broad categories. Ulysses S. Grant and Porter Alexander are two whose civil war memoirs are readable and consequently still read. Winston Churchill's recollections are well told stories. Dwight Eisenhower's *Crusade in Europe* is good and *At Ease* is very good.

Today, another Soldier-author is on the scene. Arriving in May 2003, while "victory" lingered in the air, Colonel Peter Mansoor assumed command of the Ready First Combat Team (1st Brigade, 1st Armored Division) in Iraq. *Baghdad at Sunrise* chronicles his time in command of the Ready First Combat Team in Iraq. *Baghdad at Sunrise* is both good literature and good history, and thus Mansoor's memoir merits mention in the same paragraph as those of Grant, Alexander, Churchill, and Eisenhower.

Mansoor, already the winner of a Society of Military History award for *GI Offensive: The Triumph of American Infantry Divisions, 1941-1945,* should be in the hunt for an award for *Baghdad at Sunrise* as well. His style is crisp, clear, and understated. Mansoor's matter-of-fact account does not resort to complaints about his leaders or his subordinates, a circumstance that may initially spur suspicion, since no one seems to write anything other than "kiss and tell" narratives these days. Surprisingly, Mansoor carries this off well by telling what he knew and not what he believed then or now. His training as a historian and his inherent circumspection are evident. He tells his story from his viewpoint without judging others in the absence of unimpeachable evidence, and even then, lets the reader draw his own conclusions.

Baghdad at Sunrise presents a panoramic view of one brigade's fight as seen from the top. The isolation of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) and to some extent the next higher headquarters' staff influenced how the CPA and the coalition military chain of command interpreted the fight. He clearly but dispassionately illuminates the complexity of problems ranging from sorting out local power networks to obtaining money for mission-critical infrastructure investment while fighting the enemy.

Mansoor admits he made mistakes in misinterpreting events or allowing himself to be misled by Iraqis using him and his troops against their rivals. He makes no claim of prescience in seeing that the transition would fail, but does seem to subscribe to the "end of history" view regarding the nature of warfare. He describes big battles in which his tanks played decisive roles, while musing on the irony that his first big operation as tank brigade commander involved no tanks. (This may be because the current taxonomy of warfare parses combat operations with unhelpful terms that suggest big fights will not occur in the future.)

Mansoor suggests that no one will fight the United States conventionally and most operations will be counterinsurgency operations, but he should also acknowledge that we cannot win a counterinsurgency by "unconventional" means alone. He may be right about the future of warfare, but why would the U.S. concede any advantage in the conventional realm when doing so invites challenges? He claims the U.S. will have to wage more fights like those in Afghanistan and Iraq, but his implication that the U.S. should optimize for counterinsurgency is not convincing. The tanks Mansoor used with great effect in 2003-2004 were old even then, and we are likely to need them well into the future. Why not build and train "general purpose" forces to fight major combat operations *and* conduct stability operations? The two types of conflict have common attributes. General-purpose forces, by definition, are able to fight along the spectrum from major combat operations to stability operations. Moreover organizing the army around brigade combat teams facilitates building general purpose forces that with some task organization can operate anywhere on the continuum of military operations. Perhaps, our decades-long focus on the Soviet Union has diminished our capacity to understand the operational environment in useful theoretical terms.

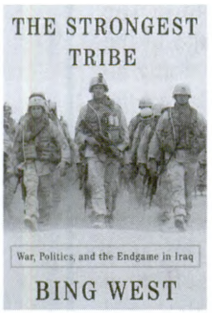
These small criticisms aside, *Baghdad at Sunrise* suggests that Peter Mansoor is a proven historian and a proven Soldier who will further develop the ideas he has so thoughtfully introduced here. As the General Raymond Mason Chair of Military History at Ohio State University, he has the bully pulpit and the opportunity to do so. We have not heard the last from Peter Mansoor; hopefully, there will be much more of his work to consider.

COL Gregory Fontenot, USA, Retired, Lansing, Kansas

THE STRONGEST TRIBE: War, Politics, and the Endgame in Iraq, Bing West, Random House, New York, 2008, 411 pages, $28.00.

The publication of Bing West's historical and political treatise, *The Strongest Tribe: War, Politics, and the Endgame in Iraq,* comes at an opportune time, as the presidential election draws near. A

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well-respected author, journalist, and former assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs during the Reagan administration, West effectively argues that the United States is prevailing on the battlefield. He posits that this fact sets conditions for our next president's political choice of staying the course in Iraq or pulling out.

West provides the reader with an understanding of the early inertia in Iraq after the invasion, the broad changes occurring since 2006, and the impetus behind those events. He combines eye-witness accounts at the tactical level with access to officials at the highest levels and expansive research to provide substantial foundation for his arguments. West's extensive travels throughout Iraq between 2004 and 2008 enable him to effectively compare progress in a particular area over time and grasp the causes and effects.

West emphasizes how ineffectual strategic decision-making hampered our military efforts, highlights coalition force frustrations with the sectarian-minded Iraqi government and security forces, and lauds the incredible spirit, professionalism, and determination of the American military. He discusses strategic and operational context and their efforts and obstacles at the tactical level. He examines how political and strategic decisions by our senior government and military leaders led to mistakes and lost opportunities to prevent or mitigate the rise of the insurgency. West describes how our Soldiers and Marines are successfully applying counterinsurgency principles to regain the support of Iraqis and sustain military momentum. He also illustrates how, with a fresh strategy and energized leaders, the military surge leveraged the Anbar Awakening to turn the tide of conflict and set conditions for a political decision in Iraq. He underscores how these U.S. military efforts are succeeding even though a sectarian-based Iraqi government and police force are inhibiting efforts towards stability and national reconciliation.

However, despite well-researched material and relevant content, the author's style of writing detracts from his argument and leaves the reader confused at times. While the book follows a rough chronological sequence, the author indiscriminately jumps back and forth in time and between topics, resulting in disjointed discussions. Pointed comments and assertions clearly demonstrate a bias against early U.S. leaders such as Ambassador Paul Bremer, General John Abizaid, and retired Lieutenant General Ricardo Sanchez, among others. Conversely, he generously praises Stephen Hadley, Ambassador Ryan Crocker, General David Petraeus, Lieutenant General Raymond Odierno, and the "American ground warriors," in devising and executing the surge strategy.

Nonetheless, I recommend this book to the defense community. The author provides the reader with a compelling view of military success in Iraq and a framework for deciding whether we should stay the course in Iraq or not. *The Strongest Tribe: War, Politics, and the Endgame in Iraq* is well worth adding to a professional's library.

MAJ(P) Greg Penfield, USA,
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

LOOKING FOR TROUBLE: Adventures in a Broken World, Ralph Peters, Stackpole Books, Mechanicsburg, PA, 2008, 339 pages, $27.95.

Those familiar with Ralph Peters' work would not expect his new book *Looking for Trouble* to fall into the travel/current affairs category, but that is where his publisher places it. A more precise definition would be memoir. This collection of Peters' travels from the early to mid-90s chronicles a few of his many travel adventures and shares some of his "you-won't-believe-this" stories of the road. The book covers adventures across the globe: trips to several South American countries where Peters researched and analyzed counterdrug operations at General Barry McCaffrey's request; his visit to the Kremlin as part of task force investigating the claim that American Soldiers from as many as four wars were imprisoned in the USSR; and a personally funded reconnaissance to Armenia to witness the 1993 war between Armenians and Azerbaijanis over the Nagorno-Karabagh region. This book is well worth reading for the author's in-depth appreciation of history and understanding of human nature.

Peters is without doubt a skilled writer. Although the book has neither maps nor pictures (save for two on the cover), Peters' descriptions throughout the book are quite vivid. The author knows how to tell a story, and he is quite adept in the art of transition. Who would not want to continue reading when a section ends with "that drinking bout came just before we flew down to check on the Mennonites growing dope."

The book's best sections include Peters' assessment of the likelihood that American POWs from World War II, Korea, or Vietnam may have been taken to the Soviet Union. His assessments in this chapter alone make the book worth the cost. He describes how Saudi Arabia leverages its international charity work to convert those in misery to extremist Islam (Wahhabi Puritanism, he calls it). His observations are both disturbing and fascinating. According to Peters, the Saudis abandon those in need when the sought-after conversion is not forthcoming. As to the treatment of women in Pakistan, he observes that a society devoted to misogyny loses half its potential productivity.

For all its strengths, *Looking for Trouble* has its weaknesses. Peters makes a bizarre claim that General McCaffrey, whom he describes as a friend, was "the only division commander with true fighting spirit" in Desert Storm. One cannot help but wonder if this isn't a superficial analysis affected by personal bias, in this case friendship. At times, Peters' tone is problematic, particularly in his caustic treatment of fellow officers. He describes colleagues

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at the Pentagon as "self-serving, their analysis superficial, the results negligible." On the other hand, his exuberant praise for close friends from his unit who travelled with him is almost comical. There are two kinds of people in this book—the author's friends, who are capable and gifted, and the rest of the officer corps, who are content as long as they can cycle oxygen.

Peters ends his memoir by explaining the reasons for his unexpected retirement: he was tired of "serving at the mercy of fools" and having his on-the-ground intelligence assessments ignored by those far away from the action (only to be proved correct later). In Greek mythology, the gods blessed Cassandra with the gift of prophesy but cursed her so that no one would ever believe her predictions. Ralph Peters seems to think he has suffered a similar fate. He believes he is blessed with brilliance but cursed because only a few people listen to him.

LTC James E. Varner,
USA, Retired,
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

RUMSFELD'S WARS: The Arrogance of Power, Dale Herspring, University Press of Kansas, Lawrence, 2008, 247 pages, $34.95.

Rumsfeld's Wars: The Arrogance of Power, by Dale Herspring, is provocative to the point of being incendiary, but I don't think I would recommend it to the readers of *Military Review*. The author has drawn heavily on widely publicized secondary sources (mostly selective newspaper reports and other anti-Rumsfeld books) and stitched those accounts together with a disturbing number of undocumented suppositions, insinuations, and inferences that make the piece read more like a prosecutor's brief than a scholarly exposition.

In his own preface, the author reports his disturbing conclusion that Iraq's possession of Weapons of Mass Destruction "was an idea manufactured by the civilian leadership in the Pentagon to justify the war" and that Donald Rumsfeld and subordinates "manipulated data and convinced the President of the United States of the necessity of invading Iraq." In the opening section of chapter 4, which specifically pursues these accusations, he asserts that Rumsfeld's civilian assistants "vowed to remove Saddam Hussein from power and set the Iraqi populace free," "believed that democracy was the preferred form of government throughout the world," and, as members of the "Iraq Hawks," were responsible for pressuring the Congress into passing the 1998 Iraq Liberation Act—all without benefit of footnotes or other documentation. This rhetorical style persists throughout other chapters, which address DOD's perceived blunders during the Afghanistan and Iraq Wars as well as its general ineptitude in pursuing modernization through military transformation.

The possibility that DOD leadership might have been responsible for any positive accomplishments is acknowledged only begrudgingly in rare terse paragraphs that are scarce indeed. In short, it is a hatchet job. There are many Rumsfeld haters who have already cheered the book, and they will probably be joined by many like-minded future readers. In truth, the former secretary of defense was highly unpopular and probably deserves much of the scorn heaped upon him. I am certainly not a fan of his. However, I do think his legacy deserves a fairer assessment than Herspring offers; the professional officers who read *Military Review* deserve a more balanced and objective analysis of his tenure. Making Rumsfeld and his minions the scapegoats for everything that went wrong in the Defense Department from 2001 to 2006 is just far too easy a way out.

The problems and challenges that Secretary Rumsfeld and the DOD staff faced during that period were unprecedented and extraordinarily complex. Their efforts need to be evaluated with more objectivity and insight than this book provides. To ensure that history does not repeat itself, senior military leaders also need to step up to the plate and take responsibility for letting some of DOD's missteps happen. But that is not a message that is going to be well-received, and I definitely don't think that anyone other than the generals themselves are qualified or possess the requisite credentials to deliver that message.

Someone like General (Retired) Ric Shinseki (to whom the author coincidentally dedicated this book) might better provide a more balanced picture of Rumsfeld's tenure and legacy. Despite his shameful treatment at the hands of Mr. Rumsfeld and his assistants while serving as the Army Chief of Staff, I am quite confident that General Shinseki would render a more balanced and thoughtful assessment than Dale Herspring has provided.

LTC Michael P. Shaver,
USA, Retired,
La Crosse, Wisconsin

SECURING THE STATE: Reforming the National Security Decisionmaking Process at the Civil-Military Nexus, Christopher P. Gibson, Ashgate, Hampshire, UK, and Burlington, VT, 2008, 162 pages, $89.95.

A basic tenet of American government holds that the armed forces subordinate themselves to the president, the Constitution, and the will of the people. In *Securing the State*, Colonel Chris Gibson asserts that this broadly understood concept does not specify the relationship of elected leaders, appointed officials, and senior military officers in enough detail, especially in a time of crisis. As war with Iraq loomed, for example, Gibson claims that the Joint Chiefs of Staff found themselves in such a subordinate and deferential position vis-à-vis Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld that they were unable to communicate wise military advice, unfiltered by the Secretary's political and personal biases, to the president and the Congress, the nation's elected leaders. Nor were military leaders allowed to develop plans as prudent, detailed, or as fully resourced as required for success in Iraq.

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Many place the blame for this at the door of an impulsive, arrogant secretary, or a reckless, mysteriously motivated president. Gibson, to his credit, moves beyond easy personal judgments to trace the historical evolution and theoretical basis of a national military command dynamic that failed to generate courses of action likely to produce victory.

Colonel Gibson argues that the U.S. government lacks sufficient institutional structures and protocols to ensure that its "civil-military nexus" functions efficiently and effectively. He identifies a pendulum-like oscillation between opposing concepts and practices during the post-World War II era. At times appointed civilian leaders, especially aggressive secretaries of defense such as Robert McNamara and Donald Rumsfeld dominated the civil-military nexus. In other periods, the military has so strongly asserted its prerogatives that its perceived usefulness to elected leaders has been negligible. Colonel Gibson cites the mid-1990s, during the ascendancy of the powerful and charismatic General Colin Powell, as a period in which the military possessed an overdeveloped sense of its own importance and independence. The result, intentional or not, was that President Bill Clinton could not count on the military's support, and consequently stopped asking military leaders to do things they didn't already want to do anyway.

To counter these dysfunctional extremes, Gibson proposes a "Madisonian approach," named in honor of founding father and fourth president James Madison. The Madisonian approach seeks to guarantee that both his senior military officer and his senior appointed official can present the president with courses of action, with both leaders accorded an equal stature within the administration. In Gibson's eyes, the current practice, that the senior officer and senior appointed official adopt a unified position when advising the president, is a recipe for stifling good ideas and ensuring that an unseemly jockeying for dominance takes place. Other ideological assumptions of a Madisonian approach include the notions that—

- The military owes its allegiance to elected, not appointed, leaders. Specifically this means the president, as opposed to the secretary of defense.
- The military is obligated to work closely with Congress, especially concerning force structure, budget, and other resource issues.
- The opinions and options offered by military leaders, minimally tainted by political considerations, are central to the decision-making process.

In practice, Gibson offers specific rearrangements of the national command structure:

- A readjustment of the Goldwater-Nichols Act to limit the power of the secretary of defense and enhance the importance of the nation's senior military officer. Gibson would not have combatant commanders report to or through the secretary. Instead, they would work directly for the nation's senior military officer. The holder of this position would neither defer to nor work for the secretary of defense. Instead, he would speak directly and in his own voice to the commander in chief, and the president would have the benefit of the most prudent military analysis and recommendations for action.
- The creation of a commanding general position to replace the current chairman, joint chiefs of staff billet. The commanding general of the military would exercise the powers outlined above, not as a senior staff officer and advisor, but as a leader in the chain-of-command.
- A wholesale revision of the joint strategic planning system into a more streamlined, productive process.
- Much more professional preparation of military and civilian leaders to function capably at the highest levels. For military personnel, this goal entails more advanced academic training and experience in Pentagon and joint positions. For civilians, Gibson recommends more education in military capabilities and decision-making processes.

Gibson's recommendations would greatly increase the stature of the Pentagon's ranking military officer. Adopting them would begin with a wholesale review of the Goldwater-Nichols Act. By and large, critics of the current administration's prosecution of the Global War on Terrorism have not identified Goldwater-Nichols as a culprit for the rocky course of events in Iraq and Afghanistan, so *Securing the State*, unwittingly or not, opens up another avenue of attack for administration opponents. However, Goldwater-Nichols will eventually merit close scrutiny for its efficacy in helping the nation win the War on Terrorism; Gibson helps define the terms the debate will take.

Written while Gibson served a fellowship at the Hoover Institution of Stanford University, and for scholars and policy wonks as well as serving military officers, *Securing the State* has a blizzard of footnotes that might bore military professionals and sometimes turgid recaps of historical precedents and theoretical positions. However, those who persevere to the end will have much to contemplate, for Gibson has constructed a complex argument leading to a bold position. Although the book ultimately seeks to enhance the influence of the military, Gibson is not afraid to criticize many of its most visible leaders of the past two decades. He maintains a respectful, objective tone, but his disappointment with both specific individuals and military officer culture in general is palpable.

In its fullest dimension, then, *Securing the State* tests the limits to which serving officers can go in criticizing national and military affairs for the sake of professional and academic debate. Currently the commander of 2d Brigade Combat Team in the 82d Airborne Division, Colonel Gibson's warfighting prowess should help him steer through whatever flak he generates. He may well get a chance to implement reforms as he rises through the ranks or becomes part of the civil-military nexus he has so closely studied. For most officers, who will never be players at the strategic

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level, *Securing the State*'s primary lesson lies in the model of military professionalism that Gibson values and embodies. Key components of this model include intellectual vigor and courage, combined with a commitment to critique and debate, focused to best serve the Nation's elected leaders and the American people. Anything less, in Gibson's eyes, cheapens the notion of military integrity and substitutes a weak sense of loyalty for a stronger one.

LTC Peter Molin, USA,
West Point, New York

VIOLENT POLITICS: A History of Insurgency, Terrorism, and Guerrilla War, from the American Revolution to Iraq, William R. Polk, HarperCollins Publishers, New York, 2007, 273 pages, $23.95.

Dr. William R. Polk is an accomplished academic who has taught at Harvard University and the University of Chicago and served on the State Department's Policy Planning Council, which was responsible for the Middle East and North Africa during President John F. Kennedy's administration. His book, *Violent Politics*, is a historical meta-narrative of 11 insurgencies beginning with the American Revolution and ending with the current war in Iraq. The book's central thesis is that the nature of an insurgency is xenophobic; that is, the "heart of insurgency is essentially anti-foreign." To prove this, Polk uses the concept of a "climate of insurgency" to describe how collaborationist government forces lose legitimacy to smaller, less-organized native associations. The author uses a four-phase model of insurgency to describe how local fighter-politicians combatted American, French, British, and German invading or occupation force armies. Polk suggests cultural differences between a foreign army and the native population doomed any locally contested occupation.

I recommend the book for those who want a quick primer on the history of insurgency and guerrilla warfare. Polk's large-scale analysis of insurgency is well written and researched. Officers who read *Violent Politics* will benefit from its scant coverage of tactics and more trenchant descriptions of the social, cultural, and economic contests that accompany an insurgent's use of guerrilla and terrorist tactics. A far more authoritative book on the subject of insurgencies is Robert B. Asprey's *War in the Shadows: The Guerrilla in History* (Doubleday, New York, 1975). However, if you do not have the time or will to read that work, which is over 1,600 pages long, Polk's book is a welcome addition to a growing body of academic work.

MAJ James F. Chastain,
USA, West Point, New York

THE SON TAY RAID: American POWs in Vietnam Were Not Forgotten, John Gargus, Texas A&M University Press, College Station, TX, 2007, 352 pages, $29.95.

With *The Son Tay Raid*, John Gargus has produced one of the finest military history works of 2007 on the Vietnam War, a splendid and thorough account of the 20 November 1970 Son Tay raid that goes well beyond previous works such as Benjamin Schemmer's *The Raid: The Son Tay Prison Rescue Mission* (Ballantine Books, New York, 2002). Through meticulous research of newly declassified documents, unpublished sources, and his own comprehensive interviewing of the participants, Gargus captures the spirit of this unique mission in special operations history, including the emotional denouement when no U.S. prisoners were found.

Gargus, an Air Force planner and lead navigator for the strike force, provides personal insight into the mission, avoids over-emphasizing his own participation by maintaining a historian's objectivity and detachment, highlights the roles of each service in the planning and execution of the raid, and illustrates the challenge of disseminating intelligence, all the while maintaining strict operational security. The book is less about foreign policy and strategic considerations for the foray, than its operational and tactical aspects, which even include the North Vietnamese perspective on the raid. His research is impeccable, and the book is essentially flawless.

Particularly interesting are the accounts of the little-known naval component of the raid and the Air Forces' challenges in flight-route selection and planning. Here the author renders the sections understandable for the non-aviation reader. The book has extensive notes, clear charts, interesting pictures, a glossary, informative appendices, and is a pleasure to read. I recommended it for all special operators, joint planners, historians, and aficionados of the Vietnam War. The book should be a mandatory part of the Command and General Staff College course curriculum for special operations planning and execution.

Kevin D. Stringer, Ph.D.,
Zurich, Switzerland

NOTHING LESS THAN FULL VICTORY: Americans at War in Europe 1944-1945, Edward Miller, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, MD, 2007, 346 pages, $32.95.

Edward Miller's latest work, *Nothing Less than Full Victory,* produces a unique and fresh look at the U.S. Army's campaign in Europe by focusing on logistics, organization, training, and deployment, areas of the war historians have for the most part neglected.

Nothing Less Than Full Victory shows how in 1939 America's Army had obsolete weapons and antiquated beliefs about warfare, even though scholars and the general public assumed that success in Europe was preordained. Miller argues that the Army received little credit for a tremendous and successful undertaking, its remarkable self-transformation during global conflict. Miller challenges the conclusions of many historians, journalists, and other authorities concerning the Army's performance, saying that many works have ignored or underestimated the impact mobilization, organization, training, and logistics had on opera-

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tions. Examples from various operations illustrate how American Soldiers were matched far more evenly with the Germans than some histories would lead people to believe. Victory, in fact, was not secured through material superiority but through the will and courage of the Soldiers who succeeded despite the odds against them. Their ability to adapt and overcome brought victory.

Problems on the home front affected the fighting forces in Europe. American industry was beset with labor, contracting, production, and even racial problems—a far cry from the united effort portrayed in many histories. American industry never let the war interfere with its self-interest—a problem the Army was forced to contend with.

The author sets the record straight regarding the American Soldier's performance in World War II and sheds light on the impact mobilization, organization, training, and logistics had on operations. The Army successfully recruited, organized, trained, employed, and sustained its forces while it simultaneously developed new processes and procedures, paralleling what the modern Army is trying to achieve today. This well-researched, easy-to-read book provides readers much to consider about World War II. I recommend it to all readers.

LTC Robert Rielly,
USA, Retired,
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

OMAHA BEACH AND BEYOND: The Long March of Sergeant Slaughter, John Robert Slaughter, Zenith Press, St. Paul, MN, 2007, 288 pages, $26.95.

Sixteen-year-old John Slaughter joined the 116th Infantry Regiment to escape the Great Depression. A few months later, he was engaged in the serious business of preparing for a conventional, high-intensity world war. *Omaha Beach and Beyond* is a record of his experiences.

Slaughter advanced from private to staff sergeant squad leader; his Army service ended when he was only 20 years old but by then, he had done it all. He was also one of the first Army Rangers in World War II, experienced the war "up front," lived in the dirt, squalor, weather, and spent days on the line, in a time when there was no forward support base for him to return to. The stress was phenomenal and some of his friends succumbed to what we now call post traumatic stress syndrome.

Slaughter became involved in veterans affairs after the war and was the driving force behind locating and building the World War II D-Day monument in Bedford, Virginia. The location was not arbitrary—the 116th Infantry Regiment suffered horrendous losses on D-Day, landing in one of the most heavily defended sections of Normandy. Soldiers were recruited to National Guard units from locales around their armories. The unfortunate by-product of this system was a very high number of casualties in the towns from which the units were drawn. Bedford, Virginia, had the highest per capita loss of any town in the United States for D-Day. Nineteen sons of this town died on the French shores.

Slaughter was one of three D-Day veterans to escort the president and other officials during the 1994 50th anniversary commemoration along Omaha Beach, where his regiment suffered and distinguished itself. It was fitting that Slaughter was selected to lead the 2004 60th Anniversary march of the 29th "Blue and Gray" Infantry Division in France.

Many of the 2,000 casualties suffered by the 29th and 1st Infantry Divisions on Omaha Beach never came home and now lie in the beautiful cemeteries in France. John Slaughter's book reminds us of the sacrifice his friends and comrades made.

LTC Edwin L. Kennedy Jr.,
USA, Retired,
Leavenworth, Kansas

RETRIBUTION: The Battle for Japan, 1944-45, Max Hastings, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 2008, 615 pages, $35.00.

Veteran newsman and military historian Max Hastings has written another gripping book, *Retribution*. One of Hastings's previous books, *Armageddon: The Battle for Germany, 1944-1945* (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 2004), told the story of the last years of World War II in the European Theater. *Retribution* covers the same time, the bloodiest year of the war in the Pacific/Asia Theater. It included the British battles in Burma, the invasions of the Philippines, Okinawa, Iwo Jima, the strategic bombing of Japan, and the last military operation, the Soviet invasion of Manchuria and Korea.

Hastings, a former editor of Britain's *Evening Standard* and *The Daily Telegraph,* tells his story from the theater war point of view as well as from personal experience. He described the war from the point of view of the high command, enlisted personnel, and civilians caught up in the war. Former news people have a particular gift for this, as Rick Atkinson did for World War II in Europe (*The Day of Battle)* and David Halberstam for the Korean War (*The Coldest Winter.*)

Hastings does not hesitate to lace his writing with editorial opinions. For example, in his discussion of the U.S. decision to drop the atomic bomb he asks: "Why should the United States have endured prevarication from the sponsors of Pearl Harbor and the Bataan death march?" The book is aptly titled *Retribution*. While some readers may prefer more footnotes and a bibliography to trace the source of the data cited, they will nonetheless be hard pressed to find a more readable history of the final year of the Pacific War.

Michael Pearlman, Ph.D.,
Lawrence, Kansas

THE DAY OF BATTLE: The War in Sicily and Italy, 1943-1944, Rick Atkinson, Henry Holt and Company, NY, 2007, 791 pages, $35.00.

The Day of Battle is the second volume in Rick Atkinson's planned *Liberation Trilogy,* which follows the U.S. Army as it assumes the principal combat role in the European Theater in World War II. In this

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hefty volume, the author provides a grand narrative of what is now viewed as one of the epic war sagas of the U.S. Army.

The bloody Italian campaign, which many strategists at the time, as well as many historians today, condemned as unnecessary, was the brainchild of the redoubtable Winston Churchill, who doggedly bullied and cajoled the allies to attack what he viewed as "the soft underbelly" of the Axis up the Italian Peninsula. Unfortunately, Churchill's sunny predictions turned into a bloody nightmare.

Numerous personality conflicts plagued the Italian campaign. Generals George Patton, Bernard Montgomery, Mark Clarke, and Harold Alexander are only some of the egos that competed for pre-eminence in the land of the Caesars. On the Axis side, Albert Kesselring, a former artillery officer who became a Luftwaffe general, led the campaign. Kesselring showed a mastery of operational defense using the rugged Italian terrain to make the Allies pay dearly for each foot of ground.

The tragedies, triumphs, and ethical dilemmas posed to Soldiers and commanders are described vividly as befits the author's journalistic background. Letters, diaries, press releases, and even oral recollections are all combed for pertinent material. From his rich sources, Atkins crafts a vivid narrative that probes the complexities of multi-national command while at the same time paying attention to the perspective of the GIs and "Tommys," who marched under the burning Italian sun in summer and slogged up the windswept mountains in winter along with French, Polish, Australian, New Zealander, and other comrades. The legends, too, are given their share of coverage. Audie Murphy, William Darby, and Bill Mauldin show the impact of extraordinary individuals on the course of events. The text is complemented by a careful selection of photographs and maps illustrating such well-known operations as the "race to Messina," the battles for the Anzio beachhead, and the siege of Monte Cassino.

The Day of Battle is fine narrative history for the thoughtful reader. It is not a definitive history in the scholarly sense because, although the author marshals an impressive bibliography, the subject is just too complex for one book. The text is referenced in an odd sort of way that avoids footnotes, presumably so as not to scare away a "popular" readership. In short, the book provides an excellent introduction and richly textured overview of one of the most bitterly contested campaigns of World War II. I highly recommend the book.

LTC Prisco R. Hernández, Ph.D.
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

EMPIRES OF THE SEA: The Siege of Malta, the Battle of Lepanto, and the Contest for the Center of the World, Roger Crowley, The Random House Publishing Group, New York, 2008, 291 pages, $30.00.

Roger Crowley's *Empires of the Sea* deserves a wide readership. It covers a broad span of dynamic, colorful history from the 16th century that features a clash of civilizations with relevance to our own day—with the major roles reversed.

Here is the master narrative: a super-power with hegemony at sea and an almost unbeatable army is advancing on all fronts. Although it has multiple security challenges and conflicts throughout its vast territories and areas of influence, its most vexing problems come from a loose confederation of religious fanatics who fight among themselves as much as against the superpower. Nevertheless, within almost 50 years, the superpower's apparently inexorable advance is not only stopped but decisively defeated in the realm in which it thought it was all-powerful—at sea. The superpower in this case is Ottoman Turkey. The opponents, the polyglot mess that was Europe before the modern era, the Hapsburg-led Holy Roman Empire and Spain, an independent group of warrior-monks, the Papacy, Venetian oligarchs, Genoese mercenary admirals, and frightened Protestant princes newly separated from the Catholic universe.

Crowley has written a compelling history of this little-known but important chapter in military history. He makes it all come alive with unflinching portraits of Charles V, Suleiman the Magnificent, the Knights of St. John, Admiral Andrea Dorea, Don Juan of Austria, and the fearsome Islamic corsair brothers, Oruch and Hayrettin. Nor does he neglect those doing the fighting and dying or the innocent (and not-so-innocent) civilians caught in the crossfire. Crowley deftly uses the writing of men who witnessed the events to give the book the feel of a novel. From the epic siege of Rhodes in 1522 to the disaster that befell the Ottoman fleet in 1571 at Lepanto near modern-day Greece, the book describes the maritime conflict that led to the apogee and then the slow decline of the Ottoman Empire. Particularly commendable is Crowley's care in retelling the story of Lepanto, which was the bloodiest day in modern history at the time, with over 40,000 people killed in a day of unimaginable carnage on 7 October 1571.

Crowley takes special pains to ensure his readers know that things could have gone differently, that the real significance of the event remained shrouded at the time. In doing so, he captures for the reader the contingent and even tragic nature of those times. The illustrations add value. They are almost uniformly contemporary prints, carvings, and even coin facsimiles that match the faces and geography with the fast-moving text. I strongly recommend this book to as wide an audience as possible. It achieves the rare combination of being entertaining, informative, and sobering—all at the same time.

John T. Kuehn, Commander,
U.S. Navy, Retired,
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

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MR Letters

Money as a Force Multiplier in COIN

LTC Thomas D. Morgan, *USA, Retired, Steilacoom, WA*—I was disgusted with an article in your May-June 2008 issue entitled "Money as a Force Multiplier in COIN." As a taxpayer, I resent Soldiers giving all this money to basically people on the street. I believe that giving away $6.6M dollars to 33,000 Iraqis in Fallujah was one of the examples given. That is my money that is being given away and I did not authorize it. It is one thing to spend large amounts of appropriated money to fight a war (i.e., to pay for beans, bullets, gasoline, spare parts, and medical supplies), but quite another to bribe Iraqi citizens to do their civic duty. Sure they accepted the money and will act nicely as long as we keep paying, But, as soon as we stop the payments, they will go back to their old ways. This is not a way to fight a war. If we have to bribe them, then we should leave.

Iraq sits on a lake of oil and they can pay their citizens from that great source of wealth. The Iraq government only charges $1.15 for a gallon of gasoline. They should be paying us to fight this war, not the other way around. Last year the U.S. Army did not have enough money to properly run its Stateside military bases because the Installation Management Agency was underfunded to support the war effort. It is ridiculous for Soldiers to give money away when it is in short supply at home. If it is so important to pay the Iraqi civilians, why not levy every Soldier's salary for a few hundred dollars to do it. NOT! I don't think so, but that would make more sense.

Giving large sums of money away is a dangerous habit. It only feeds greed and corruption. I remember the stories of CIA and Special Ops Agents giving warlords in Afghanistan $1000 dollar bills when they first arrived in that backward country. What did that get us? The place is a mess now and the terrorists have made a comeback. Some of those very warlords who bought SUVs, cell phones, and fancy weapons from bootleggers with our money have now turned on us. It was not money well spent.

We have enough trouble with bogus contracts being given for faulty goods and services that have cost us billions! KBR, Custer-Battles, and the Miami-based storefront that sold $300M of worthless ammunition to the Afghans, engineering companies that built defective buildings, and a host of other incredibly stupid and wasteful actions have cost us billions with little or no return. Our money has just made those people more greedy and dishonest. They are learning it in spades from us.

Don't publish anymore of those deceptive, feel-good articles about money being a combat multiplier. It is pure bunk and has no place in a professional military magazine. Money is not a force multiplier unless it buys things that are going to win the war. Bribing civilians will not.

MR Response

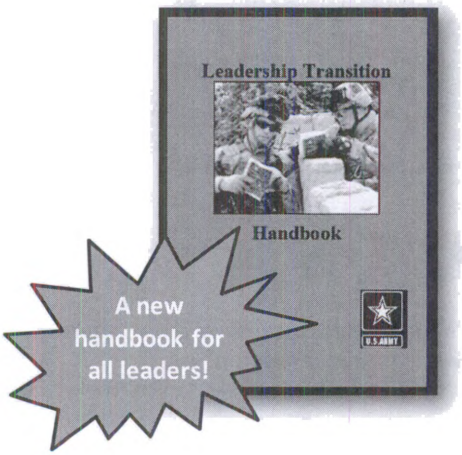
Your perspective presents one side of a legitimate debate. In theory, judicious cash outlays are an economy of force measure. They have always been and always will be used as a moderating influence during a conflict—a force multiplier. Military forces have used money rather than the lives of troops to pacify countries full of recalcitrant insurgents throughout history. There is a correlation between economic hardship and insurgency. Easing society's economically straitened conditions may do more for peace and chances of lasting stability than multiples of times the equivalent cost in war materiel.

In a perfect world only those who are innocent and deserving would benefit from such money and there would be not a penny wasted—all contractors would be honest and careful. But the reality is that when military forces use cash to better society as a whole, bad people will benefit as well. Facing that reality does not mean we condone it; on the contrary, it means that zealous efforts have to be made to prosecute those who let others down through malfeasance, criminal mismanagement, negligence, fraud, or corruption.

A watchword for good stewardship should be the phrase "command responsibility." If a commander wields his forces irresponsibly in an indiscriminate and disproportionate way, and ends up carelessly killing noncombatants he is there to protect, he should face the consequences for that failure even if he attains a battlefield victory. If he is judicious and disciplined, failure in his military mission will not be a failure of trust and honor. Likewise, the commander who uses money carefully as a weapon can save many lives. Money thus used in helping people who have suffered from the war is hardly a bribe. Even if the effort fails, we cannot say the money was wasted anymore than we can say the lives of Soldiers were wasted.

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2008 General William E. DePuy Special Topics Writing Competition "Actions Required to Attain Overall Objectives in the Aftermath of Combat Operations"

★ RESULTS ★

The Combined Arms Center at Fort Leavenworth is pleased to announce the winners of the 2008 General William E. DePuy Writing Competition. Thirty-five manuscripts were received and judged by a distinguished panel of invited experts.

1st Place "The Ethical Challenges in Stability Operations and Nation-Building," by SGT Jared Tracy, *$1000*

2nd Place "To the Victor Go the Sores: Learning from Moderate Muslim Governments: Approaches to Islamist Militant Activism," by MAJ Erik A. Claessen, Belgian Army, *$750*

3rd Place "Counterinsurgency Operations (COIN) in Baghdad—The Action of 1-4 Cavalry in 2007/2008 East Rashid Security District," by MAJ Thomas J. Sills, *$500*

4th Place "Making Use of What is Already There: Leveraging Liminality in Post-Conflict Security Sector Reform," by MAJ Louis P. Melacon, *$250*

Honorable Mention

"Building the Team: The Continuing Evolution of Embedded Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Task Force Marne and Beyond," by SFC Jesse P. Pruett, *$100*

"Investing in Stability: The Need for Intelligence Preparation for Economic Operations," by James E. Shircliffe Jr., *$100*

"It Ain't Over Till It's Over: The Things America Should Do When Combat Ends," by MAJ E. Paul Flowers, *$100*

"Legitimacy: The Supreme Principle of Irregular Warfare," by MAJ John W. Bauer, *$100*

"The Role of Detainee Healthcare as Part of the Information Instrument of Power," by LTC Beverly D. Patton, *$100*

Members of the panel who reviewed this year's contest submissions are:

Lieutenant General David W. Barno, USA, Retired, Director, Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies at the National Defense University, Washington, DC

Steven Metz, Ph.D., Chairman of the Regional Strategy and Planning Department and Research Professor of National Security Affairs at the Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle, PA

Michael W. Mosser, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of International Relations, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College's School of Advanced Military Studies (SAMS), Fort Leavenworth, KS

Colonel Timothy R. Reese, Director, Combat Studies Institute, Fort Leavenworth, KS

The winning manuscripts will be published in upcoming editions of *Military Review*, the Professional Journal of the U.S. Army. Honorable Mentions and distinguished submissions that were not formally recognized will be given preferential consideration for publication subject to space constraints and the continuing relevance of the topic.

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"Walk. Move mounted, work dismounted. Stop by, don't drive by. Patrol on foot and engage the population. Situational awareness can only be gained by interacting with the people face-to-face, not separated by ballistic glass."

—General David H. Petraeus, U.S. Army

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GEN David H. Petraeus, Commanding General, Multi-National Force-Iraq and LTC Joseph P. McGee, Battalion Commander, 2-327th Inf, conduct a battlefield circulation



Painting by Sergeant First Class Elzie Ray Golden entitled Street Fight, oil, 2003, Iraq. Golden is the current soldier-artist at the U.S. Army Center of Military History, Museum Division. The painting is used courtesy of the U.S. Army Art Collection.

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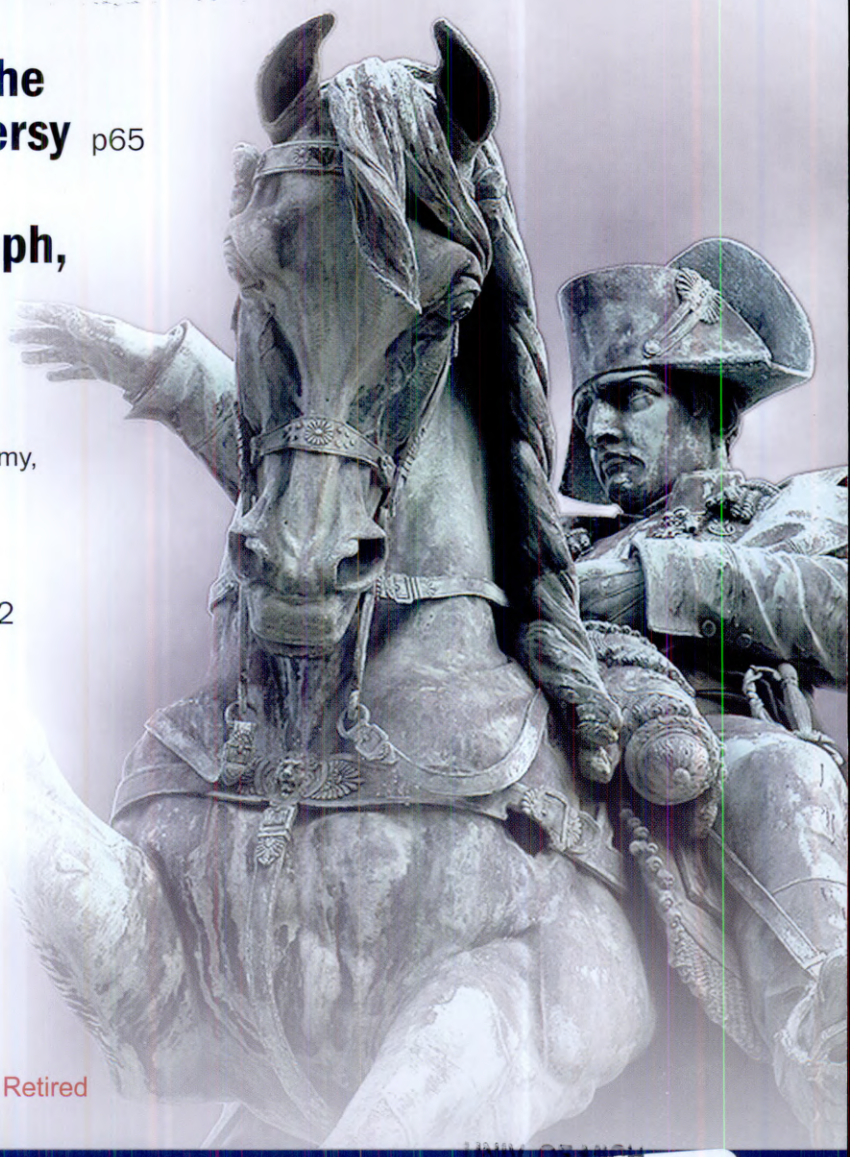
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mitai Etzioni

FEATURE: Rethinking IO: Complex Operations in the Information Age p14
rigadier General Huba Wass de Czege, U.S. Army, Retired

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Cover Photo: Statue in Cherbourg-Octeville, unveiled by Napoleon III in 1858. Napoleon I once remarked that in war "the moral is to the physical as three to one." (Eric Pouhier, http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.5/)

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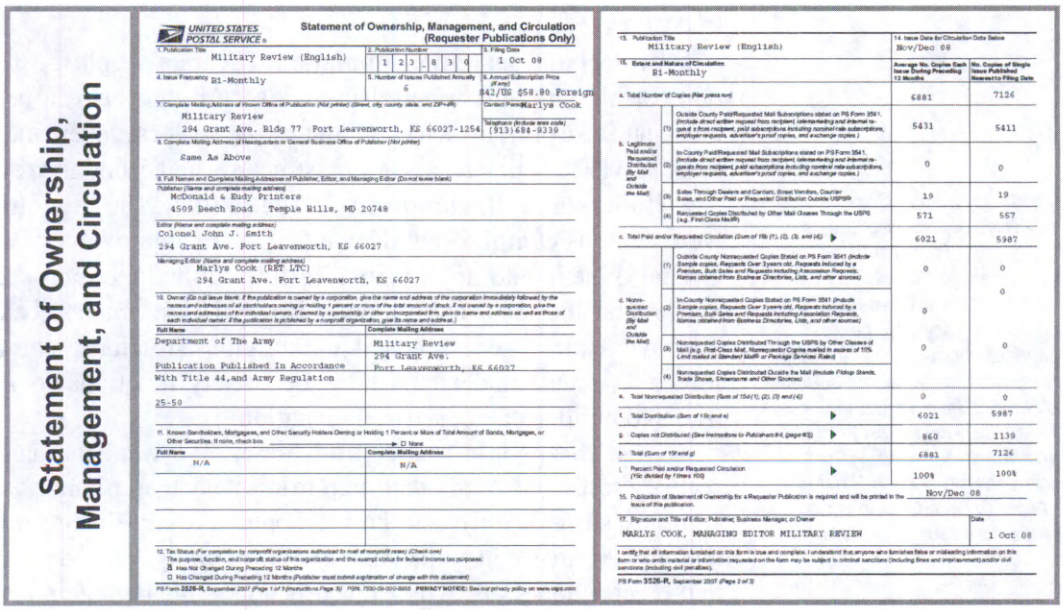
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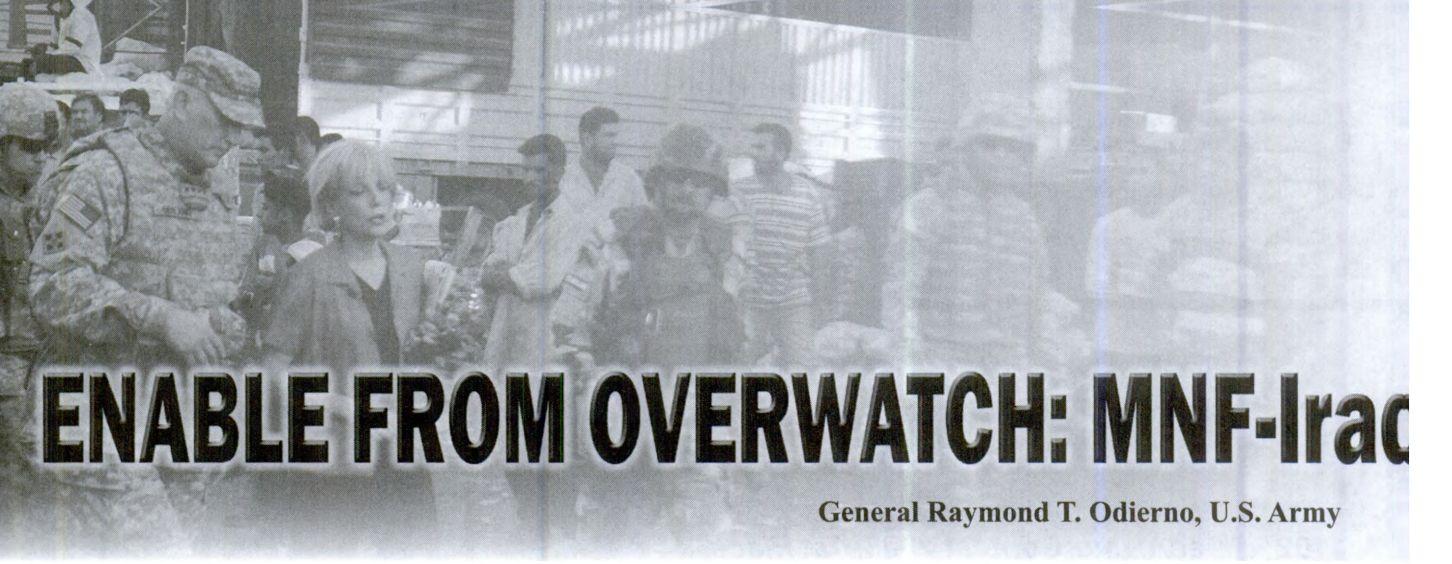
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ENABLE FROM OVERWATCH: MNF-Iraq

General Raymond T. Odierno, U.S. Army

WE SERVE DURING A PIVOTAL PERIOD in the campaign for a secure, stable, and prosperous Iraq. Our coalition forces and Iraqi partners have sacrificed much, and together we have achieved remarkable gains. Today, the Iraqi people enjoy greater freedoms than at any point in several generations. And there is tremendous hope for the future in this ancient land. As we look ahead, we continue to see an evolution of progress in Iraq. As Iraqi Security Forces stand on their own, coalition forces will increasingly *Enable from Overwatch.*

Together, coalition and Iraqi forces will continue to protect the populace while fostering reconciliation, promoting good governance, and encouraging Iraqi men and women to build upon their newly won hope by investing in their communities. Given Iraq's changing environment, accomplishing this will require a subtle shift in how we think about our mission, how we operate to accomplish that mission, and the principles that define who we are.

How We Think

- **Protect and serve the population.** The Iraqi people are the decisive terrain. Enable our Iraqi partners to provide security and help the people of Iraq to invest and take pride in their communities. Foster local governance, provision of basic services, maintenance of infrastructure, and economic revitalization.
- **Understand the complexity of the conflict.** The environment in which we operate is complex and demands that we employ every weapon in our arsenal, kinetic and non-kinetic. To fully utilize all approaches, we must understand the local culture and history. Learn about tribes, formal and informal leaders, governmental and religious structures, and local security forces. We must understand how the society functions so we can enable Iraqis to build a stable, self-reliant nation.
- **Give the people justice and honor.** We want the hands that bring security to be the hands that help bring justice and honor as well. In this complex struggle, strive to be the honest broker. Ensure that complaints and abuses are dealt with quickly and publicly. Provide an environment that creates honorable work, rewards honorable behavior, and emphasizes honorable treatment for all.
- **Foster Government of Iraq legitimacy–Make it easy for the people to choose.** Exemplify professionalism in all your actions and promote the same in our Iraqi partners. Continually develop the capability and legitimacy of Iraqi Security Forces, and give the Iraqi people hope by showing them

General Raymond T. Odierno, U.S. Army, is the Commanding General of Multi-National Force-Iraq. He previously served as Commanding General, Multi-National Corps-Iraq. From late 2006 to early 2008 he was the operational commander implementing the "surge" strategy. General Odierno holds a B.S. from the United States Military Academy at West Point and masters degrees from North Carolina State University and the Naval War College. General Odierno is also a graduate of the Army War College.

PHOTO: U.S. Army GEN Raymond T. Odierno, the commander of Multi-National Force-Iraq, and Lesley Stahl, CBS news correspondent, tour a market in the Sadr City district of Baghdad, Iraq, 18 September 2008. (U.S. Air Force, TSGT Cohen A. Young)

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that loyalty to the national government is the best way to improve the lives of their families.

- **Promote reconciliation.** Separate those who promote and practice violence from those now willing to reconcile and become productive members of Iraqi society. Encourage and enable the Iraqi government to reintegrate those committed to peaceful coexistence with their neighbors.

How We Operate

- **Conduct operations by, with, or through our Iraqi partners–*Enable from Overwatch*.** Understand Iraqi systems and capabilities, and help Iraqis make them work. Always look for sustainable solutions. Coalition and Iraqi units must live, work, and fight together, with the Iraqis more and more in the lead. Ultimately, the legitimacy of the ISF in the eyes of the Iraqi people is essential to long-term success.
- **Walk.** Move mounted, work dismounted. Patrol on foot and engage the population—with the Iraqi Security Forces in front whenever possible. Situational awareness can only be gained by interacting with the people face-to-face. Every patrol should have tasks designed to augment understanding of the area and the enemy.
- **Defeat the network, not just the attack.** Defeat enemy attacks before they happen by identifying the network behind attack preparations. Pursue the network's leaders, bomb makers, financiers, suppliers, and operators. Use both lethal and non-lethal means to destroy the network and prevent it from regenerating.
- **Share intelligence.** Establish collection systems and promptly and regularly share information up and down the chain of command and with our Iraqi partners. Know that small pieces of information paint the big picture.
- **Integrate civilian and military efforts.** As we move closer to sustainable security, civilian and governmental agencies will naturally take on more responsibility as we reduce our military presence. Coordinate operations and initiatives with our embassy and interagency partners, our Iraqi counterparts, local civilian leaders, and nongovernmental organizations to ensure all are working to achieve a common purpose. At all levels, continue to build Iraqi capacity to independently execute governance functions.
- **Transfer security responsibility.** Enable Iraqi units to accept security responsibility as local conditions permit. Don't rush to failure. Closely supervise deliberate, well-coordinated transitions that preserve security gains and maintain momentum. "Thin" our presence in sector, but stay engaged, and maintain situational awareness and vigilance in protecting our force.

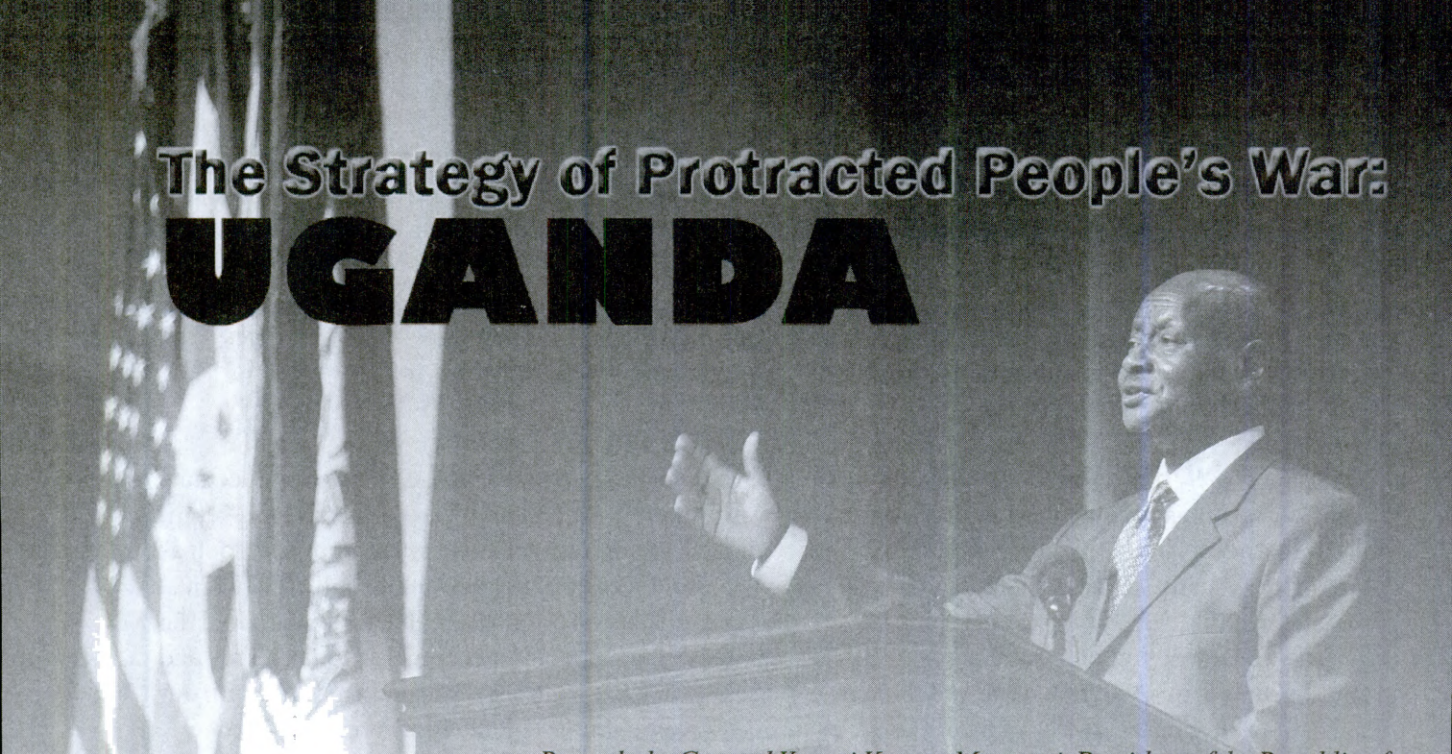
Who We Are

- **Be first with the truth.** Communicate accurate information—good or bad—to the chain of command, to Iraqi leaders, and to the public as soon as possible. Preempt rumors and beat the insurgents, extremists, and criminals to the headlines. Hold the press (and ourselves) accountable for accuracy and context. Challenge enemy disinformation. Turn our enemies' extremist ideologies, oppressive practices, and indiscriminate violence against them.
- **Have realistic expectations.** We have made great gains, but much remains to be done. The enemy still has a vote, and progress may sometimes be slow. Make no premature declarations of victory, but identify and share successes and champion the Iraqi people's cause.
- **Live our values.** Stay true to the values we hold dear and that distinguish us from our enemies. This endeavor is often brutal, physically demanding, and frustrating. We all experience moments of anger, but we can neither submit to dark impulses nor tolerate unethical actions by others.
- **Leaders make the difference.** Warfare has never been more complex or required more imaginative leadership. Leaders should empower subordinates and push decisions, resources, and authorities to the lowest level possible. Provide appropriate right and left limits for subordinate leaders and give them the flexibility necessary to be imaginative and adaptive. Communicate with your subordinates daily to ensure awareness. Leaders are the barometers for their units. Do what's right and trust your fellow troopers to do the same.

Many challenges still lie ahead. I salute your professionalism, your skill, and your extraordinary dedication in this complex environment. The world watches our progress with great anticipation. You are the authors of one of our era's proudest chapters of military history, and I am honored to lead Multi-National Force-Iraq as we put to practice these tenets of counterinsurgency. ***MR***

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The Strategy of Protracted People's War: UGANDA



Remarks by General Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, President of the Republic of Uganda, to students and faculty of the Command and General Staff College, Combined Arms Center, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, on 26 September 2008.

President Museveni's speech was initially transcribed by STRATCOM, USACAC, and further edited by Military Review *for length and readability.*

THE GENESIS of my coming here was a few months ago. I had come here to attend the graduation of my son, who was a student here. Now, Lieutenant General Caldwell invited me for lunch. When we were having lunch, the audience around the table—the American audience—were very curious about Uganda's history. Then I said, "By the way, if you are interested, I could come back to Leavenworth when I come back for the United Nations General Assembly," because I normally come to the United Nations—not always to do so much useful work there—but to put in an appearance for whatever it is worth. Now since I come all the way to do not so useful work in the United Nations, I told the general that I could come two more hours here and I would come and share Uganda's history with you.

The reason I also thought about this is that the United States and Africa lost time in the 1950s–1960s. Your leaders in the 1950s–1960s did not understand our cause—did not understand the cause of African nationalism. We, therefore, at that time mainly worked with the Russians, the Chinese, and those Eastern peoples. We are not communists, but because you did not come to help, we got help from where it was available. And that's why our armies really did not work with yours for much of the 50s and 60s. It was only recently in the 1970s and 80s that, especially the armies of liberation, those who fought for freedom, did not have initial contact with you.

So, I was conscious of this and when I met the general, I said, "Now this would be a good chance for us to close that gap." Hence, the genesis of this talk. It is partly for you to understand what goes on in the mind of a revolutionary fighter. Secondly, it is for us to close that gap. The relationship with the United States is now very good—not only with Uganda but with many of the African countries. So that difference of opinion has been cured, but I don't think we have synchronized our histories, especially of the Army. And that's why I am interested in this talk.

General Yoweri Kaguta Museveni is the President of the Republic of Uganda.

PHOTO: General Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, President of the Republic of Uganda, speaking to students and faculty of the Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, on 26 September 2008 (DOD, Don Middleton)

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Now, the topic I'm going to talk about is "The Strategy of the Protracted People's War." The Protracted People's War is a strategic instrument in the hands of the oppressed against the oppressor, whether he's local or foreign. It is a strategic instrument, and you who study about strategy, you know what that means. It is a means that can be used to change a situation completely, from A to Z. However, the Protracted People's War is only possible under certain conditions. It cannot take place under all conditions, and I've been able to think of five conditions that must exist before a Protracted People's War is fought and won.

First: There must be extreme and widespread oppression— enough to generate desperation and resentment by a wide cross-section of the population. This oppression would not only include denial of political rights, which sometimes is a bit remote in underdeveloped societies, but more especially, it must include land alienation—taking land from the population; extra-judicial killings; desecration of cultural sites; suppression of a people's culture, including language; and such other extreme measures. This is condition number one. There must be widespread oppression, especially involving taking away of people's land and assaulting their identity.

This was, for instance, the situation in the Sudan. You must have heard of the Sudan. Sudan is a place where Africans live side-by-side with Arabs. I'm sure you know those people. You can tell an Arab from an African. I'm not an Arab. I'm an African. In the case of the Sudan, the black people lived together with the Arabs. However, some of the Arabs wanted to make the Africans [into] Arabs, and that was a very big issue. That has caused all of the problems you must have heard of in the Sudan.

Second condition: It must be clear to many people in the oppressed community that there is no other peaceful option to get them out of their oppression, that armed struggle is the only option. If the people think they can use elections— [that] they can use other means to solve that problem—then it will be very wrong to propose using war. Therefore, the Protracted People's War must be a means of last resort.

Three: The other crucial factor is the terrain, the terrain of the country. If you are fighting in the urban areas, [that is] the political environment, which somehow is linked with number one—meaning that you should have either favorable terrain or you should have overwhelming [political] support if it is an urban area.

Number four: External allies for or against the revolutionary cause may also act as catalysts to expedite the liberation process or slow it down. I'm sure you remember the war in Vietnam. The support by the communist bloc for the war of resistance in Vietnam played a crucial role in the victory of Vietnamese nationalism and reunification of Vietnam. The support by the Western countries for the mujahideen in Afghanistan helped to defeat the Soviet occupation in that country.

The rear bases provided by Tanzania and Zambia to the liberation movements in southern Africa enabled our brothers and sisters there to defeat the white racist regimes in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa. There are some cases, however, where the revolutionary forces received little or no external aid from outside, but they defeated the repressive forces. The examples of Cuba—that Castro man who you are struggling with near here—and Uganda stand out in this connection. In these two situations you did not have significant support from outside, but from within. The revolutionary leadership was able to get enough resources to bring down the dictatorship.

In Uganda, having started with 27 rifles, we received only 92 rifles and 100 land mines from outside between 1981 and 1985. All the other equipment we got from within Uganda at the expense of the enemy regimes which we were fighting. The government forces were our weapons suppliers and quartermasters—two in one. The regime would import arms and we would capture them. The enemy, therefore, was our weapons procurement agent as far as importing weapons was concerned. But here I was talking about the question of external support. External support is crucial, but not always necessary. If the conditions are right, you can prosecute a revolutionary war even from the internal resources.

Number five: There must be a revolutionary leadership able to do two things: articulate how much better the future will be when the revolutionary forces win, and convince the people by advocacy and actions that it is possible to triumph.

That leadership must convince the people that, first of all, the future will be better and, secondly,

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it is possible—it is doable. Because, initially, the people are skeptical; they may be feeling oppressed but they doubt whether that method can work or not. It is up to the leadership to convince them that it is desirable and doable and feasible.

An intellectual leadership is very important to deal with these issues. If you have a mediocre type of leadership, they may not be able to deal with both the theoretical issues of the struggle, as well as the practical issues. In fact this is the problem for many of the resistance movements.

Those are the five conditions that in my view must exist for a revolutionary war to be started, sustained, and successfully concluded.

Once you are sure that the objective conditions exist, that on the ground there is oppression, there are what you call subjective factors. Subjective factors mean people's understanding of the realities on the ground, but the people may not grasp that reality. That means there is a discrepancy between the objective conditions on the ground and the subjective factors. So it is up to the leadership to ensure that they wake up the population so that they can see both the desirability and the feasibility of the struggle.

There are some groups, if you remember—those who are old enough or through your readings—that emerged in different parts of the world. Some of the groups were in Europe, like for instance the Baader-Meinhof group in Germany, like the Japanese Red Army. These groups thought they could bring revolution in Europe using violence—but they did not study the objective conditions in Europe. The right conditions did not exist.

Now such groups, we call "adventurists." We call that "adventurism." When you push for a cause and you want to use violence, but conditions do not permit that type of method of solving your problem, the name we give you is that you are an adventurist.

The strategy of a Protracted People's War hinges on two factors. You realize that, strategically, you are strong and the enemy is weak; however, tactically, you are weak and the enemy is strong. If you don't realize that, you are going to make very big mistakes.

That's what Mao Tse-tung meant—those of you who have heard of a man called Mao. Mao Tse-tung. That's what he said as one of his conditions. He said, "In the long run all imperialists are paper tigers. Strategically, we must despise the enemy; tactically, however, we must take him seriously." That's what he means, in the long run you know that I, [the revolutionary], am stronger than this fellow because my cause is just. The majority of the people support me but they are not organized well enough now, so in the short run I am weak. Therefore, the purpose of the Protracted People's struggle is this process of gradual mutation in the balance of forces between the protagonists that constitute the Protracted People's War. Initially, in the short run the revolutionary is weak, but in the long run he is strong. Why? Because his cause is just. Therefore, in order for you to allow that evolution to take place—that evolution of the revolutionary from weakness to actualize your potential strength—you must design your tactics very, very carefully.

In the beginning, avoid head-on collision with the enemy forces. Dominate the enemy, but preserve yourself. This is the very important principle of that war: first of all, you survive. Survival, for the insurgent, for the revolutionary, is in itself a success. When he survives, that mere survival is a success and it is part of the primary aims of the revolutionary. Avoid annihilation. In order to avoid annihilation, you must make sure to fight battles you are absolutely sure about. Otherwise, avoid the enemy. If you read Mao Tse-tung you will see that when the enemy advances, we retreat; when he retreats, we advance, like that. Therefore, in the initial stages, the revolutionary must avoid head-on collision, must attack targets which are weak. I will talk about that in a minute.

But the revolutionary war itself has four phases. Phase one is political agitation and clandestine operations. Hitting here, hitting there, targeting intelligence staff of the other side—that is phase number one. Phase number one is to prepare the people and shake up the system.

Phase two is guerrilla warfare. In guerrilla warfare you form groups which attack those soft targets—police stations, policemen on duty, blowing

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up infrastructure. The African revolutionary wars are different from the Middle Eastern revolutionary wars. This is something you should know and bear in mind. And that's why we won and the groups in the Middle East have taken a very long time to achieve their aims. Because in Africa—you remember one of the conditions I mentioned—there must be a revolutionary leadership. A revolutionary is like a holy man, but using guns. If you can imagine Jesus wielding a gun, that is a revolutionary.

You must never do anything wrong. Therefore, when you select targets, you must select them very carefully. First of all, you must never attack noncombatants. Never, never, never, never! You would never have heard that Museveni attacked noncombatants, or that Mandela blew up people drinking in a bar. Why do you bother with people in a bar? People in a bar are not political, they are just merrymakers. Why do you target them? Targeting people in a bar is bankrupt. [Hijacking] aircraft is rubbish. The police station, the policeman on duty, [are the targets] Not [the policeman] off duty, no. The target must be armed, soft but armed. Infrastructure—if you blow up a transmitting station, there's no humanitarian consideration. You just blow it up. This is the difference between the revolutionary warfare in Africa, which we fought, and what goes on in the Middle East. So, in the guerrilla phase, you aim at soft targets. That is the second phase.

The third phase is what you call mobile warfare. That is when you are able to operate like a battalion or brigade size unit and go and attack, mainly in the rear of the enemy. In our case, when we started operations we concentrated them in one area called the "Luwero Triangle." This Luwero Triangle has 3,600 square miles of land, and it was a forested area. That's where we concentrated all our operations. Then the regimes collected their soldiers and flooded them into that area to crush us. By so doing, they removed troops from their rear, and by this time we had gained strength, so we attacked into their rear to capture weapons and so on. So that is phase three.

Now the final phase is conventional warfare. I normally hear people talking of guerrilla warfare as if it is a parallel form of warfare. No, guerrilla warfare is a phase. But in the end, for the cause to win, you must fight conventional warfare. Unless, of course, you weaken the other side through guerrilla warfare and then the other side negotiates, and you get a political settlement. There is also that possibility, when the other side does not wait for the conclusion of the whole affair militarily. But if you are to win, you must eventually fight conventional warfare.

During phase one, when the revolutionary stages an agitation [and conducts] clandestine operations, then training starts—military training. The leaders select some people who are very reliable and start training them. The whole population may not be aware that training is going on because you select the most advanced, the ones who are most committed. And this training has four components: ideological, organizational,



AFP, Peter Busomoke

Supporters welcome Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni in Luwero District, Uganda, 23 December 2005.

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military, and political. A revolutionary is first and foremost ideological; military is second. When he is committed, it will be easy for him to undertake any assignment. That ideological training is most important, even more important than the military. The military is a means in the hands of the vision of the revolutionary.

Now during much of these phases, the revolutionary has always used the principle of "need to know." You don't broadcast information to everybody. You only give somebody what he needs to know in order to do his work. And you avoid bureaucracy. Recently I laughed [when] I was in Uganda and I saw on TV that there's a group in Colombia, they call them "something-something." Now that group had computers and they had information in the computers—those are amateurs. Information must be in the revolutionary's head, not on any piece of paper, especially future plans. If you [the revolutionary] attack and capture the materials—yes, you can record it—but also the enemy knows because the enemy knows what he lost. You can record that you captured so much ammunition, that one you can record. But plans, plans, plans—should never be on paper, should never be anywhere. So when I heard of that group in Colombia, I think those people [the Colombian military] are lucky to have such a group to fight.

During all these phases, [from] the phase of guerrilla warfare [through] the phase of mobile warfare, you should never attack the enemy who is entrenched, who is in the trenches or who is prepared. You should attack the enemy on the move. Always lure out the enemy, get him out of his camp to come and look for you. That's when you wait for him. He's slightly more vulnerable than when he is camped.

Earlier, I talked about the revolutionary's ability to survive constituting a form of victory, but that's not enough. If you survive without growing, then you are not succeeding. Survival must also involve growing: growing in terms of numbers, in terms of more cells, in terms of equipment, in terms of accouterment. If you are just there surviving, then you are a bandit. So [if you are] fighting the revolutionary and manage to stop him from growing, then you can regard it as a victory on your side.

A revolutionary is first and foremost ideological; military is second. When he is committed, it will be easy for him to undertake any assignment.

I had talked about the targets in the other phases. Attack police stations; attack policemen on duty because they are not in great numbers; blow up infrastructure—railways, power lines, waterworks; attack intelligence staff; scare away government administrators—don't kill civilians! Civilians should not be killed if they are not armed—even if they are for the government—you scare them away, [tell them] "Don't come back here. If we find you here again, you'll see." The fellow will just run away. You don't have to kill. And that, by the way, is also part of building the prestige of the revolutionary movement. Because the word goes around, "These people are not killers! They could have killed me. They captured me. I was in their control but they told me to go away." Very big, very big—you are now like Jesus, but armed—armed Jesus. Just scare them away. You come and arrest him. "You, fellow, we told you to go away." Because, what is your interest? You want these people, the administrators, to leave the area so that the government has no control there. That's what you are interested in. You are not interested in killing them, just scare them away.

Ambush army vehicles so that they are forced into convoys—that's very crucial. You ambush vehicles so they stop moving as single vehicles, [because] when they form a convoy, that's very good because they are slowed down. They are no longer so fast.

During phases two and three, guerrilla warfare and mobile warfare, we fight battles which we call "battles of quick decision." You should always fight battles of quick decision. In guerrilla warfare, don't fight for more than 20 minutes. When you reach the phase of mobile warfare, you can fight, like, for three hours, depending on what sort of enemy you are dealing with. Because if you linger around there, then the enemy will bring reinforcements and you will be overwhelmed. So you must attack, then go away quickly. You [cause] damage, [then] get out of harm's way. We, therefore, talk of fighting battles of quick decision in a protracted war. The war is protracted, but the battles are short.

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For the revolutionary warrior, war is a very clear business. Don't fight a battle from where you expect to expend more ammunition than you will get from the captured equipment. So, it's a business. The profitability ratio must be very high. You expend 10,000 rounds, you must expect to get about 30,000-40,000 rounds of ammunition. If you expend 10,000 rounds [and] you get 5,000 rounds, that's a loss and you should never fight such battles because you are getting weaker. If you squander your resources, you are making a very big mistake.

Now, eventually, in mobile warfare, we opened a second front in the Rwenzori Mountains. And eventually, we launched a strategic counteroffensive and from that time we were fighting conventional war.

Command, control, and communication. As we were fighting, we evolved two types of forces. [One] we called "zonal forces." In this phase of guerrilla warfare you don't communicate much. You meet as leaders and you agree, "We are going to do this and we shall do it like this." Then you disperse to your different areas. When you disperse, you don't communicate again. Each leader attacks in the agreed way. But you don't communicate, you don't report back, "You know today we did this…" No, no, no, no! The enemy will be the one reporting on his radio. BBC, they will be reporting for you. You don't have to talk about it, you just do. That's very important. It avoids leakage, it avoids interception by the other side. Because if there is too much traffic—radio, telephone—that is very dangerous for the revolutionary side.

Then the second type of forces are what we call "mobile forces." These are under the control of the top leadership, especially in the third phase, and these are the ones that get central directions to go and attack this one, attack that. Otherwise, the zonal forces are dispersed. You agree on the targets, you go and act separately, and then you can convene, like, after one year, to see what has been achieved and the way forward.

For security, we never discussed in houses—wouldn't sit in a house like this and start discussing plans—never. Always discuss in the open field. Therefore, for command, some of the command is dispersed, some is concentrated. Communication is by courier. You avoid using your radios, telephones, and so on.

Discipline. As I told you, a revolutionary warrior is like Jesus. You must not drink alcohol, you must not mistreat civilians, you must not take liberties with women, and, as Mao Tse-tung said, "You should never take a single needle or thread from the people without paying for it." And in case one of our soldiers commits a mistake, especially killing people, he must be punished where the mistake was committed, in front of the people. If you take him away to punish him somewhere else, you are in trouble with the population, especially a population which is not educated. Because they will not know whether you punished him or not, they will think that you have just covered him up. So that discipline is very crucial for the revolutionary cause to succeed.

Since the Vietnam War, there has been a lot of technological improvement in the weapons—the smart bombs, better observation, overhead imaging, thermal imaging, acoustic ways of getting information. Now, does technology make it impossible for a side that is weaker technologically but correct in



AFP, Alexander Joe

Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi, Tanzanian President Benjamin Mkapa, South African President Thabo Mbeki, Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi, and Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni pose for a photo in Arusha, where they gathered for a one-day Burundi summit, 1 December 1999.

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terms of justice to wage a resistance? My answer is, "No." [The weaker side] needs some change in the tactics. For instance, if [the technically superior side] can detect through remote means people who are hiding in the forest, the revolutionary warrior can still find a solution to that. What would be the solution? Be with the people where the people are—especially in the other phases. Be with the people so that it will not be easy for [the technologically superior side] to know who is an insurgent and who is not an insurgent.

In conclusion, I think it is still the old story. The real answer to a revolutionary war is political reform so that you deny the other side the reasons for getting support from the people. I think this is the real strategic answer to a revolutionary challenge. Thank you very much.

Question and Answer Session

First question: *Sir, you recently spoke at the United Nations in New York. What do you see as the future role of the United Nations in Africa?*

Museveni: The United Nations needs to be serious. They are not serious. The United Nations is full of careerists. You know a "careerist?" A careerist is a "job-doer" who is doing the job as a career—as a job. But we need people of conviction in the United Nations, and this is totally lacking. They, therefore, don't do good work. They make a lot of mistakes, but having said that, I am for reforming the UN, not for scrapping it. If you scrap it, then you have no other forum, so I think the answer is to reform it. But, they are not doing too good of a job, in my opinion, especially in peacekeeping and so on; but even in development issues, like when they are talking about what they call MDGs, Millennium Development Goals. Now what they did, they set up social indicators. Infant mortality should be brought down to so many, so should maternal mortality. But the question is, *how* are you going to do that? Are you going to use witchcraft? Or are you going to use development?

Now one of the biggest problems of Africa is exporting raw materials. This is part of our struggle now. Take Uganda. Uganda is the fourth biggest exporter of coffee in the whole world. Of course we are now changing this, but in the past we'd get one dollar per kilogram of coffee. And when it is taken to somewhere else—to a group called "Nestlé"—they roast it, grind it, and for them, they get twenty dollars for the same kilogram for which I got one dollar. That means, therefore, that Uganda is giving aid. Uganda is a donor to some of these countries for nineteen dollars in every kilogram of coffee.

We are not losing only the nineteen dollars per kilogram of coffee, we are also losing jobs. Those jobs are taken, they are exported. Now if you don't deal with that, then how will you deal with the so-called millennium development goals? If someone does not have a job, how can you eradicate [his] poverty? And how will people have jobs if there is no industrialization?

So, the UN has a lot of weaknesses, but I think they are curable.

Second question: *Sir, is there any concern within your country and other African nations for the increasing influence of China throughout Africa?*

Museveni: Oh, China! Oh, no, no, no! We are very happy with China. Some people have asked me this and it's really good that we talk about it. First, China has been a good influence up to now. They may change in the future, but up to now, they have been a very good influence. Why? Well, first of all, when we were fighting the colonialists, [the Chinese] gave us weapons, which was very good. When we would come to the United Nations—to the United States—Henry Kissinger, all those people, they would give us the Bible: "You go and preach to the oppressor." But the oppressor was not listening to the verses of the Bible, he wanted some force. And the Chinese gave us support to get rid of the colonialists in Africa.

But now, the important roles of China and India both are as follows: African raw materials had gone down in value. The price of steel had gone down. The price of copper had gone down. The price of all

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commodities had gone down. Why? We are being told that there is too much steel in the world. Let's take the example of steel. There's too much steel in the world, so the price goes down. But why was there supposed to be too much steel? This was, of course, an aberration. It was a misperception. But what they meant was, [there are] people living a rich life of affluence—in North America, the United States and Canada, western Europe and Japan—in good houses, driving cars, and so on. The rest of the world is living in very bad conditions. So what happens? Because of the reforms of Deng Xiaoping in China and the reforms in India, hundreds of millions of Indians and Chinese have now moved from peasant to middle class. So they are living now in good houses.

What does that mean? The price of steel goes up. The price of cement goes up. The Chinese, they [were] walking, on the streets of Beijing, walking or cycling. They are now driving. What does that mean? That the price of fuel goes up. And who is sending fuel? Uganda. Not bad. The price of steel goes up because of more cars. The price of food goes up. So it's very good. The Chinese have become a very big group in the world economy. So the commodity prices have now gone up, the food prices have gone up, and I'm very happy in Uganda. Our economy is growing very well—nine percent per annum. Why? Because we produce a lot of food. We have always produced it, but we had nowhere to sell it because the markets were blocked by protectionism. Now, because of hunger in the world, the whole world is crying for food. So the Chinese and Indians are a good influence.

But, Africans—we are taking no chances. We were colonized once; we shall never be colonized again. We don't want to sit down, because we don't know. When China becomes a superpower, suppose they also become aggressive, and they say, "We are too many in China." Africa is a very big continent. Africa is 11 million square miles of land. You can fit the United States, China, India, and Argentina all into Africa and they would fit. Now suppose the Chinese say, "There is empty land in Africa, we want to go and live there," when they are a superpower. That's why we are talking of African integration—economic, political integration. We are even now working for the political federation of East Africa. We want east Africa to become one country. Our brother Muammar Gaddafi from Libya, he wants the whole of Africa to become one country. Some of us are saying "That's a bit too much." But, certainly, the political map of Africa will change.

And why do we do this? We want to implement our Lord's Prayer—our Lord is Jesus Christ—[for] those who are not Christian. Our Lord's Prayer says, "Thou shall not lead us into temptation, but deliver us from evil." We don't want to lead anybody into temptation by remaining weak. Whilst you are weak, you lead people into temptation, to think that they can control you. And we don't want that to happen again in Africa.

Third question: *Mr. President, your last comments lead me to my question. What do you see is the role of faith and religion in the protracted war?*

Museveni: Maybe what I did not clarify is that for revolutionary warfare to succeed, it must be ideologically correct. And what does that mean? It means you must be fighting for just aims. I talked about it, but indirectly. Now if you fight for religion, per se, I don't think you will be fulfilling that condition, because you find sometimes some of the old religious beliefs. In older religions you find that, for instance, the role of women is handled differently. In fact in some of the religions, women are suppressed. Now if you set out with that ideology of—the English word is atavism—atavism means when you want to go back and live like the people lived in the olden days—I don't think you will go far, especially if you are dealing with people who know what they are doing, because they can mobilize the sections you are neglecting against you and you may not win. So, sectarianism, in my opinion, is not one of the conditions that can be covered under revolutionary warfare. Revolutionary warfare is a war of liberation liberating the broadest possible sections of the population. Now, if you are not liberating women, and women always form 51 percent of the population in all countries, whom are you liberating? I think those are some of the adventurists. Some of the efforts I would classify as adventurist, or even reactionary adventurist, or even reactionary.

Question four: *Sir, what are your thoughts on the establishment of AFRICOM?*

Museveni: AFRICOM. General Ward came to see me—he told me about it. In Africa, generally,

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we don't like foreign bases. We don't want foreign bases—somebody brings and puts a base there—that's what we don't like. In fact, I think there are resolutions of the African Union against that. But, we normally work with the United States in some situations. Like when there was a problem in the Congo, the American Army came and used the Entebbe airport. On an ad hoc basis, we can work together. But what we would not accept is to have a situation where part of our country is a base of another country. Africans are totally against that and in my opinion it's not necessary. So if AFRICOM stays where they are and once in a while they come and we coordinate on an ad hoc basis, I think that would be good enough. But it's good to have a group—an American Army group and a command—which concentrates on the problems of Africa. I think that's good, because they generate knowledge, they generate information. But bases in Africa is very, very controversial. They would not support military bases on a permanent basis.

Question five: *Sir, after you won your insurgency, how did you ensure long-term peace amongst the people? How did you reconcile the people?*

Museveni: Those that you call "insurgents," in Uganda we call "terrorists." We call them terrorists because they were proxies of Sudan. You know we had a problem with the Sudan government. As I told you earlier there was this problem of Africans and Arabs in Sudan. Now the Sudanese suspected that, one day, we may side with our black brothers in their internal conflict. They, therefore, wanted to get rid of us, and we were not very interested in being got rid of. So we had to fight. And now that the issue of Sudan is over, we don't have any other political reason inside Uganda that could cause a sustained war. But secondly, our army was also growing at that time. It was still a one-service army, just with infantry. Now we are a bi-service force, we have all the means to guarantee peace in the country and there is total peace in the country.

Question six: *Sir, I have two questions I'd like to ask you. My first question has to do with going from a military officer to that of a president. What are your visions toward insurgency, extremists, poverty reduction, and equal distribution of wealth in Africa as a whole? My second question is, as we know that the Organization of African Unity has been changed into the African Union, what is your own role as it relates to the Global War on Terrorism?*

Museveni: On the distribution of wealth in Africa, the biggest challenge in Africa is transformation—social, economic transformation. That's what I was telling the United Nations. You know, the difference between Europe and Africa is that, if you go back to about 1400, you'll find that the level of development in Africa and in Europe was not very different. But the problem was that since 1400 or 1500, European societies have been metamorphosed. I always like to use that word, metamorphosed. It's a biological term, which means an insect evolving from egg to caterpillar to pupa to mature butterfly. The European society had been metamorphosed from feudal societies—peasant societies—to middle class, skilled working-class societies. African societies up to now are still peasant, or even feudal in some cases. That's where the challenge is. The challenge is transformation, not just distributing, because what do they have to distribute? Sometimes they are just distributing poverty. But the challenge is transformation. And how do you do transformation? First of all, education for all, education for everybody. Secondly, private-sector-led growth—the private sector leading the industrialization of Africa—now that will create jobs for people. They are the people you have sent through school. Jobs would enable you to collect more taxes for the government and so on. So I do not think the primary issue is wealth distribution. I think the primary issue is transformation. Yes, distributing wealth may help in the process of transformation, but I don't think it is the primary solution. Because even where it is done, if you do not have wealth to distribute, you may not go very far.

Now, the Global War on Terror. Uganda supported President George Bush when he went to Iraq the other time, mainly because of our experience with the terrorism of Sudan, we do not like terrorism. And I've told you that we have a difference of opinion. In colonial times, we used to belong to the same group as the Arabs. We used to call it the Afro-Asian Solidarity Group. We were together with the Indonesians, the Indians, Nehru and Nasser, the Arabs. But I've been talking to some of the Arab leaders—we really don't agree with their methods. I've already talked about it in my speech. Why do

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you hijack a plane? You know, women who are pregnant, they are in the plane going to antenatal care—now you hijack that one. What sort of revolutionary are you? So, we do not support terrorism. We don't think that terrorism is the right instrument for a revolutionary force. I know the Palestinians have got issues with the Israelis—they are entitled to their homeland—but the methods they use—we do not associate ourselves with them.

Now regarding the Global War on Terror, I happened to have met President Bush the other day when I was in New York, and I had met him last year. And last year I suggested to him that we should have a United States-African Union summit so that we can talk about these issues. We have had a summit with China—the Sino-African summit in Beijing—we had a summit with India, we have had a summit with the European Union. And I have proposed to President Bush that we should have African Union-United States summit so that we can talk about these issues. Now, pending that summit, I would not like to give more views on that matter because I would want us to discuss it directly—how to move forward. But, generally speaking, we do not support terrorism because it is not necessary. As I said in my speech here, you can fight without being a terrorist. I am a revolutionary; I have never been a terrorist. And terrorism is not about the cause, it is about the methods. When you target noncombatants, you are a terrorist. When you use violence indiscriminately—a terrorist is the one who uses violence indiscriminately—that is a terrorist. And we do not support that.

Last question: *Mr. President, I had the privilege of being deployed to Uganda from April of '06 to August of '06 and was the OIC—the officer in charge—of training the Uganda People's Defence Force, about 300 UPDF soldiers. And seeing their spirit—their active learning—really, truly impressed me. What do you see as the future UPDF role in reference to Somalia's struggle for strong governance and independence?*

Museveni: Thank you very much for contributing to our training. Our role in Somalia is to try to help the Somalis rebuild their state. And we are there to help them. First of all, we defend the airport and the seaport and the government house, which we defend all the time. When the terrorists come to attack us we just send them off.

But, more important, we'd like to see ourselves as a catalyst in building the Somali army and police by training them. And even the other day we had a small meeting in New York, which involved Assistant Secretary Jendayi Frazier of the United States, the prime minister of Ethiopia, and some other people. We were discussing this very point. If only the Somali government would also deal with the issue of revenue collection, because when we train people and they are not paid then they disperse and become part of the militia. And it would be good if the Somali government, or that wonderful United Nations—if the wonderful United Nations could pay the Somali army for, like, one year or one-and-a-half years—and in the meantime the head of the Somali state starts collecting their own revenue, it would be easy to rebuild that country. Because the Somalis are fighters, they are easy to organize. They just need leadership. But the Somali government must collect revenue to pay the soldiers. And our job is to guard those strategic centers, and also train the new Somali army.

I thank you very much.

General Caldwell's Concluding Remarks

For you all who don't know it, when the president was here in June for his son's graduation we were captivated by the fact that he was a leader in his country's movement to bring back the power to the people. And listening to his stories was absolutely fascinating—a first-hand, personal account over many years—and then to hear what he has done today for the people of Uganda as he serves them still now as their president.

Sir, you're true to your word. You told us in June you would come back and as a president of a nation. I'll be very honest, we had very low expectation [of seeing you again] with the demands on your schedule! But we are extremely honored that you took the time and came back to share with all of us here today your experiences. We are very much enriched and enlightened by what you had to say and we appreciate it very much. Thank you, sir. ***MR***

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RETHINKING IO

COMPLEX OPERATIONS IN THE INFORMATION AGE

Brigadier General Huba Wass de Czege, U.S. Army, Retired



OPERATIONAL PARADIGMS that might have seemed sensible 15 years ago confuse more than clarify today. In the years just prior to 11 September 2001, a new "American way of war" emerged to replace Cold War paradigms—those underlying, reflexive ways of thinking embedded in our doctrines. What emerged was a conceptual shift dubbed "Rapid Decisive Operations" (RDO). RDO rested on these pillars: An Air Force and Navy capable of controlling air, space, and sea domains from which to coerce enemies with a hail of precise air and naval missile power; increasingly more capable special operating forces to penetrate enemy territory and provide targets; and a new core capability called "information operations" (IO) to "influence, disrupt, corrupt or usurp adversarial human and automated decisionmaking, while protecting our own." In this IO domain, as in the others, the term most used in the late 1990s to describe the product of American technological superiority was not just superiority, but "dominance." RDO asserted that leveraging these asymmetric superiorities would not only conserve scarce ground forces and reduce casualties, but they would also achieve rapid and decisive results. As we saw versions of RDO applied in Kosovo in 2000, in Afghanistan in 2002, and in Iraq in 2003, it became clear to most professionals that this new paradigm oversimplified complexities then not well understood. In fact the chief failing of RDO was an utter lack of respect for the difficulty of what it set out to do: either to achieve *relevant* dominance in any sense, or to coerce any determined adversary to undertake any actions whatsoever. Even denying an adversary the ability to coerce or attack its neighbors has to be approached with humility today.

The IO component of this package has remained the most resistant to revision. Two prized and related tenets have proven especially intractable. The first of these tenets is that "the integrated employment of the core capabilities of electronic warfare, computer network operations, psychological operations, military deception, and operations security, in concert with specified supporting and related capabilities" is the best way to gain the maximum benefit of so-called IO core, supporting, and related capabilities. The other is that when these capabilities are thus integrated, an independent IO "logical line of operations" (LLO) can influence the behaviors of adversaries (and the populations that support them) with so-called "information effects" alone.

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PHOTO: Statue in Cherbourg-Octeville, unveiled by Napoleon III in 1858. Napoleon I once remarked that in war "the moral is to the physical as three to one." (Eric Pouhier, http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.5/)

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For those who have been in the trenches, and working closely with the brigade combat teams most involved in the challenges of trying to "influence" the behaviors of real people under stress, these two tenets have proven amateurishly inadequate. While progress is being made on other fronts of "defense transformation," IO is stuck in an outmoded and naïve mind-set. Pentagon bureaucracy labors under the tyranny of a sluggish, lowest-common-denominator, top-down-bias in Joint doctrine. Engrained and enshrined habits of thought stand in the way of learning, unlearning, and relearning.

I have been an advocate, practitioner, and observer of IO since its birth, and I have witnessed and experienced its evolution. I understand both the timeless aspects of principles of action and the influence of new technologies. And I have a sense of what may lie ahead.

While progress is being made on other fronts of "defense transformation," IO is stuck in an outmoded and naïve mind-set.

Approaching a Conceptual Shift

Given the complexity of modern operating environments, foundational questions about IO have become problematic. Expected questions like "How can we better achieve information superiority and enhanced information effects?", "What are the 'best practices' in the field?", and "What is the best way to integrate core IO capabilities?" reveal inherent flaws in understanding how IO fits in a comprehensive theory of war. Attempts to answer such questions reveal symptoms of error, anomalies in theory, and tensions in logic, rather than solutions. The very term "IO" loses all descriptive and explanatory power when trying to make normative judgments from current doctrine and past understanding. In other words, it would be impossible to fix IO by working within the confines of the current understanding of IO. Asking these same questions again would not provide a fresh assessment.

To gain the most value from IO capabilities, we need to examine what roots underlie the symptoms, anomalies, and tensions evinced in the questions that current missions prompt:

- Has something enriched our understanding since the 1990s that could change current paradigms?
- Do current paradigms sufficiently describe and explain cause-and-effect relationships?
- Do current paradigms predict and control outcomes?
- Are current processes fundamentally relevant to current problems?

Answering these questions will entail examining paradigms for the following:

- Capabilities planning and collective employment.
- Actual purposes that capabilities serve in practice.
- Commanders' specific needs.
- What exactly we really do when we use IO.

Addressing these concerns requires determining exactly what "IO" denotes to experts in the professional literature and precisely what it means to practitioners in the field. Such an examination should lead to alternative paradigms that more accurately meet current and future needs. It should reveal how staff and command processes need to change, and what capabilities need to change and why.

The study undertaken to answer these questions resulted in a lengthy report that is yet unpublished. This article contains broad conclusions from the study, and it recommends specific changes. Forthcoming articles will entail more detailed recommendations.

Broad Conclusions

Current IO paradigms suit the main problem framed in the 1990s: how to rapidly and decisively take down a modern, well-defended regime also dependent on modern information-age technologies. Although current "core, supporting, and related capabilities of IO" will likely be central to achieving success in foreseeable 21st century military missions, those capabilities require scrutiny to understand the most effective way to integrate them. The current overarching IO paradigm misframes the problems facing both operators and commanders today. They thus gain less from these capabilities—and the competencies required—than they could. A major implication is that it is time to give up the practice of IO as a separate LLO within our greater military operations.

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Current conditions require organizing for, and developing greater competence in, the ever novel and complex operations the information age presents.

New ways of thinking are required to achieve the full benefit of IO capabilities. Current ways do not provide a relevant logic for IO. For instance, it will be more important to integrate words and deeds than to integrate the employment of IO capabilities into one LLO. It will also be more important to tailor planning approaches to the nature of the tool, and the causal logic that governs its function, than to assume that tools based on a linear logic and those based on a non-linear logic can both use the same planning approaches.

Logic and experience suggest it will be more important to pursue *three* ever-present, but practical, mission needs than to pursue (the grander, doctrinal, but over-ambitious) task of achieving "information superiority" to "influence, disrupt, corrupt," and so on. These needs are:

- Win the psychological contest with current and potential adversaries.
- Keep the trust and confidence of home and allied populations while gaining the confidence and support of the local one.
- Win the operational and strategic, cognitive and technical "information-age applications" contest with current or potential adversaries.

It will be necessary to integrate the capabilities for meeting these needs into a combined arms pursuit of multiple objectives (rather than, as aforementioned, pursuing one separate IO LLO).

Effective application already also requires expertise in very different disciplines. It will become even more important to reorganize IO capabilities into groupings for staff oversight that share common functional purposes, causal logic, and art- and science-based competencies. Leaving the collection of IO tools under the oversight of one staff officer has become an untenable option, and proper preparation and education will be increasingly difficult to achieve.

Once we re-think the way to employ the tools and competencies now in the IO kit bag, we need to educate, train, organize, and resource as if we were serious about their efficacy. The scope and scale of efforts to unify the message of words and deeds, and to win the cognitive and technical contest, need to be well organized and adequately resourced. They currently are not.

Environmental complexity has also forced the realization that current paradigms require radical restructuring rather than patchwork repair. The logic underlying these conclusions is summarized below.

Coherence of Words and Deeds

New paradigms have to account for necessary coherence between words and deeds. Many centuries ago, Sun Tzu emphasized the natural blending of the physical and moral domains in war. This wisdom was practiced by successful military commanders through the ages and later formally endorsed by both Napoleon Bonaparte and Carl von Clausewitz. Until recently, military theorists and practitioners agreed that an important defeat mechanism, not only in tactical engagements but in battles and campaigns as well, was to establish what was called "moral superiority." This psychological effect (on morale) prior to action would ideally



Statue of Sun Tzu in Yurihama, Tottori, Japan. Sun Tzu's *The Art of War* remains the masterpiece of holistic war theory.

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Sun Tzu emphasized the natural blending of the physical and moral domains in war. This wisdom was... later formally endorsed by both Napoleon Bonaparte and Carl von Clausewitz.

assure a more complete and rapid success. Americans have bifurcated these domains to some degree in their reliance on technology (which carries no inherent moral content). Separating IO as a distinct LLO works against the naturally cross-reinforcing physical and psychological aspects of war.

At the same time, military culture evolved a bias toward "effects" in the physical dimension that was fostered by technologically evolved, simulated training environments. These gave little credit to non-physical, psychological battlefield influences. This growing bias fed the artificial bifurcation of the naturally conjoined physical and moral domains of war. The complex pathos of counterinsurgency has raised awareness of the moral domain again, but related distinctions are not well understood. For instance, so-called "kinetic" and "non-kinetic effects" and lethal and non-lethal actions present dissimilar logical categories. Non-kinetic effects can include electronic warfare and computer network operations that still operate in the physical domain. Lethal "effects" affect morale. Non-lethal ones may not. We need to return to the classical distinctions without losing our physical effectiveness.

Military actions may change physical facts, but they also change moral facts as perceptions, attitudes, and subsequent behaviors. Actions speak. They can demonstrate professional competence that engenders respect and fear, and everything we convey in words and images should resonate in harmony with our actions. Only when actions and communications resonate in harmony do words and images acquire a multiplier effect. Well thought-out actions remain the most convincing way to influence human behavior. Well-chosen, well-targeted words and images that build on such foundations can enhance that sphere of influence. Current doctrine, training approaches, and education should change to reinforce the natural fusion of war's physical and moral (psychological) domains. Our less bureaucratic adversaries already get it.

Highly Complex Missions

Modifying command and planning processes to focus on the very complex missions soldiers encounter today should become a priority. Useful application of some IO competencies must take the complexity of causal chains into account. The Army and the Marine Corps have been working on modifications to command processes for complex missions, and both the Army War College and the School of Advanced Military Studies have modified instruction to address them. But no one in authority has yet directed changes in doctrine and general practice based on the missions that prevail today. Doctrine still centers on missions with unambiguous and unitary objectives. Such missions involve distinct and hierarchical adversaries and allies within clear contextual boundaries. They present problems one can solve using a linear logic. Most missions from Grenada to Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF) have required the pursuit of multiple parallel and sequential objectives involving shadowy and non-hierarchical adversaries. They have involved local informal alliances with varied partners within uncertain contextual boundaries that contain problems exhibiting complex, non-linear and interactive causal chains possessing no clear solution (e.g., the mission statement "Fix Ramadi").

This complexity is not limited to stability operations or counterinsurgencies. Such qualities were as present in OIF I and Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) I as they have been in later rotations. Complexity and novelty conspire to make lessons learned in one mission potentially non-transferable to the next, and this intractability makes stabilizing doctrine difficult. A combination of increasing complexity and novelty demands modification of the normal linear Military Decision Making Process (MDMP), effects-based planning (EBP), and the Joint planning process. Consensus is gathering that complex missions require as much command attention to "problem formulation" decisions as to "solution implementation" decisions. Formulation is less based on deductive analysis than on inductive synthesis—akin to a doctor's diagnosis.

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When the available doctrine cannot provide a logical template for coping with the complexity at hand, a commander must try to discover that logic in some disciplined and rigorous way. More importantly, complex missions also require turning inside the learning-adaptation cycle of other relevant actors in the mission context.

Extended operations naturally involve iterative cyclical processes of acting, sensing, deciding, and adapting. Even under the best circumstances, cognition in this interactive complexity drives operations to proceed on an imperfect understanding of inherent networks of causality. The commander's diagnosis must start with a hypothesis as a basis for initial action. Initial actions can then aim to improve the situation and enrich or clarify understanding. This approach is natural to all organic beings and societies. We only need to do this deliberately and more scientifically.

Information operations practitioners play a critical role in solving their command's ill-structured problems because it is their milieu. Their ill-structured challenges (composed of complex, non-linear, and interactive causal chains) involve deriving maximum value from IO capabilities. Linear planning processes that apply to fires and targeting involve predictable first-order effects in the physical domain. According to a well-understood linear logic, they create easily recognizable and measurable results. Such "normal" operations appropriately involve so-called "effects-based" planning. IO's psychological operations (PSYOP), military deception (MILDEC), public affairs (PA), and the like present difficulties that do not yield to an effects-based analysis. They operate purely in the moral domain according to a complex logic that has unpredictable second- and third-order ramifications. Predicting even their first-order effects is monumentally problematic, and that elusiveness may confound any attempt to sense and measure them.

Some IO missions, like operations security (OPSEC), information assurance (IA), counterintelligence (CI), and civil-military operations (CMO), operate across both the physical and moral domains. They produce predictable first-order effects according to the linear logic of physical laws, but their actual primary purpose is a product of second- and third-order effects attained by a far more complex logic. Easily recognizable and measurable first-order effects of each of these can be achieved within the logic of effects-based planning. But the further effects that actually produce the broader primary purposes of such missions result from complex causal chains. Thus the ends of OPSEC, IA, CI, and CMO are properly pursued by the same effort of learning and adaptation as applies to capabilities that operate purely in the moral domain.

Seeking desired outcomes amidst such complexity requires a disciplined, sustained, and purposeful iterative cyclical process: acting, sensing, deciding, and adapting. There will always be an imperfect understanding of inherent causal networks in such missions. Actions (or events) are designed as much to learn as to advance desired ends, and the aim is to turn inside the learning-adaptation cycle of other relevant actors.

Many known and unknown actors and events beyond the command's control constantly influence this milieu. It competes with a multiplicity of agents in the mission context and needs to learn how to inform and influence despite this intricacy. Maintaining coherence of words and deeds becomes paramount because the command's communicators compete in a realm of moral credibility. When the command sends discordant messages through its actions, or it fails to cross-reinforce words and deeds, its credibility is shaken. Lack of harmony between words and actions confuses audiences, and lack of consistency in messages further erodes credibility. And messages that are too general, rather than confined to the purpose of the command's mission, inhibit coherence.

Sensing relevant feedback is necessary, especially about the consequent behaviors of all relevant actors. Feedback makes it possible to make sound decisions about how to modify messages, actions, methods, approaches, modes of sensing, objectives, and even the framing of the problem. Learning how to learn about things the command is not organized to learn about is both difficult and essential. We neglect to test and improve the effectiveness of our ability to sense, thus we fail to learn how to learn. Such shortcomings affect our ability to improve our understanding of causal (influence) networks at the core of complex missions. Thus we impede progress toward mission goals.

This "turning inside the learning-adaptation cycle" logic is fundamental to getting the most value from IO capabilities.

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We neglect to test and improve the effectiveness of our ability to sense, thus we fail to learn how to learn.

Practical and Realistic Purposes

A theory's purpose has to be practical. To be useful, a theoretical paradigm's purpose has to be achievable via a science-based (empirical) logic. The purpose inherent in current IO paradigms is too abstract, thus unmeasurable, and far too ambitious, thus unrealistic.

Joint doctrine's stated IO purpose (noted above) is too narrowly focused on adversaries. It also assumes that IO capabilities are not only necessary but sufficient for success. As such, this formulation recalls RDO because it does not address moral complexity like gaining the trust, confidence, and support of local populations. It thus underestimates adversarial decision-making where many things beyond the knowledge or control of IO operators will have influence.

In Army doctrine, IO's purpose is "to gain and maintain information superiority, a condition that allows commanders to seize, retain, and exploit the initiative." In actual practice, this abstraction is rarely the practical objective of IO LLO. The doctrinal purpose is far too idealistic and ambitious for the causal logic it suggests. Such broad dogmas encourage fuzzy thinking among IO professionals by using pseudo-scientific terms such as "information effects" (meaning the output of any or all IO capabilities) and "influence operations" (implying that IO capabilities are the only means commanders have to influence human behavior).

The real aim of commanders and their IO practitioners is to contribute to three broad purposes essential to the success of all highly complex missions:

- Win the psychological contest with current and potential adversaries.
- Keep the trust and confidence of home and allied populations while gaining the confidence and support of the local one.
- Win the operational and strategic, cognitive and technical "information-age applications" contest with current or potential adversaries.

Each of these necessary, realistic, and tangible aims relies on distinct, understandable logic and specific competencies. They accurately describe what savvy modern commanders actually do with IO by usefully categorizing by communities of common logic and purpose. They exhaust all uses of what is meant by "IO" in current professional usage. This ad hoc categorization facilitates the evolution of capabilities, competencies, and deeper expertise. While current formal IO categorization is a selective association of capabilities having to do with manipulation and processing of "information" (a common input to *all* military aims and functions), this approach categorizes more usefully by outputs. It focuses on intended results and the unique way they are achieved. This is a much more useful way to think about solving military operational problems in highly complex and dynamic mission environments.

Psychological war. In highly complex mission environments, winning the psychological contest is the main effort. Excellence in operations depends not only on using force to elicit change, but also on leveraging one's reputation for physical efficiency to influence decisions in the moral domain. Intimidating, demoralizing, mystifying, misleading, and surprising all aim to influence the physical domain. Such a holistic approach to real and potential adversaries uses psychological warfare, or "PSYWAR." PSYWAR was natural to Alexander, Hannibal, Caesar, Napoleon, and the other great captains up through the 20th century. A holistic approach continues to be essential to success. The less we can bring brute force to bear, the more we need to engage a psychological impact. The more our application of force becomes precise and discriminating, and the more rapidly our capabilities advance, the more artful we need to be in linking deeds, images, and words to leverage a psychological impact.

In practice today, deeds, images, and words are insufficiently linked due to segregated staff processes and doctrinal insistence on IO as a distinct LLO that often deploys empty threats and illusory rewards in pursuit of overly ambitious ends. Current Joint and Army IO doctrine tends to understate, and underrate, the difficulty of influencing desperate and creative people to do what they really don't want to do. We can never presume to understand the fears of others or what rewards will entice. Moreover, empty threats and illusionary rewards are increasingly difficult to mask in an increasingly transparent world.

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Alexander fighting Persian king Darius III. From the Alexander Mosaic, Pompeii, Naples National Archaeological Museum. Alexander psychologically conditioned his enemies before battle.

Because we can never be sure how opponents will react to words and images, concrete actions designed to force choices inevitably follow. Therefore the PSYWAR paradigm encompasses both the art of conveying threats and rewards (PSYOPS) and the art of combining with actions intended to force choices. Helping the adversary understand the inevitability of choice-forcing actions is the function of PSYOPS.

Creating and exploiting a line of least expectation to the enemy's greatest vulnerability is central to the most economical and decisive path to success. The art of deceiving an adversary (more specifically mystifying, misleading, and surprising), is more than electronic deception, the aspect most emphasized by Joint IO doctrine. In the modern transparent environment, creating synergy between words and deeds (by harmonizing them) is essential to making the intended impression. Coordinating words and deeds resonates operationally, and understanding human behavior in the face of such synergy is as important as any other action or factor.

Past great captains wove the psychological and the physical together in actions against adversaries. Alexander, for example, always prepared for physical engagements by a thorough reconnaissance and psychological conditioning of his adversary. Genghis Khan and Tamerlane were both adept at following–up operations with psychological exploitation that extended implications to the furthest extent possible. Such intellectual rigor should become the habit of all American commanders at all levels.

Adopting a rigorously holistic approach to war will have profound implications for military education. Deep expertise in human psychology will be necessary. Army and Joint doctrine are not clear enough about the logic and theory that concerns the ever-present mental contest with implacable adversaries. While the moral dimension of war was well understood by Sun Tzu (writing in, roughly, 500 B.C.E.) and elaborated by military theorists since, we have lost touch with it. The modern literature of human psychology and decision-making is abundant, and this science is rapidly advancing. We only need to add information-age conditions to a holistically woven theory of war.

Military public relations. Keeping the trust and confidence of home and allied publics, while gaining the confidence and support of local populations, was crucial in the Peloponnesian War. Such considerations are classical, not new. The major difference today is the speed with which populations acquire information. Adversaries today can misinform, distort events, and prejudice relevant populations if they act quickly. Technology makes gaining public confidence and support far more immediate than ever before. It also used to be possible to think of affecting two separate populations—the home front and those in the battlespace. Such distinctions are no longer practical. "Military public relations" is the term that best describes the increasingly important and indivisible art of gaining and maintaining favorable relations with the public at home, in allied countries, and in the area of operations abroad.

Public opinion is the arbiter of success in all military operations. In this age, military public relations must increasingly become an integral part of operations. When people at home and in allied countries get the impression that their forces are ineffective and illegitimate, they will withdraw support. When people in the battlespace believe our enemy is winning, they will join them just to survive. When they believe our operations are illegitimate and against their interests, they will oppose us.

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Before the first physical encounter with an indigenous population occurs, a moral reconnaissance of the human terrain should precede. A focused military public relations effort must first identify and assess potential allies and condition first impressions. And as situations unfold, the aim of military public relations among the local population should relate a coherent and credible narrative of success, progress, and positive consequences. Given the latent violence of military forces, this problematic work is increasingly essential for success.

Realistically, military forces have to prove worthy of the great risks these local populations are being asked to accept. Because of this, lessons from commercial advertising are not necessarily as directly applicable as some practitioners in the field believe. Soldiers and Marines are not selling a product. Our approach to winning approbation from the home front populations is overly centralized, too slow, inflexible, and outmoded. It would benefit from a "mission command" approach to de-centralized control. However, winning local allies, and gaining trust and confidence, is grass roots, bottom-up work, not susceptible to economies of scale. Absolute unity of effort is required for success in military public relations because these two related but separate challenges are so entwined today. You cannot say one thing to the media for broadcast back home and another thing to the village elders in the area of operations. Actions communicate better than words in both cases, and neither audience wants to be propagandized and manipulated. Such "influencing" is the common jaded perception resulting from PSYOP. Behaving professionally, and telling it straight, simply, and quickly works best.

Both halves of military public relations must contend with people apt to switch between positive and negative attitudes based on changing perceptions. (Human beings have difficulty remaining neutral.) The object is to keep the trust and confidence of the people who bear the burden of operations. Whether that burden is indirectly financial and moral, as at home, or a direct physical and moral imposition on those in the conflict, the majority need to be real allies in the fight. Failure is certain if they are not. When any mission aims to depose one government and facilitate the establishment of a new one, a radical and much more challenging shift in indigenous attitudes becomes necessary.

Being first with the truth is paramount in achieving such a shift. Minutes and hours matter whether that truth is a notable mission success, a failed enemy initiative, or bad news. The need for alacrity has outdated traditional mechanisms of vertical message control, which must be replaced. In other words, just as "mission command" relies on commanders' judgments to decide how to implement the intent of higher authorities, their discernment should likewise be trusted to filter and decide what should and could be said in public, as long as it pertains to their mission. Such trust streamlines clearance decisions, keeps spokespersons circumscribed, and is the only control mechanism that has a chance of meeting the speed required for success. It implies taking and maintaining the initiative to inform. It is the only way to guard the fragile credibility of any command on foreign soil.

The art of gaining and maintaining favorable relations with people in the area of operations also requires an interpersonal alliance with specific communities and their leaders. Such work depends on local social dynamics and cultural knowledge. We are neither organized nor educated for this work. Knowledgeable professionals should perform this work at brigade level and below where commanders have reorganized to perform it with available but undereducated people. Progress depends on accurate feedback of local perceptions, and specific knowledge about relationships, agendas, and interests. Our intelligence services are still primarily oriented toward learning about our adversaries and are ill-equipped for cultural expertise. Learning mechanisms in this dimension are stunted, and improvisation at this level has had mixed results.

Public law permits PSYOP organizations to conduct what I call military public relations, as long as it takes place abroad, even when it aims to influence allies in their homelands. Military leaders who are realists understand why this latitude is myopically problematic, even if "truth-based." Realistically, PSYOP should only be directed at command-designated adversaries. Oversight of PSYOP agents at every level is increasingly necessary to avoid damaging the military public relations effort.

Ironically, without the PSYOP capabilities now available to them, commanders would be shorthanded in their military public relations efforts. These efforts increasingly require more competence

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at lower and lower levels of command. Applicable career fields need to adapt to new demands and to expand capabilities within a broader, more realistic military public relations paradigm. And military public relations professionals require deep expertise relevant to spanning these challenges that comprise this necessarily unified field of competence.

NETWAR. Winning the strategic, operational, cognitive, and technical "information age applications" contest is becoming increasingly essential. Decisions have in the past depended on the commander's personal knowledge or on that immediately acquirable from those within voice contact. Since the first telegraph was set up in 1844, the electron has been harnessed to facilitate the transmission of critical information. We now live in a world of technology-enhanced networks of great variety and scope. Rapidly evolving technologies are increasing not only the speed of modern networks, but also their effectiveness, power, and adaptability. As aforementioned, the idea of being somehow able to dominate an "information domain" and achieve "information superiority" is now naïve. Instead, focusing on modern communications, information processing, automation, and other rapidly evolving network applications and how to advantage our own operations and disadvantage the various kinds of adversaries we may face is more realistic. But such efforts require deep expertise centered on the science of electro-physics, cyber-electronics, and complex cyber network behaviors. They also require knowledge of how these relate to military tactics, operations, and strategy—such expertise is now much too scarce. The art has yet to acquire a military name, although some use the term "information operations" in this stricter understanding of electro-physics- and cyber-electronics-centered sensemaking. To avoid confusion I will use the term "network warfare" or the abbreviation "NETWAR." Related to NETWAR are:

- Use of modern automation enhanced networks to make better decisions than the enemy in less time.
- Deployment of technology to construct "super-efficient" proactive and reactive strike networks better than the enemy can. In theory, and as information technologies advance, reactive strike networks will become the backbone of defenses. Such networks operate on the principle of achieving the greatest possible efficiency when the enemy has the initiative. The proactive kind operates on the principle of achieving the greatest possible effectiveness when one has the initiative.
- Denying this same potential to adversaries by destroying, disrupting, corrupting, and usurping the enemy's networks and the information gathered and processed within them. Such efforts must be holistically and closely coordinated with intelligence functions that depend on clandestinely harvesting valuable information from such networks.
- Assuring the speed, efficiency, and integrity of our own networks and information processing capabilities. An area that requires a holistic approach as well, it requires broadly assigned but specific responsibilities with increased leader awareness and education. New paradigms must also take a realistic and comprehensive approach to contesting our adversaries in the dark corners of the Internet. Old notions of controlling or dominating a "domain" are absolutely unrealistic.
- Denying terrorists and extremists the unfettered ability to post their websites, recruit new members, spread propaganda, and plan attacks across the world. The speed, ubiquity, and potential anonymity of Internet media make ideal communication channels for militant groups and terrorist organizations.
- Denying adversaries the ability to attack our Internet-accessible financial, transportation, power generation, and other information infrastructures. Army forces should play a part in defenses of our strategic infrastructures and in counteroffensives against adversaries who attack them.

NETWAR is a natural growth area, and clear thinking must precede a disciplined and scientifically layered approach to this paradigm's evolution.

Three powerful advantages. Current IO doctrine abstractly describes cause-and-effect relationships assuming a linear causal chain in the absence of historical experience and scientific proof.

The three broad purposes (psychological war, military public relations, and NETWAR) in the new paradigm above are inherent in every mission. Ample historical evidence, established military theory, and scientific study back this fact. Its conceptual formulation has three powerful advantages:

- It results in easily identifiable, tangible, and measurable mission tasks.
- It highlights the necessity but insufficiency of IO core, supporting, and related capabilities and

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thus addresses the issue of essential synergies with capabilities outside the IO realm.

- It provides a more realistic path to deep expertise, more pertinent and clearly focused.

In the context of a specific mission, these purposes easily translate into tangible and measurable mission tasks.

However, while IO core, supporting, and related activities are normally necessary to achieve these broad purposes, they alone would rarely be sufficient. Sufficiency will result from a combined and coherent application of these purposes with capabilities outside the IO rubric. For instance, as powerful as words and images can be in the modern world, actions still speak louder. And as much as NETWAR contests will center on information technologies, sometimes sufficiency will depend on combined action with other capabilities outside that field.

Getting the most value from all IO core capabilities requires a far greater depth of expertise than is achievable by IO generalists within current IO paradigms. Even within the confines of pre-9/11 operational concepts such as RDO (for which IO was conceived to be an enabling tool), the required span of knowledge was challenging for any one person to acquire. Now, deep expertise is needed within these three communities (psychological war, military public relations, and NETWAR) of common logic and purpose, each of which applies a distinct area of competence.

Getting the most value from all IO core capabilities requires a far greater depth of expertise than is achievable by IO generalists within current IO paradigms.

Integration, Staff Oversight, and Necessary Organizational Changes

These essential IO capabilities and competencies require proper integration, the right staff oversight to optimize their value, a more useful approach to planning, and some adjustments in scope, scale, and focus.

Rationales for integration. Highly complex missions require the pursuit of multiple parallel and sequential objectives. Each objective requires influencing a different set of actors in ways relevant to the mission. Each resulting LLO will address problems exhibiting complex, non-linear, and interactive causal chains. The task force assigned the objective will integrate the appropriate arms and capabilities necessary and sufficient for success. Thus, rather than merely the integrated employment of IO core, supporting, and related capabilities in one LLO, the output must be integrated fully into the multiple lines of operations of the command.

Logic for staff oversight. What rationale should guide the oversight of this collection of capabilities? In one sense, elements of this collection naturally fit under staff sections that already integrate like-functions. Electronic warfare and computer network attack are weapons systems because these tools can be aimed at targets, just like artillery and attack aircraft, and they can temporarily suppress the functioning of equipment, networks, and command posts. This means they belong under the commander's agent for planning and coordinating the employment and effects of such weapons. Some aspects of operations security should return to G-3 oversight, but network security properly belongs to G-6 oversight. PA and PSYOP need to be coordinated within the staff on two axes.

The first axis is between the proper realm of PSYOP and the proper realm of Public Affairs. The logic presented in this report would further restrict the focus of PSYOP only to groups designated by the command as rivals, opponents, or the enemy. This distinction is no longer apparent, and as a command decision in every case, there has been counterproductive misapplication. Clearly it should not be a decision left to tradition or to the broad outlines of the law. The doctrinal mission of PSYOP must be to amplify for real and potential adversaries the implied messages of the unit's mission and actions. Meanwhile the mission focus of military public relations must be to speak for the command to all foreign and domestic audiences (because whatever is said to any audience has to be suitable for all). No open communications should disadvantage the campaigns of military public relations. And therefore PSYOP messages to the enemy must travel by means least likely to reach or influence non-enemy designated publics.

The other axis requiring close coordination is the one between words and deeds mentioned earlier. Neither the psychological contest with adversaries, nor the important effort to keep friends and gain allies,

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will succeed unless the physical and moral domain efforts are unified. The current cleavage between these two can be overcome only when education and training reinforces the unity of the moral and physical domains. The command's planning staff should include officers with deeper expertise in the arts of both PSYWAR and military public relations than the normal command and staff course graduate has.

A start has been made in that direction, because the School of Advanced Military Studies (SAMS), the primary source of division and corps planners, has been directed to educate its students in the art of military deception, and the MILDEC staff responsibility is assigned to the G-3 (plans and operations). SAMS graduates need deeper expertise not only in MILDEC but also in the broader arts of PSYWAR and military public relations. The G-3 should be responsible for insuring that the actions of the command speak clearly toward the objectives of every LLO and toward the mission as a whole. The G-7 (public and command information) should be responsible for advising the G-3 and commander about the impact of actions on perceptions, and for amplifying and clarifying the intended messages of the command's actions in support of all of its LLOs.

The G-2 (intelligence) should support the G-7's work as much as the G-3's. Most reviews of IO have ignored the weakness in the G-2's ability to provide sensings useful to the G-7's work. The bulk of the G-2's capability is oriented toward discovering relevant physical facts. The G-7 gets very little G-2 support toward discovering relevant perceptions. This is a legacy of the Cold War that needs to be remedied.

Of the IO supporting capabilities, information assurance and combat camera now belong to the G-6 (information management and communications), physical security and physical attack belong to the G-3, and counterintelligence belongs to the G-2. Only combat camera needs a new source of staff oversight. By doctrine their historic mission has been to document on film the operations of the Army. The G-3 is responsible for assigning them to units for that purpose. In recent practice, enterprising IO and PSYOP officers have enlisted their help toward documenting the unit's version of events. The Army needs to officially assign these to the oversight of the G-7.

All three of the IO related activities (public affairs, defense support to public diplomacy, and civil-military operations) properly belong under G-7 oversight. Under the current staff arrangement there is no guarantee that the logic for deciding CMO projects reflects the aims of the "inform and influence" campaign unless the commander himself makes CMO project decisions. Civil-affairs units are also potent "inform and influence" agents because they must meet with local public officials in their work.

A more useful approach to planning. Planning for success in highly complex missions is different than planning for missions with unambiguous and unitary objectives, problems that can be solved using a linear logic. The ambiguous complex mission requires the commander to construct a theory of what something like "Fix Ramadi" might mean. A theory of cause and effect that leads him to that end is then necessary. This theory will inevitably be constructed along the following lines: "If I can get group A to behave in this way, and group B another specific way, and group C still another way..." and so on.

The important points are that each line of operations has to do with influencing group behavior (to change it) and that only when those behaviors change can progressive objectives be attained. A further point is that the path from the current to the future involves non-linear and interactive causal chains, shadowy and non-hierarchical adversaries, and local informal alliances with various kinds of partners within unclear contextual boundaries.

To change human behaviors under these conditions, words, images, and actions have to be very much in sync. That is, a separate IO line of operations, or an overall "effects" process, is less likely to work well. All relevant tools required to advance along each line of operations have to be integrated to maximize synergy. Finally, every such LLO has to be treated as a campaign within the larger campaign in the sense that desired outcomes require turning inside the learning-adaptation cycle of other relevant actors. This requirement means the command and staff processes of the headquarters have to be disciplined, sustained, and purposeful as an iterative cycle of acting, sensing, deciding, and adapting along multiple LLOs. There will always be an imperfect understanding of the inherent causal and influence networks, and actions or events will be designed as much to learn as to advance desired ends. Such deliberate adaptation is not the norm today.

Rationales for organizational adjustments. In future complex missions, the effects of relevant facts and perceptions are equally important. Staffs

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and organizations essential to both realms should be equally well organized and manned. PSYOP, CMO, and PA organizations and G-7 staffs need adjustments. Until we do this, we are not serious about IO transformation.

The G-7 should be commensurately manned well enough to participate in normal principal staff planning and coordination. Also, future missions will require a baseline PSYOP, CMO, and PA capability in the conventional force down to brigade combat team and organic to the conventional side of the Army. Staffs sense, plan, coordinate, and supervise, but they are not executors.

Active PSYOP units are scarce and tend to deploy under the supervision of special operations units within Joint task forces. This situation will more than likely also be the normal practice in the future. Active PSYOP units should specialize to serve the special operations forces community exclusively and more expertly. Currently, the conventional force tends to be augmented with reserve component PSYOP units. These units cycle in and out of active operations at a different rhythm than the units they support. It would be better if they could synchronize with the supported unit's force generation life-cycle. What these units do for the conventional force is now vital because they fill a void. In some cases their work supports combat operations against the enemy by providing loudspeaker or leaflet support. But PSYOP units are more often used to inform and gain support of local communities. For the reasons already stated, this use of PSYOP detachments is dysfunctional as it can backfire when revealed.

What the conventional force really needs is an organic, sufficient military public relations capability down to the lowest level. This can be in the form of inexpensive equipment in the hands of troops with some baseline knowledge acquired in the education system and reinforced in training. Inexpensive loudspeaker systems for use by assigned interpreters, or with prerecorded messages in the local language, can be very useful, as would inexpensive multi-purpose digital cameras to record events. This dual-purpose equipment can be used in both the psychological contest with adversaries and also in the effort to inform and engage local populations. How to use them effectively is now a combat skill on an equal plane with a call for fire, and thus needs to be taught to NCOs and junior officers.

The conventional force also needs an organic baseline of military public relations detachments. Every brigade combat team commander requires a small specialized detachment to engage the ever-present media, to reinforce the local "inform and engage" effort where needed, to cultivate specific communities, and to arrange and organize the public relations events of the command. It would be far better that these be PA detachments working under the supervision of the command's public affairs officer, rather than reserve component PSYOP detachments under the supervision of the command's PSYOP officer.

Revision of Manuals

A paradigm shift, as Defense transformation intends, is required, and it can occur in two steps. The revision of Field Manual 3-13, *Information Operations*, could be the first step by explaining why IO core, supporting, and related capabilities have become more important, and by explaining the logic for getting the most value from them. It should address the logic of making progress when confronted with highly complex missions and tasks. It should also address the specific logics of PSYWAR, military public relations, and NETWAR. The final chapter should address staff organization and battle command issues.

The next step should be a revision of Joint Pub 3-13, *Information Operations*. Consideration should be given to producing two manuals. One could be called "Inform and Engage," the function the Army has assigned to the G-7 as modified here. The other manual would be a more developed version of what I have labeled NETWAR—the art of achieving, maintaining, and employing advantages over our adversaries in the application of modern communications, information processing, automation, and other rapidly evolving network applications. The one focuses on the modern twist to an ancient art in the moral domain, the other on a new and rapidly evolving art within the physical domain.

Whatever we do, we need to bear in mind what doctrines are and what they need to do. Doctrines are a profession's theories about how to perform its mission. When these theories become a shared second nature, they are called paradigms. In any scientific field, theory begins as hypothesis, and sound theory is a tested hypothesis. Sound theory is also

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built one level at a time. No military doctrine can be as theoretically sound as the established theories of the physical sciences, but they ought to be built from the bottom up in a similarly logical way. Valid and useful doctrinal paradigms must, at minimum, be able to describe and explain observed phenomena, and must provide some basis for forecasting outcomes. This basis may be no more than accumulated experiential evidence (inductive logic). Some doctrinal paradigms, especially those closely related to the physical sciences, can reliably predict outcomes, and a rare few in the physical realm can even control the phenomena in question through a deliberate manipulation of its parameters.

Level of Theory	Corresponding Requirements of Theory
Describe	Concept Exhaustiveness
	Concept Mutual Exclusiveness
	Descriptive Scheme Supports Explanation
Explain	Description of System Causality
	Description of System Conditions
	Description of External Conditions
Predict	Forecast of External Conditions
	Forecast of System Conditions
	Forecast of System Based on Conditions
Control	Capability to Change System Conditions
	Capability to Change External Conditions
	Capability to Change System Laws

The schema above is a useful model for reflecting on the utility and reliability of our doctrinal paradigms. It also provides a basis for understanding the requirements of sequential layers. The first layer of a theory or paradigm is descriptive. Descriptions should be thorough (comprehensive), differentiate the described task from any other, and promote its explanation. The second, explanatory layer lays out the logic of systemic cause and effect and the impact of relevant internal and external conditions. The third level of theory development enables predictions of change in outcome depending on a changed input to the system, a different internal condition prevailing, or a new external factor impinging on the system. The fourth, control layer of theory forecasts changes in outcome based on changed parameters of the system, changed internal conditions impinging on the system, or changed system laws.

Current IO paradigms do not score well against this standard. They are "descriptive" only in the sense that IO has to do with information. What real phenomena do they explain, predict, or control? The doctrines of their sub-component parts fare far better, but beyond assertions, there appears to be no real common thread of theory to explain, predict, or control phenomena via integrated application of core capabilities.

This standard is a tough one, especially because this doctrine must address complex phenomena. For instance, describing how to target an enemy position is more easily done than describing how to defeat a well-dug-in enemy, and that is simpler than describing how to discourage the planting of bombs. But describing how to persuade a particular group within a local population to support your military mission is much more difficult. Such complexity increases with the numbers of links and nodes required in a system for accomplishing relevant tasks, but the causal relationships also become interactive rather than simply linear. More variations of internal and external conditions are possible. Explanation becomes commensurately more difficult than description, and prediction commensurately more difficult than explanation. But doctrine need not be perfect, it only needs to be useful, and it will be useful only if it is built one sound layer at a time, first to describe, then to explain and so on.

Doctrine also ought to be to provide a reliable basis for learning and adaptation. There are certain historical inevitabilities. No plan survives first contact with the real enemy, and no paradigm survives substantial progress and change. Even for ideas, an inexorable evolutionary change occurs. Fitness is a function of evolutionary adaptation. So it will be for IO and the "IO community." The current paradigm is not theoretically sound, and "IO" and its context need a foundational re-think. ***MR***

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Irregular Warfare Information Operations: Understanding the Role of People, Capabilities, and Effects

Lieutenant Colonel Norman E. Emery, U.S. Army

In this type of war . . . the task is to destroy the effectiveness of the insurgents' efforts and his ability to use the population for his own ends.

—Air Force General Curtis E. Lemay[1]

OPERATION IRAQI FREEDOM (OIF) and Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) do not qualify as conventional or unconventional warfare, but lie somewhere in between the two. Conventional U.S. military units in Iraq and Afghanistan find themselves engaged in operations best described as "special" rather than conventional or irregular. Labeled as irregular warfare, these conflicts actually have little resemblance to familiar doctrinal concepts. Once in theater, forces are required to engage using unfamiliar skills in political, economic, and social networking to complement military operations. We should not overlook the complexity of the enemy we face: a nexus of terrorism, insurgency, criminality, and negative transnational factors—a collective threat that does not always adhere to conventional ethics and rules.[2] Nor should we overlook the critical fact that all actors, state and non-state, are competing for the same objective: the people.

This set of circumstances requires information operations (IO) markedly different from those used in traditional conventional warfare. In irregular warfare, non-lethal capabilities have a more prominent and necessary role than in conventional warfare. Information operations directly influence the irregular warfare operational focus—the relevant populations. Current joint and Army IO doctrines do not adequately address the challenges long-term stability operations confront—irregular adversaries and asymmetric conflict. The doctrine still emphasizes the adversary decision-maker while minimizing the importance of the projection of public information to key non-adversarial audiences, especially foreign populations within the area of operations. These are critical tasks requiring greater expertise and an understanding of the irregular warfare information environment. To succeed in irregular warfare, IO officers need to understand how irregular warfare compares to conventional and counterinsurgency (COIN) warfare, the importance the population plays, how various adversaries project their information, and the importance for proficiency in cultural studies and studies of human behavior. Information operations planning must consider actions to support the tactical operation and the hierarchy of effects in the information environment that affect a unit's area of operations and influence.

We must reexamine IO officers' roles and education, proposed operations, and current IO doctrine, so that we do not continue to prepare Soldiers to fight today's war with yesterday's IO tactics, techniques, and procedures. An

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PHOTO: Iraqis crowd around U.S. Army Soldiers in a market in the Rashid District of Baghdad, Iraq, 24 September 2007. The Soldiers distributed Iraqi memorabilia and gathered information about the area. (U.S. Navy, Petty Officer 3d Class David Quillen)

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examination of irregular warfare IO must not just impart vignettes, lessons learned, and professional opinions: it must consider how IO challenges in current combat zones necessitate adjustments and adaptations. The current complex war environment indisputably requires this change.

Irregular Warfare and Relevant Populations

The U.S. Department of Defense (DOD) has developed an irregular warfare joint operating concept to define and develop key elements and strategy for current and future conflicts that reside on the spectrum between conventional and unconventional warfare. The joint operating concept defines irregular warfare as "a violent struggle among state and non-state actors for legitmacy and influence over the relevant population."[3] Irregular warfare is a form of armed conflict, as well as a form of warfare encompassing insurgency, counterinsurgency, terrorism, and counter-terrorism. COIN, a spectrum of actions taken by a government to defeat insurgencies, is a component of irregular warfare, and therefore most COIN principles and models apply to irregular warfare, which is a different, but not a lesser form of conflict than conventional warfare.[4] While conventional warfare is direct military confrontation between states, irregular warfare focuses on the control and influence of populations, rather than the control of an adversary's forces or territory.[5] With irregular warfare, the problem is one of balancing operations against the enemy with operations to influence the population.

In conducting irregular warfare, one can neither ignore the enemy nor the population, and addressing them with equal energy and focus is difficult. The challenge in irregular warfare is that the adversary is not a single, easily characterized entity. In Iraq and Afghanistan, the insurgencies are not united monoliths; the "enemy" includes nationalists, protectionists, extremists, rejectionists, criminals, and terrorists—or any combination thereof. Separating the populace from the insurgents is a basic objective of COIN strategy. However, separating the terrorists from the insurgents in irregular warfare is another matter entirely.[6]

For simplicity's sake, the term anti-government forces here refers to all groups, regardless of motivation, collectively engaged in armed conflict against either coalition forces or a state's legitimate security forces or both. No single term can properly categorize disaggregated groups that share common goals but have competing objectives. This lack of congruity among objectives makes the collective groups vulnerable to effective IO that can drive a wedge between tenuous relationships and convenient partners.

The human terrain. Neither our enemies in irregular warfare nor the relevant population are monolithic. Lieutenant General Peter Chiarelli demonstrated an understanding of this fact when he commanded the 1st Cavalry Division in Baghdad in 2004. He emphasized the need for coordinating combat, stability, and information operations to create a stable and secure environment in Sadr City. Key to ensuring focused efforts was an understanding of anti-government forces' competition for the population and approaching the population as three distinct constituencies—opposed, unopposed, and undecided (figure 1).[7] Understanding these groups can help us better determine appropriate operations (e.g., lethal or non-lethal) and the messages to deliver.

Opposed audiences are active anti-government forces members or actively support the various enemy groups, and therefore are opposed to the state or ruling authority. The unopposed simply support the government. While the two sides struggle to dislodge each other, the true battleground is the constituency of the undecided, the "fence-sitters."[8] The undecided are generally waiting out progress and security concerns to determine who they will support; the victor will be the one who gets them off the fence. It becomes a zero-sum game for the state, the military, and the anti-government forces as they each compete for the bulk of the population that has yet to commit and can be swayed with the promise of hope or the threat of violence.[9]

The U.S. military should accept that instead of winning over these people, "victory" may consist

In conducting irregular warfare, one can neither ignore the enemy nor the population, and addressing them with equal energy and focus is difficult.

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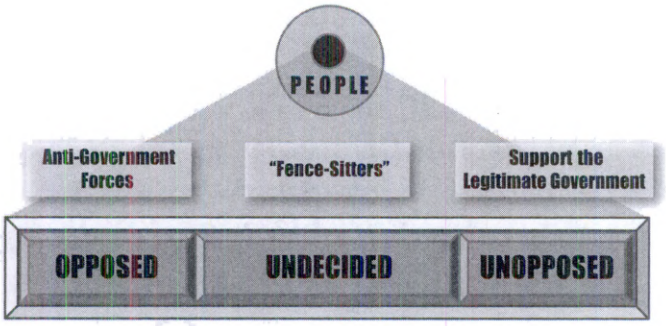


Figure 1. The three population constituencies in irregular warfare.

of simply not losing them to the enemy. A mantra the U.S. military often uses to describe its efforts to maintain the unopposed and sway the "fence-sitters" is "winning the hearts and minds." Too often a hearts-and-minds campaign is interpreted as making the population "like" us, but it really means reaching a population through emotive and cognitive means.[10] It is more than noble efforts in building infrastructure, holding elections, and creating jobs. Occupiers have to leverage existing social and political networks and build support within these networks to separate the insurgency from the population.[11]

Irregular warfare conflict model. Several conflict theory models have addressed the population's role in warfare, the most well-known being Prussian strategist Carl von Clausewitz's, which addresses warfare's trinity: military, government, and people. According to Clausewitz, military operations focus on an opposing state's armed forces as a means to control the government in the belief that the population will follow the lead of the government and accept the political outcome. An example would be Japan's surrender in World War II. The only military objective involving the population was minimizing civilian interference with operations. The trinitarian conflict model, a variation of Clausewitz's trinity and a principle of COIN theory, portrays non-state actors pursuing the Clausewitz paradigm in reverse order by confronting the people first to influence the government and avoid directly confronting the military.[12] The non-state actor has a greater chance of defeating the government if it gains the majority support of the population; if the government falls or compromises, that negates the non-state actor's need to attempt to decisively engage the military.[13]

Figure 2 depicts the Clausewitzian trinity adapted for irregular warfare and portrays the critical and common element to both the state's and insurgents' success: the people. This model, a variation of one developed by a retired Special Forces officer with significant COIN experience, portrays how the population is coveted by the state and its military to remain supportive of the legitimate government.[14] The mirrored model illustrates the military's and insurgents' preferred approach to engaging and winning the population rather than pursuing exclusive armed engagements. In a basic COIN model, the U.S. provides limited assistance, such as the current support in the Philippines.

The irregular warfare model in figure 2 depicts direct U.S involvement with a cooperative state, the population, and the insurgents and represents current operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. Essentially, because irregular warfare is a social-political crisis, this type of warfare requires more than a pure military solution.[15] The political and psychological aspects of irregular warfare are just as important as the physical actions. With the people the center of focus, information operations play a very significant role.

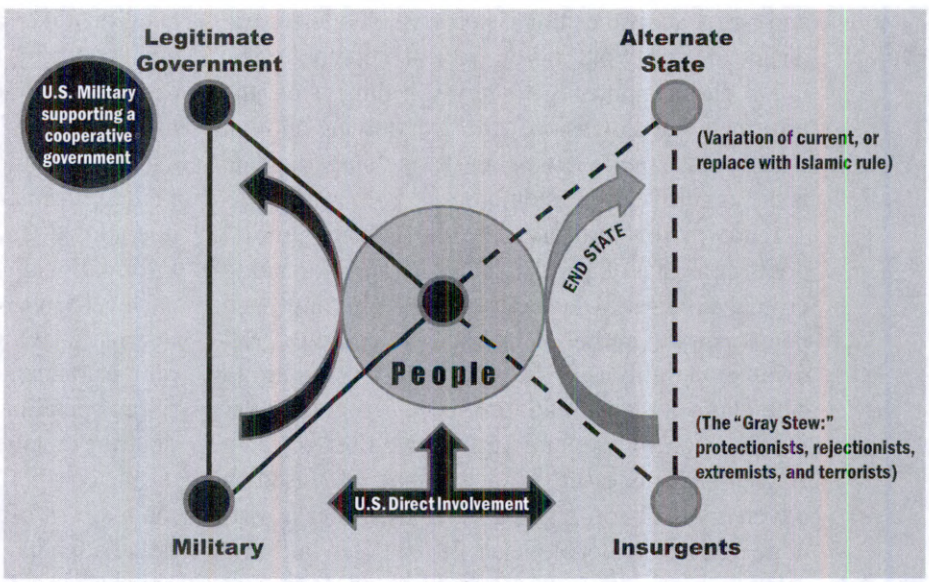


Figure 2. Clausewitz's "trinity" (military, government, people) adapted for irregular warfare with U.S. military direct involvement.

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IO Challenges in Irregular Warfare

"Irregular warfare is about people, not platforms."[16]

The key military objective in irregular warfare—the relevant population—is also important for IO because this is our target audience. How an audience directly and indirectly reacts to messages affects how and when the United States achieves its campaign objectives. It is important to understand our primary audience, and remember how easy it is to lose focus by pursuing tomorrow's or reacting to yesterday's headlines, instead of sticking to a uniform message in support of a long-term strategy.

We should seek to shape the information environment for long-term success, and not bog ourselves down in point/counterpoint with adversaries striving for notoriety. Public affairs can counter specific adversary actions, but IO collectively should counter adversary strategies.[17] To achieve their goals, commanders and IO officers have to understand the information environment. The information environment is part of the operating environment and grounded in the physical domain. It consists of three dimensions: physical, informational, and cognitive.[18] All communication systems, including human information networks, reside in the physical dimension. The informational dimension "consists of the content and flow of information."[19] The cognitive dimension is the most important; in this realm, the decision-makers and target audiences think, perceive, visualize, and decide.[20] Simply put, if you were at a computer terminal, the computer is the physical dimension, the informational dimension is the data flowing through the computer, and viewing and processing that data is the cognitive dimension.

Know your audience. A shortcoming of IO doctrine is that its primary focus is on influencing critical adversarial decision-makers. This approach neglects a key target of irregular warfare: the relevant population not categorized as adversarial. The DOD IO Roadmap, produced 7 months after the invasion of Iraq and 25 months after entering Afghanistan, asserts that IO "must be refocused on adversary decision-making."[21] It fails to acknowledge a necessity, let alone a role for IO, in building relationships with civilian populations. It fails to grasp that effectively communicating the U.S. military's message to local, regional, and international populations is a means of helping to achieve tactical and operational military objectives.[22]

A shortcoming of IO doctrine is that it...neglects a key target of irregular warfare: the relevant population not categorized as adversarial.

By failing to understand the various audiences, we pursue or react to information or incidents with actions that seek to blanket all the audiences, making it costly and not fully effective. A common mistake in irregular warfare is to develop and disseminate a one-solution/message-for-all approach. It is inefficient to expend resources trying to convince an audience already committed to us. We should therefore avoid blanket messaging and instead, using minimal resources, make "maintenance" or reinforcement efforts toward the unopposed audiences, and put full effort toward the undecided audience. This is a strategy U.S. politicians employ during national elections. Thus, within one theme/message/information goal, there could be variations targeting adversary decision-makers as well as the three constituencies and their key non-adversarial leaders, such as tribal leaders, imams, and civic and political leaders.

In irregular warfare, not every possible audience or adversary can be persuaded to reconcile, and therefore, combat operations are required to destroy these groups. Information operations planning must consider not only actions to support the tactical operation, but also the hierarchy of effects in the information environment that affects a unit's operational area. A commander engaging physical, informational, and cognitive dimensions at the tactical level can gain exposure at national, regional, and international levels, and the impact in the cognitive dimension can have positive or negative effects on future operations for all commanders in theater. Joint doctrine dictates that at key points in time and space during conflict, the U.S. military should achieve and maintain information superiority, i.e., "the operational advantage derived from the ability to collect, process, and disseminate an uninterrupted flow of information while exploiting or denying an adversary's ability to do the same."[23] In irregular warfare,

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the military, despite its technology, will rarely, if ever, gain information supremacy, while achieving information superiority may be temporary with unpredictable fluctuations. We cannot prevent an adversary from putting out a message or information. What we can and should do is to set conditions in the information environment with the key audiences (unopposed, opposed, undecided), so when opposing messages come out, they do not resonate.

Our adversaries' information goal is to be first. A rumor-centric society rewards this achievement. However, being the first with a message is not necessarily a victory, and being second is not necessarily a loss. Our goal should be to be first with the truth. Sometimes the enemy gets out the first word, but we can render it irrelevant by staying on message and by consistently repeating mutually supporting themes. In the end, our adversary has not necessarily gained success by delivering his message, nor has he dealt a defeat to us, just as our delivery of a message is not in itself a success. The issue is how the message resonates with target audiences. A global information environment in which most people believe the first story out tempts us to respond with a strategy of short engagement actions instead of adhering to enduring actions. Insurgencies have historically lasted 9 to 12 years, so one should not view irregular warfare IO efforts as short-term.

There are no well-codified rules in irregular warfare, but in competing for the population, terrorist and insurgency groups must at least abide by the rule of understanding their audience. The descent into barbarity (beheadings, deadly bombings) by such groups as Al-Qaeda in Iraq does not persuade the fence-sitters, and may cause the terrorists to lose the support of their constituents. Adversaries competing within a state (such as in Iraq, home to numerous Sunni insurgents, moderate and extremist) can lose audiences by bombarding the populace with conflicting messages. This is to the coalition's advantage. It is critical to develop and reinforce themes and messages that are consistent over time and coordinated with Iraqi and Afghan governments.

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Good news stories and U.S. popular support. Since information is central to the ability to shape battlefields, unity of effort and purpose in the information environment is vital.[24] While there must also be unity of information for indigenous and global audiences, if we concentrate on winning the local audience first, U.S. and global audiences will follow.[25] Information operations and public affairs officers at the operational level face a dilemma when they encounter military leaders who believe there is a need to push "good news" stories to counter the perception that only tragedy, hardship, and failure occur in combat zones. This tactic clearly aims at U.S. audiences, as Iraqis want proof and perception of physical security, not stories of school openings. Unfortunately, the "good news story" became a misguided sprint strategy, as some military leaders perhaps believed they had a responsibility to balance, if not counter, the output of U.S. news channels and newspapers to maintain U.S. domestic support. Any serving member knows of positive successes, but relating such stories can be a challenge, even with supportive media. In a 2006 article, journalist Lara Logan wrote of her frustration in getting relevant data from a general officer who wanted to share a "good news story" with her.[26] She tried to get the "good news" facts, but the officer could only assert such things as security was "better," great "progress" was being made. They had removed 100,000 cubic feet of trash from neighborhoods and operations were moving toward the goal of improving electricity for 3,000 homes.[27] Any leader who attempts to portray *national level* progress with the results of *tactical projects* would understandably receive a tepid response. Progress is the sum of achievements and atmospherics and is difficult to articulate; nevertheless, those operating in the combat environment can "sense" it, and it is a nuance of the information environment.

Our leaders must recognize that a single achievement can seem insignificant when taken out of the context of overall progress or buried amid the reporting of turmoil. As the military relies more

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on commanders to convey progress, public affairs officers (PAOs) are doing far fewer visual and print interviews than might be expected. This shift in communication requires that leaders understand the trap of relaying empirical tactical progress to U.S. audiences who do not view the conflict in terms of city sectors. These leaders must better articulate progress so that it does not sound hollow. One method is to relate success that has or will occur over time using objective and empirical metrics. An example: "A new power plant opening in town X will provide reliable electricity to several hundred homes and create 70 new jobs in a region where men have resorted to insurgent activity to provide for their families. This will likely result in a vastly improved security situation in the coming months, and is a model of progress that is proving successful in this region."

The enemy has no rules. The non-state actor reigns supreme in the information environment. Information is the commodity with which it purchases cooperation, survivability, the perception of victory, and silence amongst supporters. The terrorist and insurgent do not have an IO doctrine. According to Jim McNieve, 1st IO Command (Land), non-state actors commonly use three broad methods in their information effects strategy:

- Projection of their message to various target audiences.
- Protection of vital information to enhance survivability and decision-making.
- Collection of information on their enemies.[28]

Our adversaries understand how to leverage the information environment, and the U.S. military should not abdicate that battlespace in pursuit of perpetual raids and kill-or-capture operations. Because the anti-government forces do not have military parity with the U.S., they do not seek success on the streets but in the information environment. They are not bound by the rules and ethics of responsibly releasing truthful information. The enemy has no rules. It can exaggerate claims, sensationalize events, omit facts, purposely mislead, and release information quickly without extensive staffing. In past decades, the way to reach audiences was the traditional media,[29] but now it is the Internet, where "the keyboard equals the Kalashnikov."[30] In irregular warfare, the gap between U.S. and adversary IO capabilities and use of the media and the Internet is much smaller than the gap between

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their respective military force capabilities. Islamic terrorist and insurgent groups we once considered ignorant and primitive are making effective use of cyberspace as a communication medium. This includes not just command and control via the Internet, which we expect in the 21st century, but the proliferation of messaging and propaganda directly connected to anti-government forces engagements in Iraq and Afghanistan, especially those causing or exploiting U.S. and allied casualties. Groups increasing video output include Iraq's predominately Sunni Arab insurgency, as well as the Taliban, who ironically opposed the use of cameras when they ruled Afghanistan.[31]

Inevitably, other extremist groups will adopt this practice before long. Libyan firebrand Abu Laith al-Libi recently urged Islamic insurgents in Somalia, who have mostly ignored the medium, to begin using videos to foster awareness of their fight."[32] Information operations not only project messages, but also seek to deny and degrade the adversary's messages and deny his access to and effectiveness on the Internet. Countering these videos is of urgent importance, because research shows that "Internet chat rooms and forums are replacing mosques as venues for recruitment and radicalization."[33] This course of action requires the U.S. military to engage adversarial operations and propaganda directly and indirectly on the Internet.

Leveraging Information Engagement Capabilities

Information operations are a key COIN logical line of operation to win the war of ideas and destroy the will and legitimacy of the insurgency, and IO have the same, if not greater, relevance in irregular warfare.[34] We should seek solutions to irregular warfare's IO challenges by closely coordinating of efforts among the array of capabilities that

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engage the public. We should set aside the current IO doctrine of "core," "related," and "supporting" capabilities. Such artificial categories create false barriers to planning, coordinating, and executing IO in irregular warfare. The IO core capabilities listed in current doctrine—"psychological operations" (PSYOP), "electronic warfare" (EW), "computer network operations" (CNO), "operations security" (OPSEC), and "deception"—have a logical but unnatural grouping, and constrain leaders' views of IO—by portraying it as *five* capabilities.

While an important guide, doctrine should be just a point of departure in the constantly evolving irregular warfare environment. Information operations is not a grouping of capabilities that comprise information. Information operations is a grouping of capabilities that affect information. More importantly, IO have a specific purpose and emphasis within an overall plan of action, operate under the same dynamics, and are inseparable from kinetic combat operations.[35] Information operations are more than just public affairs and PSYOP releases after a mission. Tactical commanders in Iraq and Afghanistan have had success with public information engagement as a main effort. Public information should consist of the coordinated, combined efforts of public affairs, PSYOP, civil affairs, combat camera, and face-to-face engagement. These capabilities are critical because irregular warfare requires a de-emphasis on information technology.

Holding your enemy close: making PA, PSYOP, and IO work. Unity of information effort is vital in irregular warfare. The two key specialties of PSYOP and public affairs (by doctrine, a "related" capability) support each other in today's combat environments. Still, they differ in coordination and execution. Many who work in public affairs think of PSYOP, and by extension IO, as nonfactual or even subterfuge—as manipulative and potentially mendacious marketing campaigns. Leaders can dilute the value of IO by thinking of it merely as an equivalent of public affairs or PSYOP. However, it is not heresy to group public affairs and PSYOP into a coordinated public information construct. Both use similar means (relaying a truthful message to specific audiences) to achieve different objectives (public affairs informs and PSYOP influences). A coordinated effort maximizes message effectiveness.

Brigade or regimental combat teams must develop the capability to influence and inform key target audiences at the local level. One commander even reported that his brigade's main targets were Iraqi and Arab media, "because they informed the population in my area."[36] We should influence and inform key target audiences through the local media or face-to-face means, because a national release by a theater PAO is insufficient to reach the fence-sitters and the uncommitted. In many ways, we do not use public affairs enough in irregular warfare foreign media operations. We have to reach a unit's tactical target audience population. Public affairs in support of irregular warfare should be more than just informing the U.S. public.

However, the joint definition of information operations, the integrated employment of capabilities "to influence, disrupt, corrupt, or usurp adversarial human and automated while protecting our own," limits public affairs application in irregular warfare.[37] The definition does not address non-adversarial populations, and does not include "inform," thereby blocking public affairs involvement, in coordination with IO, to reach specific foreign audiences. Commanders cannot succeed without public affairs and PSYOP capabilities to disseminate one-voice messages that engage tactical audiences, foreign media, and foreign populations, and coordinate counter-propaganda efforts. This issue is not one of public communication, but one of foreign communication.[38] Public affairs (inform using unclassified messaging) and PSYOP (influence using classified messaging) converge with respect to foreign media operations; PSYOP can extend the message's momentum as the public affairs-driven news cycle winds down.[39] Engaging foreign audiences with one capability without coordinating with the others increases the likelihood that PSYOP will encroach into public affairs's lane. Ironically, for public affairs to protect its contribution to the mission, it *must* work closely with PSYOP and IO planners.

Public affairs and PSYOP should cooperate in influence operations because the military has too few trained communicators to deal adequately with the overwhelming information demands of irregular warfare.[40] The PAO is an invaluable information battlespace advisor to the commander. He or she naturally understands the information environment as a whole. If the PAO excuses

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himself from a process in which he is encouraged to participate, the commander will have to make information decisions without public affairs advice, even though the PAO is the best-qualified officer to give such advice. If public affairs is committed to success of the command, it will be part of the staff IO planning.

By doctrine, combat camera and face-to-face engagement are not IO, but they fall within information engagement capabilities. They therefore reinforce IO as part of operations, not a grouping of capabilities that various staffs "own." Face-to-face engagement is relevant and valuable at the tactical and operational level. It is a delivery platform to achieve information effects that inform, influence, or co-opt. Face-to-face engagement is a technique to engage influential leaders (municipal, national, civic, and tribal) before and after operations. Implementation by a commander instead of an IO officer does not mean it is not an IO function. Information operations strives to achieve specific results in the information and cognitive domains; the executing agents vary depending on which is the most appropriate. The combat camera capability supports IO by documenting events and operations to exploit successes, mitigate post-mission misperceptions, or counter accusations. We should view face-to-face engagement and combat camera as a valuable part of a strategy to integrate key public information elements and tools to achieve effects.

The final capability that plays a significant role in irregular warfare IO is civil-military operations, usually coordinated by civil affairs personnel.[41] Civil affairs is an IO-related capability and has a valuable role in achieving tactical cognitive effects. Information operations does more than just synchronize PSYOP with civil-military operations. Civil-military operations can affect social and political change in communities and regions through infrastructure work and social services, which have an important affect on target populations. Although some say "civil-military operations is not IO," they fail to recognize that civil-military operations is an important irregular warfare tool the commander can use to achieve informational and cognitive objectives in a target audience. While civil affairs can be altruistic, its function is to help the commander affect information environments and his operations. Purposeful philanthropy is for non-governmental organizations.

Public affairs, civil affairs, and PSYOP officers are effective in executing their respective functions in support of commander's guidance regardless of an IO officer's presence on staff. And the presence of an IO officer in centrally coordinated information operations does not necessarily subordinate those fields or erode their status with a commander. A public affairs officer can always say "no" to the recommendations of an IO officer. Centrally coordinated IO in irregular warfare does offer a method to eliminate seams between areas of expertise and capabilities. Ideally, the IO officer is in a position to have wide conceptual visibility. Such visibility enables an ability to coordinate and synchronize public affairs, civil affairs, PSYOP, face-to-face, and combat camera actions and information with respect to timing and effect within the area of operations.

The IO staff officer might suggest the timing or development of a PSYOP or public affairs product; recommend civil-military operations in support of non-lethal objectives to persuade non-military (tribal, religious, government) leaders; recommend combat camera document a certain operation; or suggest a face-to-face engagement before or after an operation. These suggestions or recommendations to the commander or chief of staff should diminish seams and achieve a greater effect. One of the IO officer's greater contributions in irregular warfare can be to eliminate seams and maximize effectiveness.

Understanding Effects in IW

"An effect is the power to bring about a result, i.e., influence."[42]

Measures of effectiveness are difficult to design and judge in a COIN campaign because, by nature, insurgencies are politically volatile and asymmetric.[43] This intractability prevails in irregular warfare for a number of reasons. The population's diversity and antagonisms, the presence of hidden enemies, the complexities of time and space, and the difficulty of observing and measuring the success of actions, or even knowing if they are successful, all contribute to eluding any meaningful gauge.

In irregular warfare, measuring effectiveness involves more than just simply observing imagined cause and effect relationships or having immediate or timely feedback. It requires subjective and abstract metrics. We often apply empirical data awkwardly to measure subjective effects, and the

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resulting information can have little significance if we do not properly define success. We should remain cognizant of the difference between measuring effectiveness and measuring success, which may be quite different entities. Empirical data best measures the success of tasks over time or helps analyze trends.

The hierarchy of effects. Information operations officers must understand first-, second-, and third-order effects and apply this knowledge to tactical planning in irregular warfare. They can best advise the commander on assessing information environment risk to daily combat operations by addressing first-, second-, and third-order effects to identify potential collateral effects that result in positive or negative outcomes.[44] First-order effects are associated with the physical dimension of the information environment, while second- and third-order effects are associated with the information environment's information and cognitive dimensions. There are few clear lines of demarcation beyond third-order effects.[45] A first-order effect is a direct effect, a result of actions with no intervening effect or mechanism between the act and outcome. Such an effect can trigger additional outcomes, which are indirect (second- and third-order) effects.[46] Given the complex irregular warfare environment, the IO officer must not only take into account probable adversary reactions to friendly operations and events, but also their impact on the population and its actions and reactions in response to them. Some examples of IO that support or mitigate each level of effects follow.

First-order effect—An immediate physical action or reaction. The IO goal is to enable force protection or unit success in executing the mission, limit adversary response, perhaps using EW and tactical PSYOP supported by tactical deception and stringent OPSEC countermeasures.

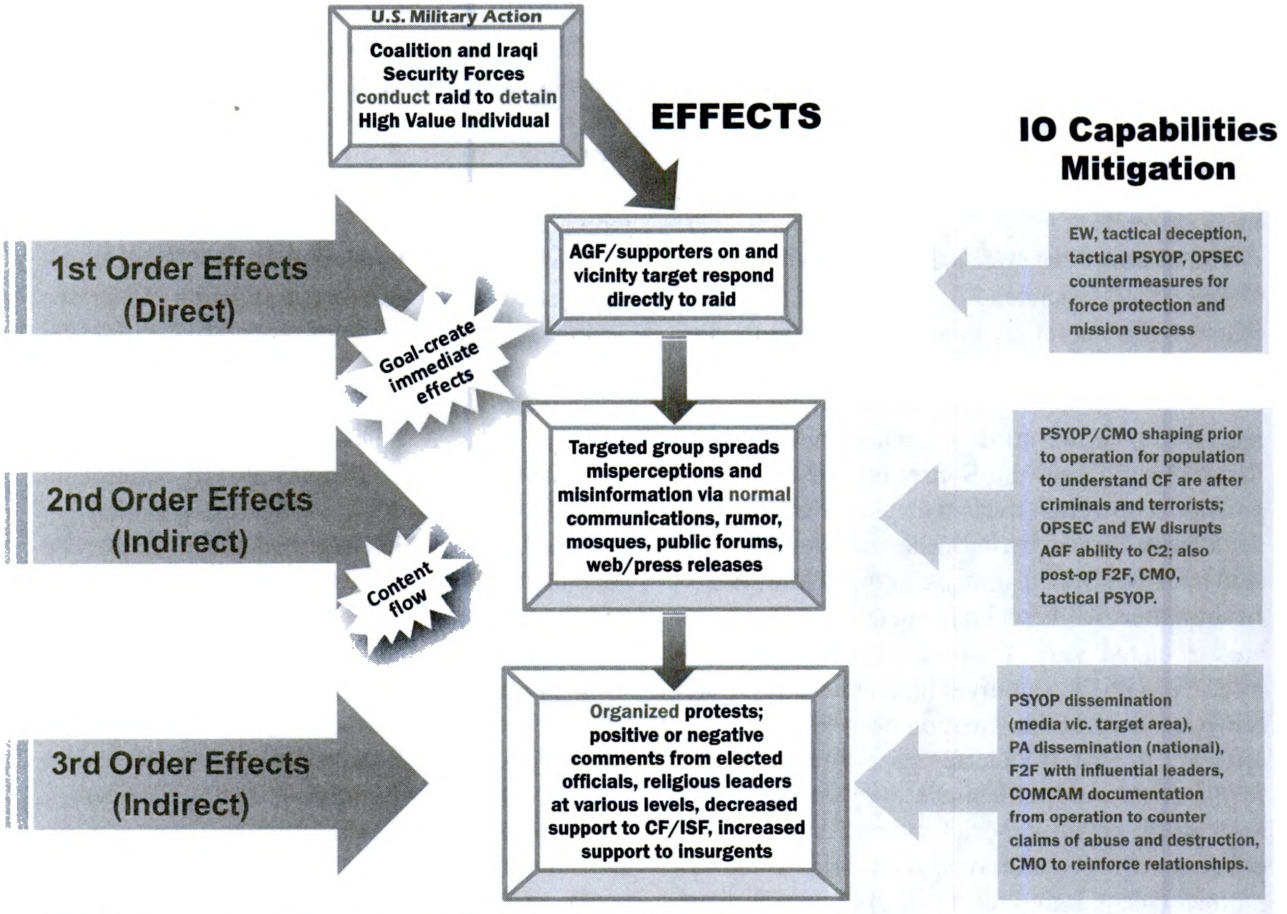
Second-order effect—The quality and integrity of information and information flow, EW, and tactical PSYOP actions limits disinformation resonating with the population. This could include a face-to-face meeting with an influential municipal or religious leader and coordinated civil-military operations to shape perceptions.

Third-order effect—Decision-making and perceptions. The IO officer coordinates various IO capabilities and other actions to support gaining the desired effect or preempting, countering, or mitigating an effect, using public affairs, PSYOP, and face-to-face to disseminate information.

Figure 3 depicts how IO officers can assess an operation's risk and effects by applying certain actions. The figure illustrates a raid to capture an individual wanted for suspected terrorism or violent crimes. Understanding first-, second-, and third-order effects is necessary for planning to achieve desired IO objectives. An IO objective should be effects-based, describing a condition or state in the information environment that IO elements will attempt to achieve.[47] The irregular warfare challenge is that intelligence systems cannot always detect the disposition of a population or the response of insurgent forces to coalition efforts. Such responses are not quantifiable by empirical data anyway. Therein lies the flaw: trying to produce effects as though doing so were a science. Assessing the situation requires atmospherics and information that sometimes is not personally gathered or observed by U.S. forces, and not easily or best expressed with numeric data. The reasons can be the permissiveness of the environment and the availability, access, and cooperation of citizens for polling.

Applying an effects-based process. Determining desired hierarchy of effects and supporting actions to achieve information objectives is just as important as evaluating the hierarchy of effects for planned tactical operations. There is a difference in planning operations with effects and planning effects-based operations, and this difference is important in irregular warfare. "Effects are linked to desired objectives, exert influence, cause a result, or trigger additional outcomes."[48] The IO officer can use an effects-based relationship model to validate effect objectives and military operations that support them. The model helps the IO officer verify if he is truly gauging and calculating effects rather than performance. An effects-based planning approach will address "the mind perceptions and cognitive dimensions of an adversary's reality, regardless of any physical or military inferiority or superiority."[49] Effects-based planning is very much relevant in irregular warfare because it is centered on the conditions of that reality necessary to achieve success, which may not exclusively relate to an adversary.[50] This is essential when political and social factors are inseparable from military

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LEGEND: AGF, anti-government forces; C2, command and control; CF, coalition forces; CMO, civil-military operations; COMCAM, combat camera; EW, electronic warfare; F2F, face-to-face; ISF, Iraqi Security Forces; OPSEC, operations security; PA, public affairs; PSYOP, psychological operations.

Figure 3. Evaluating hierarchy of effects for planned tactical operation.

operations to achieve campaign objectives. And it requires IO officers to think beyond the initial operation or IO action and prepare to address collateral or unintended effects.

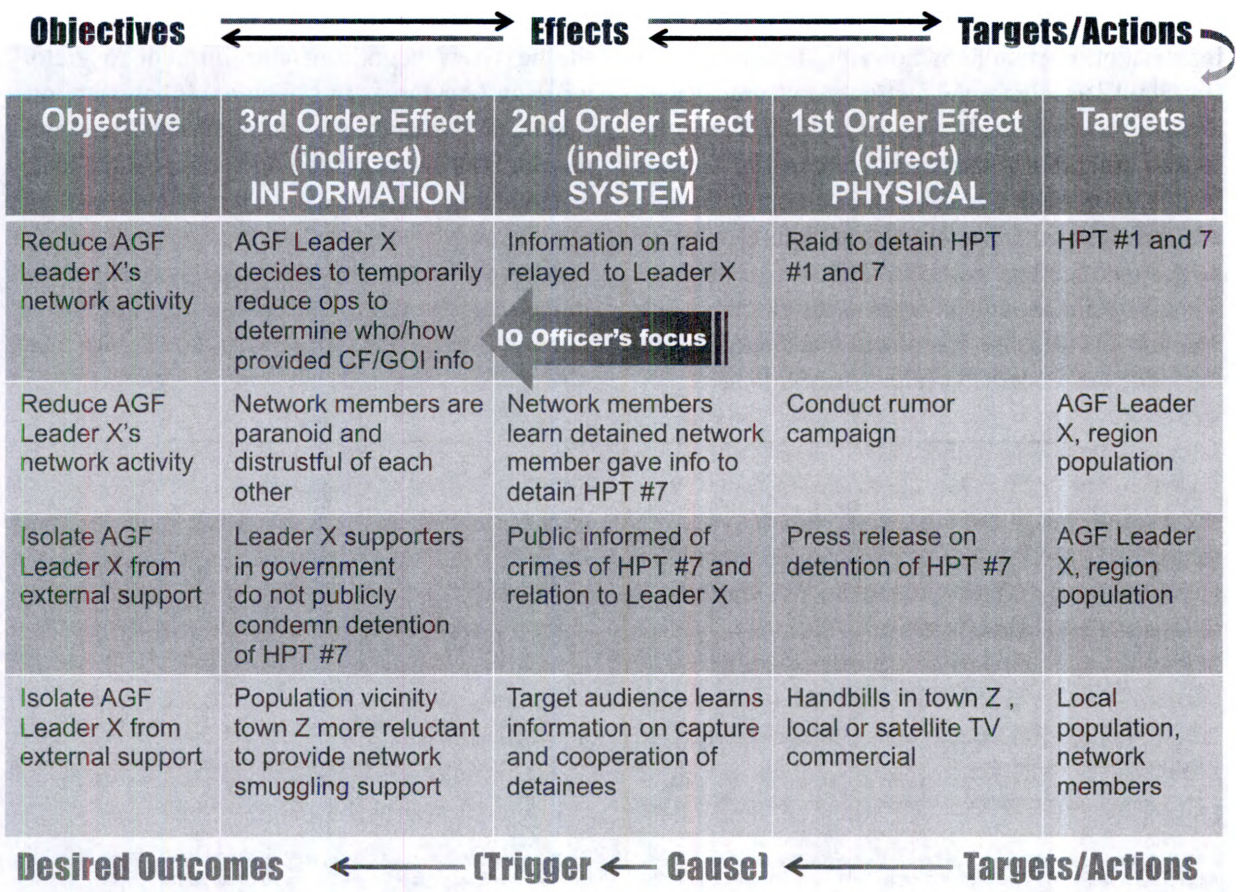
Figure 3 illustrated the hierarchy of effects applied to a tactical operation focused on the adversary. Figure 4 is an effects-based model adapted as an IO or effects planning tool; its original purpose was to show the relationship of objectives, effects, and targets.[51] The intent is to easily identify required IO-related actions to support achieving irregular warfare objectives. The example uses a scenario of a commander's intent to reduce IED network activity in order to decrease lethal attacks against the population and U.S. Forces. The identified objectives are "reduce anti-government forces Leader X network activity" and "Isolate anti-government forces Leader X from external support." This results in planners identifying initial targets and actions, both lethal and non-lethal, and the resulting direct and indirect effects. From the target, select likely first-, second-, then third-order effects, ending with the stated objective. This process is to ensure the target/action will likely produce the desired outcome. The IO officer evaluates if these likely effects (it is not possible to precisely predict or measure outcomes) are acceptable and makes necessary recommendations to the staff as needed. The IO officer is focused on getting the third-order effect to occur.

Information operations officers should have this breadth of understanding of operational risk and potential order of effects, although these are not exclusively IO functions to develop or gauge.

Conclusion

In the last seven years, prolonged U.S. engagements in Iraq and Afghanistan have had a major impact on military operations, as well as the role general forces play. The methods and processes proposed here are not definitive, but may expand

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LEGEND: AGF, anti-government forces; CF, coalition forces; GOI, government of Iraq; HPT, high priority targets

Figure 4. Effect-based relationship model adapted for IO planning in irregular warfare. (Relationship of objectives, effects, and targets)

IO officer knowledge and thought processes for irregular warfare. My purpose is to share ideas and concepts with my peers, the IO proponent, and others responsible for training, educating, and preparing IO officers for OIF and OEF. Despite my ten years of Army and joint IO experience at tactical, operational, and theater levels, I continue to experience hard and sharp learning curves with each successive deployment.

An examination of warfare and IO doctrine is not only required of senior leaders, but also of those responsible for executing and coordinating operations in irregular warfare, and in the military education and training system responsible for preparing those individuals and forces.[52] In irregular warfare, the role of IO is significantly greater than during major combat operations. The people among the populations and the roles they play in society, government, the military, and the insurgency are the foremost focus of IO methods in support of irregular warfare.

If all one has is a hammer, then the entire world begins to look like nails.[53] This observation also applies to what commanders and staffs believe IO represents. However, IO are more than just public affairs and PSYOP releases after a mission. Although the population's role in irregular warfare requires emphasis on IO public engagement, an enemy we once underestimated is demonstrating a more effective use of cyberspace as an internal and external communication tool, and this requires special "technical" IO attention and efforts. Moreover, at the tactical and theater levels in Afghanistan and Iraq, it is time for public affairs and PSYOP officers to define how they will cooperate and coordinate in support of the commander's information objectives, rather than continue to itemize the reasons they stay at arm's length. Continued friction only serves the adversary. We cannot prevent our adversaries from disseminating their messages, but we can affect how that message resonates with our target audiences.

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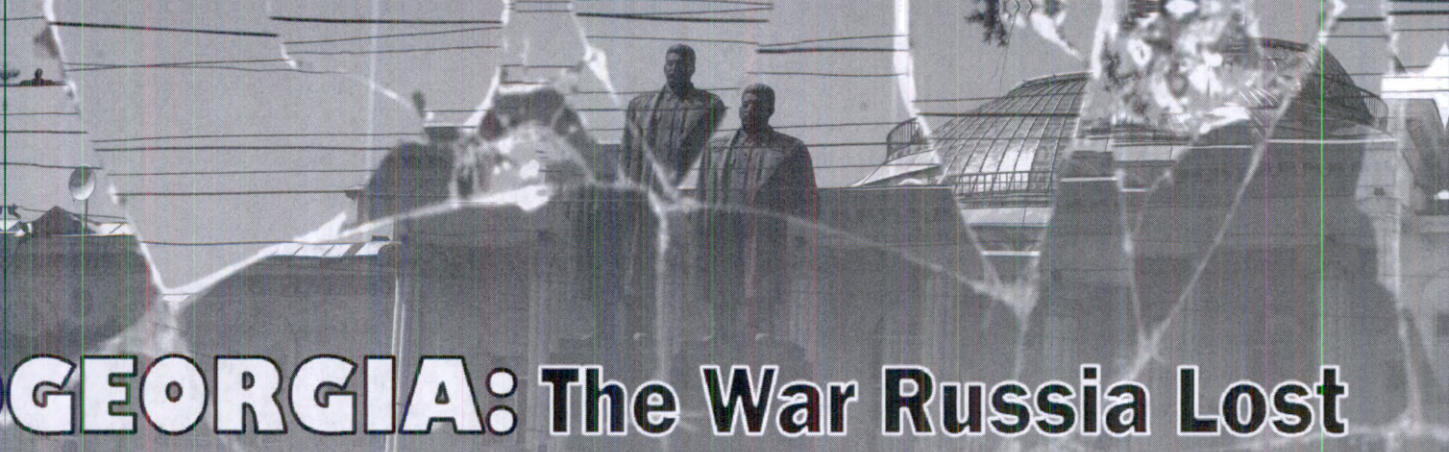
Words alone will not have a tipping-point effect. Information operations is not a golden arrow or a silver bullet to counter and destroy enemy propaganda and quickly cause whole populations to change disposition. Doing so requires coordinated military operations. Information operations officers should be able to advise their commanders of the risks and potential direct, indirect, and collateral effects that physical domain operations will have on the information environment. In measuring the effects of operations, let us not make the process to evaluate them too hard.

Although force levels may decrease during the next few years, our commitment to victory will not. Our forces in Iraq and Afghanistan must understand and prepare for changing threat environments and their impact on the irregular warfare environment as our adversaries adapt and other opportunists surface when rivals are defeated. A rule to heed: do not underestimate these challenges just because you understood the information and threat environment during your last deployment. ***MR***

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GEORGIA: The War Russia Lost

Stephen J. Blank, Ph.D.

The views expressed here do not represent those of the U.S. Army, Defense Department, or the U.S. Government.

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PHOTO: A statue of Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin is reflected in a bullet-ridden window in central Gori, Georgia, 19 August 2008. A small column of Russian tanks and armored vehicles left the strategic Georgian city of Gori, the first sign of a Russian pullback of troops from Georgia after a cease-fire intended to end fighting that reignited Cold War tensions. (AP Photo, Mikhail Metzel)

THE RUSSO-GEORGIAN WAR that broke out in August 2008 already shows all the earmarks of being a watershed event in world affairs. It is already reshaping policies and governmental calculations throughout the world. The most striking aspect of this war is Russia's unrelenting, aggressive unilateralism. By early September 2008, less than a month since the war began, Russia had refused to abide by its own cease-fire, expanded its occupation zone, looted Georgian territories under its control, demanded an arms embargo and regime change in Georgia, unilaterally recognized South Ossetia and Abkhazia, and issued repeated ultimatums to America to not rearm Georgia and to stop providing humanitarian assistance. Russia has also threatened Poland with nuclear strikes, told America it may suspend its cooperation with regard to Iranian nuclear nonproliferation and preventing Iran's purchase of air defense missiles, announced its intention to complete Iran's Bushehr nuclear reactor, and threatened Turkey with retaliation for keeping the Bosphorus Straits open for humanitarian relief shipments.

In addition, on 31 August President Dmitri Medvedev announced that Russia would fight American unipolarity, adopt a Nazi-like doctrine that states Moscow has the right to protect ethnic Russians as well as those to whom it grants citizenship beyond its borders, and claim a Russian sphere of influence encompassing the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and other nations beyond the CIS with which it has "privileged relations."[1] Thus, Moscow seeks to challenge the entire structure of contemporary international relations. These stated political principles are hallmarks of a regime that is out of control, consumed by its own arrogance and swagger, and a clear and present danger to all of its neighbors and interlocutors.

Yet, while Russia won the war in tactical and operational terms, it is fast becoming clear to Moscow—as it should have been before the war—that Russia's strategic losses are mounting and will in time eclipse the gains Russia obtained through the use of force. In spite of operations with an estimated cost of $2.5 million a day, Russian leaders profess lack of concern about the economic impact of the Georgian campaign.[2] Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov has dismissed concerns about possible sanctions against Russia.[3] Prime Minister Vladmir Putin, unlike President Medvedev, believes that the potential cost to Russia will be negligible and that the financial crisis currently afflicting Russia has little or nothing to do with Georgia.[4] Putin is unwilling to accept the fact that the war in Georgia and the ensuing international anger

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with Russia are in any way connected to the Russian stock market crash or the ruble's weakness.[5] Such strategic unrealism imitates that of the Georgian leadership.[6] Russia also does not seem upset that it has now lost any possibility of joining the World Trade Organization and thus millions of dollars in revenues and investments.[7] Yet, closer examination suggests that here again Putin's, President Medvedev's, and their officials' confidence is misplaced.

There is no doubt Russia's drastic, unilateral military operations have triggered these negative economic events. A limited Russian peace enforcement operation (to use U.S. terminology) to expel Georgian forces from South Ossetia would have sufficiently proven Russia's point, thwarted Georgian policy, discredited the Saakashvili regime, and provoked little response. Instead, blinded with a desire to show the world who is boss in the CIS, to humiliate and overthrow Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili, and to demonstrate that Russia is still a great power not to be trifled with, Putin went for broke. His personal hatred for Saakashvili and his revanchist and resentful feelings against America are the underlying causes of the invasion—and prove who is the real power behind the throne. There is abundant evidence that the war was a Putin-led provocation from start to finish, designed to achieve the geopolitical and personal goals listed above, and perhaps inspired by a need to show President Medvedev that he does not actually control Russia and cannot dislodge members of the security services from power.[8] If nothing else, the size, scope, and speed of Moscow's combined arms response and continuing occupation and Russification of Georgian territories in defiance of its own cease-fire suggest as much.[9] But now the costs of such operations are beginning to make themselves felt.

By early September 2008, the Russian stock market had fallen considerably, foreign investment was fleeing the country, the EU halted its work on a new partnership agreement with Russia, and leading EU members raised the idea of sanctions against Russia. In return, Russia threatened to cut energy shipments to its customers.[10] It even became necessary for Russia to intervene in its markets to rescue the falling value of the ruble. While much of this economic weakness was and is attributable to a global recession and to the economic pathologies of Russian governance, the situation in Georgia—along with the breakdown of ties with the EU and America—contributes significantly to investors' fears about Russia's future economic health. The geopolitical costs of the Georgian adventure are beginning to come in, and even in their early stages, they amount to substantially negative results for Russia. To compound Russia's problems, America, like the EU, is considering sanctions against Russia, has withdrawn the nuclear treaty with Russia that would have earned Russia hundreds of millions of dollars, announced a reassessment of its Russian policy, and is considering suspending arms control talks.[11]


AP Photo, Irakli Gedenidze

Georgian President Mikhail Saakashvili chairs a government session in Tbilisi, Georgia, 12 September 2008.

The consequences of that last action, if it occurs, are immense. If both sides do not reaffirm their intention to extend the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) by December 2008, it will expire in 2009, leaving both sides without any means of verifying each other's strategic programs. Given the current impasses over treaty extension and missile defense, this could mean no reductions in strategic arms before the Nonproliferation Treaty Review conference in 2010. A failure now to extend START would all but doom the 2010 conference and

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DOD, LCDR John Gay

Banners hung from buildings and walls in Tbilisi, Georgia, protest Russian military occupation of Georgia, 31 August 2008.

possibly open the door to proliferation in Iran and North Korea, an event that would benefit no one and further exacerbate global and regional tensions even in regions unconnected with Georgia. Meanwhile, NATO is beginning to rethink its members' low levels of defense spending and consider committing more resources to territorial defense.[12]

Meanwhile, Prime Minister Putin has threatened to suspend Russia's minimal and grudging cooperation with America over Iran to sell S-300 air defense missiles to Tehran if Washington ever acts against Moscow.[13] Iranian and Chinese missile capabilities have already so alarmed Russia that it wants to either walk out of the 1989 Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty or globalize it, leaving Moscow to gain nothing from a suspension of contacts with Washington, other than heightened threats against it by its supposed allies.[14] A Russian withdrawal from the INF treaty, while perfectly legal, is utterly counterproductive, because it will stimulate missile production in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East at a pace that Russia cannot match.

A purely Machiavellian American administration might actually take up Putin's threat, leaving him alone among these threatening neighbors as the United States builds missile defenses in Europe and the Middle East to block the Iranian threat Russia permitted. We can see Moscow's lack of strategic compass in this crisis in its swaggering ultimatum to Washington, that it either support Moscow and ditch Georgia or suffer the consequences.[15] This misplaced swagger will surely be to Russia's detriment. No U.S. government will accept such ultimatums, and they are beyond Russia's capability to enforce without serious costs.

Other notable political costs to Russia are also already visible. The CIS has proven to be worse than useless in reaching a position of support for or opposition to the war. Ostensibly indicating disapproval, The CIS remained silent about the war and Russia's efforts to rearrange Georgia's integrity and sovereignty. Belarus only joined the chorus of approval for the war after Moscow warned Minsk that it did not appreciate such silence. However, Belarus had previously indicated its interest in improving ties with Europe and America by releasing dissidents from prison.[16] In addition, Kazakhstan called for negotiations and refused to fully support the operation, thus lending cover to Kyrgyzstan, which was clearly unhappy about the

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forcible truncation of Georgia's sovereignty in the name of a Russian doctrine of extra-territoriality to justify intervention on behalf of Russian minorities. Indeed, its government waited for over a month before endorsing Russia's campaign.[17] The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) has refused to support Moscow's actions to dismember Georgia and recognize South Ossetia and Abkhazia. China, too, has intentionally remained silent, indicating its ambivalence, to say the least, about Russia's actions. Obviously, all its actions to date have only served to isolate Russia, especially on the issue of claiming a sphere of influence over the CIS after the SCO demonstrated that it did not accept such a claim.

The SCO's refusal to ratify Moscow's war and support the dismemberment of Georgia indicates the SCO is not the rubber stamp Moscow wants it to be, and shows the limits of Chinese support for Russia.[18] Although Beijing has not opposed holding the winter Olympics in Sochi in 2014 and thus has tacitly blessed the military action, no Chinese government can openly support a great power's independent decision to take over disputed provinces and then put its military bases there. The parallels to Taiwan and to the mounting unrest we have just seen in Tibet and Xinjiang are all too strong of reminders to China of the ultimate vulnerability of its claims to sovereignty over those provinces. President Hu Jintao probably resented Moscow's timing with Georgia, raining as it did on his Olympic parade by competing with it for news coverage, and dimming the global spotlight he had hoped would have been focused solely on China. The SCO's carefully hedged posture on this war and the engineered secession of Abkhazia and South Ossetia suggests that China has more influence in the SCO than Moscow would like it to have. Central Asian governments will not support a doctrine that diminishes their sovereignty for Moscow's benefit, despite Russian efforts to bribe states like Tajikistan.[19] Russian officials' oft-displayed contempt for the sovereignty of these and all the other CIS and post-Soviet states, including those in Eastern Europe, has long been a matter of public record, and while the Central Asian states depend on Russia, they cannot support so public a diminution of their own legitimacy and authority.[20]

At the same time, Russia's ongoing military operations suggest further costs and future liabilities that Moscow should have foreseen. One set of costs is external, pertaining mainly to Russian relations with the CIS, and the other is internal. Externally, it is clear that Russia's unilateral effort to diminish Georgia's sovereignty and integrity by force is creating a condition that allows Georgia to regard these provinces as the equivalent of Alsace-Lorraine in Franco-German wars, that is, as a perpetual site of conflicting claims and revenge. Moreover, the SCO, the EU, and others will not recognize Russia's forceful redrawing of Europe's map on the basis of phony charges and provocation. This produces a situation in which Russia cannot translate its power into legitimate authority. In other words, Russia is sowing the seeds for another future conflict in the Caucasus, quite possibly a violent one. Furthermore, international agencies are rushing to rebuild Georgia. America is providing it with $1 billion in aid, the IMF is lending it $750 million, and the executive board of the Asian Development Bank has voted unanimously to lend Georgia money for reconstruction.[21] All these actions signify disapproval of Russian policy and a determination to resist any efforts to destroy Georgia's economy and capacity for independent self-government, an objective that may well have figured prominently in Russian plans.

The North Caucasus remains aflame. Disturbing signs of breakdown of public authority abound and even police officers have reportedly fled from terrorist attacks there. Indeed, the ongoing war in the North Caucasus and Moscow's visible failure to terminate it has caused the leading American analyst of those wars, Gordon Hahn, to call Russia a failing state.[22] The crisis in Chechnya and the North Caucasus required 250,000 troops to occupy those areas as of 2006, and Russians question Moscow's own rule in these provinces.[23]

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Once again, Russia has regressed to a neo-Tsarist autocracy, with elements of both the Soviet and Fascist systems and an inherent tendency to military adventurism. For the fourth time since 1993, Russia has unilaterally chosen to use *force majeure* over and above that necessary to resolve internal succession struggles and revise post-1991 territorial agreements.

Europe can no longer assume a peaceful Russia. Russia's national security policy presupposes conflict with NATO and sees the United States as its primary enemy—a designation Russia will soon enshrine in new defense doctrine. Its basic nuclear policy rests on the corollary that for Moscow to be secure, no other European capital can be secure. Russia wants to return to the Cold War politics of intimidation with tactical nuclear weapons, short-range, inter-continental, and submarine-launched ballistic missiles.

Perhaps the greatest or longest lasting external political cost to Russia from this adventure is the shattering of European complacency about Moscow. Even the pro-Russian German Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier has called this war a turning point.[24] The realization that Russia will not honor its own political commitments such as cease-fire agreements will only harden European opinion against Russia. The EU and NATO may be divided on some issues, and Russia may try to use its considerable abilities to bribe, intimidate, blackmail, and otherwise subvert European unity, but a military-political-economic reaction against Russia is already taking shape.

That reaction certainly goes beyond sanctions. Its most visible element is the U.S.-Polish agreement on missile defense signed days after the war began and directly as a result of Russia's demonstration of its offensive policies. That treaty not only secures the introduction of U.S. missile defenses in Poland, it actually places U.S. troops there to defend Patriot air defense batteries. Clearly intended against Russian threats, it provides a mutual security guarantee above and beyond the current NATO agreements, and can be invoked even before action from NATO occurs. This threatens to trump Moscow's ability to intimidate Europe with Russian nuclear weapons and may generate a continent-wide arms race that could be economically ruinous to Russia. Worse yet, the Ukrainian government announced its readiness to associate itself with Western missile defenses and early warning systems, suggesting another very dangerous situation for Moscow, especially if Ukraine does join NATO.[25]

The issue of missile defenses had proven, even before the outbreak of this war, to be one that could effectively reorder Europe's security agenda because of the threats Moscow made against Poland and the Czech Republic previous to the Polish-American agreement. Russia's nuclear bluster and belligerently anti-American policy caused the Pentagon to respond even before the war to ensure the quality and responsiveness of America's nuclear deterrents.[26] Indeed, the Navy is considering deploying Aegis warship patrols in the Baltic or Black Seas to protect missile defense sites in Poland and the Czech Republic from being the first targets in a phased enemy attack. However, such a naval deployment would be a violation of the Montreux Convention of 1936, and even Ankara would never allow it in peacetime, let alone Moscow.[27] Indeed, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates now appears to be calling for an increase in missile defenses because of the Russian strategic nuclear force. Certainly, this is how Russia interprets his remarks, using them, as it does, to substantiate its charge that the United States is hostile towards Russia.[28] Now, in the aftermath of the war with Georgia, the U.S. government is reassessing its policies towards Russia, and many military leaders are warning about Russian military capabilities.[29]

What is particularly dangerous about this trend is that Russia's invasion of Georgia, the resulting weak Western response, and the rising tone of Russian assertiveness and willingness to accept international isolation, could mean a return to a period of heightened tension in Europe, although not necessarily another Cold War. Putin's and Medvedev's boasts that they are not afraid of another

Russia wants to return to the Cold War politics of intimidation with tactical nuclear weapons, short-range, inter-continental, and submarine-launched ballistic missiles.

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Cold War do not stand up to scrutiny because they know full well that Moscow cannot accept that outcome or sustain it. Moreover, if an arms race does break out across Eurasia, it is likely to be a nuclear arms race. Due to Russian conventional forces' continuing failure to modernize, and the failure of its defense industry to provide weapons in sufficient quantity and quality, Moscow has fewer viable actions and may once again rely upon possible first-strike nuclear attacks.[30] But even this desperate option has problems. Russia cannot produce enough nuclear weapons by 2015 to obtain anything more than a state of minimum deterrence. Thus, in spite of all the boasting about long-range bomber patrols, claiming territory in the Arctic, buzzing American ships, and possibly basing long-range nuclear-capable bombers in Cuba, it seems that Russian military options are merely empty rhetoric designed for domestic consumption. In fact, Russia's defense industry cannot meet the demand for sustained, quality production of high-precision conventional weapons. Combine that with an army which refuses to become truly professional and (except for some niche specialties) cannot conduct high-tech operations and use modern equipment for optimal effects, and the result is an army not suited to contemporary large-scale operations or to counterinsurgency. The only form of the latter that seems to work for Moscow is the traditional tactic of "making a desert and calling it peace" while finding a Quisling- or Petain-like leader who will accept Russian rule and divide local elites.[31] Consequently, any arms race with Russia is more likely to involve nuclear arsenals rather than conventional arms.



AP Photo, Natalia Kolesnikova

Russian President Dmitry Medvedev, left, listens to First Deputy Prime Minister Igor Shuvalov at a meeting with business leaders in Moscow, 15 September 2008. Medvedev warned that any sanctions imposed on Russia over the war in Georgia would backfire.

Yet, Moscow may well try to restore its conventional capabilities if it believes them necessary. There is good reason to believe that this war has mortally wounded the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty. Russia unilaterally suspended its participation in this treaty in 2007 at least in part to free itself for action in the Caucasus. We now see the consequences of that rash decision. However, in this atmosphere of heightened threats and ever more belligerent rhetoric, we cannot rule out the possibility of a conventional arms race due to this war, at least in Eastern Europe.

Moscow's consistently belligerent but possibly empty responses to all these challenges, such as its formal announcement of a doctrine of extraterritoriality and its demand for an undefined sphere of influence, suggest that it was unprepared to act on its provocations. Initially confronted with only weak political resistance to its invasion of Georgia, Moscow's leaders evidently believed that they could respond with ever-greater displays of verbal belligerence. Once again, Russian ministers thought that they could wage a small victorious war to secure their power at home and abroad at little or no cost, and once again, they miscalculated the true consequences.

Lessons to Ponder

Notwithstanding Russian policy, there is a profound lesson here for us as well, one that we should have learned as a result of Iraq and its international consequences. As Liddell Hart observed, the objective of war should be to create a better peace—a positively transformed political situation that engenders a stable, enduring, and legitimate postwar order. Force, to be successful, must soon give way to or create authority, a stable and legitimate order. The use of force must create conditions where force itself is no longer necessary after a war's military-political goals have been achieved, and the defeated side accepts the new status quo.[32] But Moscow does

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not seem to have learned that lesson, as it has not brought a better peace or a legitimate order. Rather, it has shattered order, opening the way to arms races, military buildups, and greater rivalries throughout the region. Some may see easy comparison between this situation and that in Iraq. Nor are the repercussions confined only to Eurasia. North Korea quite probably chose this time to announce its suspension of cooperation with the Six-Party agreements of 2007 because it saw weakness in the initial European and United States replies to Russia.

However, Moscow should not take comfort from its military performance in Georgia. Almost immediately after the invasion, critical articles depicting all kinds of military failures have appeared in Russian and foreign presses and electronic media.[33] Some of these were obvious signs of an undisciplined force: public drunkenness and primitive looting of occupied areas, for example.

Statesmen have always attempted to gauge the benefits of going to war against the costs of doing so, while simultaneously weighing the benefits and costs of refraining from war. The present war suggests that in the case of the Russo-Georgian War, both sides failed to do so. Georgia catastrophically failed to reckon the benefits and costs of either line of policy. Indeed, its leadership seems to have ignored the possibility that Russia would retaliate in force to an initial Georgian operation, even if it were the result of a Russian provocation.[34] On the other hand, Russia seems to have thought only in terms of the short-term consequences. Russia reckoned that with America tied down in Iraq, divided from its European allies (themselves divided and frequently dependent on Russian oil and gas), it could safely reassert its prominence in the CIS by force and provoke Georgia into rash action. To that degree, though, Russian calculations seem to be correct.

Even so, dizzy from success, Moscow overreached and attempted not just to teach Georgia a lesson, but to redraw the foundations of the contemporary international order with limited means of maintaining that new order. Here it succeeded only in multiplying the costs to itself because it failed to recognize that, as much as Russia resents it, its security depends upon that order. The current Russian threat assessment presupposing an adversarial relationship with the West and charging that it is being encircled by NATO is in many respects a phony threat assessment designed to enhance the role of the armed forces and police at home and to cement the stability of an inherently unstable political system in the belief that *Nas ne lyubyat*, "nobody loves us." The reality is, since 1991, Russia has enjoyed living with the least dangerous set of external threats in its long history. NATO does not even have contingency plans for an attack against Russia. Only now is it beginning to discuss drafting such plans, and the allies are showing the first signs of greater cohesion than in the recent past.[35] Neither can Russia afford intense geopolitical competition with the West while maintaining a petro-economy based on an inherently sub-optimal economic model of Muscovite Tsardom.[36]

If a nation uses a limited war to revise the international order, and if that nation makes demands it cannot enforce, not only is international order destabilized (the same international order that protected the belligerent nation to begin with) but also there may not be a viable organizing principle for the new system to operate from or to legitimize the belligerent nation's security demands. Russia has singularly failed to translate its military achievement into legitimate authority and social order.

In the future, those who might commit their governments to war, in a world as densely interconnected as this one is, must not only weigh the benefits and costs of war, but grasp a fundamental lesson of our times: in wars of choice, the benefits obtained from an unprovoked use of large-scale force appear to be diminishing, while the costs to both the user of force and the victim of force are growing and have worldwide effects. This interconnection multiplies the primary, secondary, and tertiary costs of military adventures, like the one in Georgia, to primary combatants and to innocent bystanders. In Georgia's case, these bystanders are not only its CIS partners and neighbors, but also the

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Ukraine, Belarus, Central Asia, and even Europe and the United States. The reactions of these states to this war suggest that they, too, have "lost" the war in crucial ways and now are beginning to bear its political-strategic costs.

When everybody loses in a war, the cause of peace and of a just order in international affairs loses too. Ostensibly, those who threaten the use of force, or actually use force, may initially crown themselves victors in such conflicts. Moscow may convince itself that it has won a war in Georgia, but it has actually opened a Pandora's Box of cascading negative effects merely to gratify its own imperial fantasies of resentment and revenge. ***MR***

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CHINA'S ELECTRONIC LONG-RANGE RECONNAISSANCE

Lieutenant Colonel Timothy L. Thomas, U.S. Army, Retired

Congress passed legislation this week requiring the Pentagon to report on China's growing computer-warfare capabilities when producing assessments of Chinese military power. The fiscal 2008 National Defense Authorization Act, passed yesterday by the House, contains a provision requiring the annual Military Power of the People's Republic of China report to include a new section on Beijing's "efforts to acquire, develop, and deploy cyberwarfare capabilities" in its assessments of China's "asymmetric" warfare capabilities.

—*Early Bird*, 14 December 2007

SINCE 2005, Chinese cyber attacks against U.S. systems have increased at an alarming rate. However, the term "attack" carries unwanted connotations; these unwarranted incursions are more likely reconnaissance missions to collect intelligence on U.S. military systems, to spot vulnerabilities or plant trap-doors or viruses in our systems, and to ensure that China's People's Liberation Army (PLA) has an immediate advantage in the event of war involving America and China. If the incursions were "attacks," then our systems would be down and destroyed. Instead, these computer reconnaissance measures appear to conform to an old Chinese stratagem: "a victorious army first wins and then seeks battle. A defeated army first battles and then seeks victory." Reconnaissance via computer to spot vulnerabilities before the first battle fits the stratagem well.

The United States, of course, is not the only country accusing the Chinese of unwarranted incursions. Germany, England, France, Japan, Taiwan, and Australia, and others, have also been Chinese targets. When one views these events in the light of open-source accounts of Chinese information operations (IO) theory over the past several years, there is much circumstantial evidence to find China guilty as accused. The only actual forensic evidence, of course, is classified and located in the security agencies of the countries that China has electronically invaded.

This article explains Chinese military thought that supports their cyber-attack activities. While other articles focus on who was attacked and how many times, this article focuses more on the theory behind the attacks, especially the PLA's use of electronic stratagems for their computer network operations and the use of surrogates such as patriotic hacker groups. The article reviews Chinese incursions since 2005 and examines open-source assessments provided by some of the most important Chinese information warfare theorists.

The PLA has followed theory with practice. Computer network operations have become part of the peacetime strategic activities of the PLA. More worrisome is the purpose of these incursions. Is it reconnaissance? Or is the

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purpose of these incursions to place Trojan horses or some other device into U.S. and other partner systems to disable or destroy them in case of war? As one reads about Chinese information warfare developments, it becomes clear that China's potential intentions raise questions.

IW Units and the Active Offense

While the exact reason for China's cyber attacks is unknown, we can follow a cause-and-effect rationale in Chinese contemporary writings. The cause of China's attachment to new information technologies and the "informatization" of their force is the dramatic impact the technologies have had on military affairs, most notably the U.S. use of technology in Iraq. The effect of these technologies on Chinese military thought is the Chinese belief that only countries that take the initiative in an information war or establish information superiority and control ahead of time will win, and that this requires reconnaissance and intelligence gathering before the first battle to set the stage for the use of cyber forces.

Historically, the PLA based its strategic philosophy on "active defense," meaning that China would never attack someone first but would be ready to respond if attacked. That philosophy has changed over the past few years with the advent of the cyber age. There has been a continuous stream of open-source descriptions of both cyber units in and offensive cyber operations by the Chinese military. The PLA's open recognition of a need for offensive operations reflects a significant break with traditional military thought. Further, the PLA has openly stated that U.S. reliance on computer systems is a huge vulnerability ripe for exploitation. If the PLA hopes to offset America's huge advantage in practical application of IO theory (in Kosovo, Iraq, and Afghanistan), it has to exploit that vulnerability. To understand this shift from defensive to offensive-minded operations, we must begin by looking at developments in 1999.

...the Chinese believe that only countries that take the initiative in an information war or establish information superiority and control ahead of time will win...

1999

Nearly a decade ago, Chinese IO theorists were already discussing offensive actions. Zhu Wenguan and Chen Taiyi's *Information War*, published in 1999, contains a section called "Conducting Camouflaged Preemptive Attacks." The authors note that preemptive active offense is needed to disrupt and destroy enemy computer offensive forces.[1] A part of preemption appears to be network surveillance, which involves collecting information on the performance, purpose, and structure of systems related to C4I, electronic warfare, and weapon systems. The authors note that, in the broadest sense, computer information surveillance is a part of computer information attack. They state:

> To conduct computer surveillance, we can use computer information networks set up in peacetime and enter networks as different users to do the surveillance in an area broader than the battlefield. We can borrow the power of computer experts, especially hackers, to finish computer surveillance tasks . . . it can be seen that using hackers to obtain military information from computer networks is a very effective method. We should be familiar with network protocols and accumulate network intelligence.[2]

The authors add that the PLA established small brigades of offensive and defensive computer confrontation forces to conduct these attacks.[3] Offensive training includes how to design and organize virus invasions and how to enter the other side's computer networks. Offensive brigades must repeatedly study and analyze the enemy's potential. They must also be able to sort truth and deception, pinpoint enemy computer-control centers, and jam in targeted ways.[4]

In November 1999, a *Jiefanguin Bao* (*Liberation Army Daily*) article stated that China may develop an information warfare branch of service—a "net force"—to complement the army, navy, and air force. (While the article said this development was very likely to become a reality, there is no evidence to confirm the creation of such a branch of service today.) The force's task would be to protect net sovereignty and engage in net warfare. Elements of net warfare include "offensive and defensive" technologies, "scanning" technologies, "masquerade" (deception)

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technology, and "recovery" technology. Masquerade technology would assist a person who wanted to dissemble as a commander and take over a net.[5]

2000

The idea of focusing on reconnaissance and stratagem activities arose as early as 2000. A *Jiefanguin Bao* article notes that units at and above army level should focus their study on reconnaissance and early warning, command coordination, and the application of strategy.[6] An article substantiating this thought appeared in the PLA's authoritative journal *China Military Science* (similar in importance to *Joint Force Quarterly*). The latter article notes that stratagems should create opportunities and favorable times for releasing viruses.[7]

Another *China Military Science* article clarified the offensive posture described in 1999. In it, General Dai Qingmin opines that offense is at least as important as active defense, and notes, "As the key to gaining the initiative in operations lies in positively and actively contending with an enemy for information superiority, China should establish such a view for IO as 'active offense.'" His view is that active offense is essential for maintaining information control, obtaining the initiative, and offsetting an opponent's superiority. Offensive information methods can help sabotage an enemy's information system.[8]

Dai, who became the head of the PLA General Staff's Fourth Department (Electronic Warfare), also notes that IO stratagems can be formulated before launching a war to serve as "a sharp sword" that sabotages and weakens a superior enemy, while protecting or enhancing China's fighting capacity. Information warfare can serve as a type of invisible fighting capacity to evade combat with a stronger enemy.[9] If a future information warfare goal is to defeat strong forces with weak forces using stratagems, then such methods are one of China's asymmetric means to combat U.S. high technology.[10] Stratagems would thus be one of the "magic weapons" that Chinese strategic culture is always stressing.

Finally, Dai's August 2000 article in *China Military Science* discusses the use of electrons as stratagems and the development of an integrated network electronic warfare capability. When combined with the active-offense concept, this article represents one of the most important information warfare articles written in China.

Other less notable publications also discuss offensive operations. In a March 2000 Internet version of *Computer and Information Technology*, analysts at the PLA's Electronic Engineering Institute at Hefei discuss the need for network confrontation teams and the requirement to conduct both defensive and offensive operations.[11] In September 2000, the journal *Guangjiao Jing* noted that the PLA had recently established information warfare departments within its headquarters organizations.[12] Thus, the idea of offensive operations was not limited just to Dai.

2001

The 2001 book *Science of Strategy*, published by China's National Defense University, includes a section on offensive information warfare operations. It states that strategic information warfare should "use offense as a main strategy but be prepared for both offense and defense." Further, it states, "We should use the strategy of the preemptive strike and seize the initiative. Actively launching an information offensive is the key to seizing information superiority and the initiative on the battlefield."[13] In this sense, the thinking appears to apply mainly to wartime and not peacetime action.

The *Science of Strategy* also describes the type of war to fight against networks. The book states that in a war of annihilation, nodes must be attacked to break up the network before attacking weapons systems. Information and support systems must always be the first targets to offset operational balance. *Science of Strategy* notes, "After strikes to damage the net and continuous operations and persistent weakening of the enemy, then vigorously launch an annihilating attack." Ground information warfare facilities, transmission means, reception platforms, and information-flow capabilities should be destroyed in that order. This type of attack enables one to "take away the firewood from under the cauldron."[14] While this scenario appears to apply to wartime conditions, it can easily be adapted to peacetime conditions as well.

Information technology has thus stimulated Chinese strategic thinking; military academics now argue that those who do not preempt will lose the initiative in what may be a very short-lived IO war. In modern conflicts, they suggest, it is easier to obtain the objective of war through one campaign or one battle than at any other time in history. This

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line of thinking provides further impetus for the PLA to conduct cyber-reconnaissance activities in peacetime to prepare to "win victory."[15]

2002

An article from June 2002 states that PLA units were prepared to tamper "with information in terms of order, time, flow, content, and form; deleting information in parts, in order to create fragmented information; and inserting information to include irrelevant information in order to confuse and mislead each other."[16] The author adds that two sides in a computer confrontation may attempt to invade each other's information networks by transplanting computer viruses to downloadable software that can be activated when necessary in order to sabotage each other's computer systems.[17]

General Dai Qingmin wrote in 2002 that a priority for the PLA was to acquire offensive information operations equipment, and that the PLA must take and maintain the initiative.[18] Other publications weighed in as well on this point.

Jiefangjun Bao, for example, carried an article in August of 2002 about the forms of network attacks. These were listed as "premeditated" (i.e., a persistent computer virus embedded in software), "contamination" (aimed at the quality of information), "strong" (refering to the forced modulation of computer viruses into electromagnetic waves), and "fission" (the strong regeneration capability of a virus).[19] All are capable of being inserted in peacetime, except perhaps the "strong" variety.

2003

At the 2003 10th National People's Congress, PLA representatives revealed that it would activate the first high-tech information warfare units in Beijing that year. The report stated that the units would eventually be in all PLA armies. Information warfare units would be outfitted with high-tech equipment, and have the ability to conduct network warfare on the Internet and the capability to transfer data via remote sensing satellites.[20] How the "first" information warfare unit differs from the information warfare brigades under discussion in the 1999 Chinese book *Information War* is unknown.

General Dai, writing in 2003, stressed once again the importance of carrying out information attacks.[21] Dai wrote that information warfare is "precursory" (begins before other operations) and "whole course" (runs throughout an entire operation). Perhaps the current emphases on gaining the initiative and on short wars are the main reasons that Dai gives the impression that preemption via information warfare is a necessity in future war.[22] He notes:

> Actions such as intelligence warfare, psychological warfare, and campaign deception in advance of combat seem to be even more important to the unimpeded implementation of planning and ensuring war. For this reason, information warfare must be started in advance of other combat actions before making war plans and while making war plans.[23]

Specific reserve units also engage in information warfare activities. For example, in late 2003 the monthly journal of the PLA Academy of Military Science, *Guofang*, gave specific instructions on network attack activities to reserve units. Author Li Mingrang says that information storm troopers as "first forces" must be established from the talent of local communications, telecommunications, and financial departments and from scientific research institutes and institutions of higher education. Stratagems must be developed to increase system survivability.[24] Li adds:

> There is no shortage of computer experts and network jockeys among them, any one of whom could become a network guerrilla who could open up a gunpowderless battlefield all by himself by harassing attacks on the network, namely by releasing large volumes of data from many directions concentrated on some enemy network station to jam up its network router and bring the network station to a standstill...and once there is a military requirement, either enter the network system to steal intelligence or to activate viruses or detonate 'bombs' to achieve the combat target of destroying the network.[25]

Reserve forces are directed to work on offensive strategies.

In his 2003 book *Deciphering Information Security,* China's "father of information warfare," retired Colonel Shen Weiguang, wrote about the development of an information security university with a military information security specialty. The specialty

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teaches, among some twenty-plus topics, "A Study of Hacker Attack Methods," "Network Intrusion Detection and Defending against Attack," "Information Attack and Defense Tactics," "Computer Virus Program Design and Application," "Network Security System Structures," and "Scanning for Hidden Troubles in Networks."[26] Many of these topics would fit the definition of PLA's peacetime computer network operations incursion activities.

2005

In the 2005 book *Study Guide for Information Operations Theory*, General Dai and his associates defined 400 IO-related terms, many related to preemptive or reconnaissance activities. Only computer network warfare is described here:

> Computer network warfare is composed of computer network reconnaissance, computer network attacks, and computer network defense. Operations mainly involve the use of armed and equipped network warriors. The means of operations include various types of viruses, logic bombs, and chip weapons developed from computer technology. Computer network warfare will act as both a deterrent and a means of warfare, and it can have a large and profound impact upon the enemy's politics, economics, and military. It is also an important means of battle for a less well-equipped military against one with formidable strengths in high technology.[27]

Dai also discussed the importance of the conduct of warfare, focusing on information deterrence as a concept to consider and develop further at the strategic level. Others who have written on the topic of information deterrence include Shen Weiguang. The book *Science of Military Strategy* devotes an entire chapter to the topic. The latter source explains how information deterrence (intimidating by demonstrating one's information power or might) can help achieve national and military objectives. Deterrence methods include information technology (hardware and software innovations), information weapons (discursive dissimulation or disinformation), and information-resource suppression (analogous to jamming). According to some Chinese authors, counter-information deterrence theories must also be considered.

In *Warfare Strategy Theory* (2005), Yao Youzhi asserts that strategy has developed to the point where technological considerations dominate and the use of technology has become strategic. Any strategy that distances itself from focusing on high-technology weapons has no useful value, according to Yao. This also means that China must develop sound counterstrategies.[28] He writes:

> It is necessary to be proficient at utilizing the information superhighway, creating misleading information, spreading the fog of war, and jamming and destroying the enemy's strategic awareness, thereby using strategy to control the adversary. It is necessary to be proficient at using electronic feints, electronic camouflage, electronic jamming, virus attacks, and space satellite jamming and deception, leading the enemy to draw the wrong conclusion and attaining the goal of strategic deception.[29]

While designed for wartime use, several of these techniques work as peacetime preventive and preemptive measures as well.

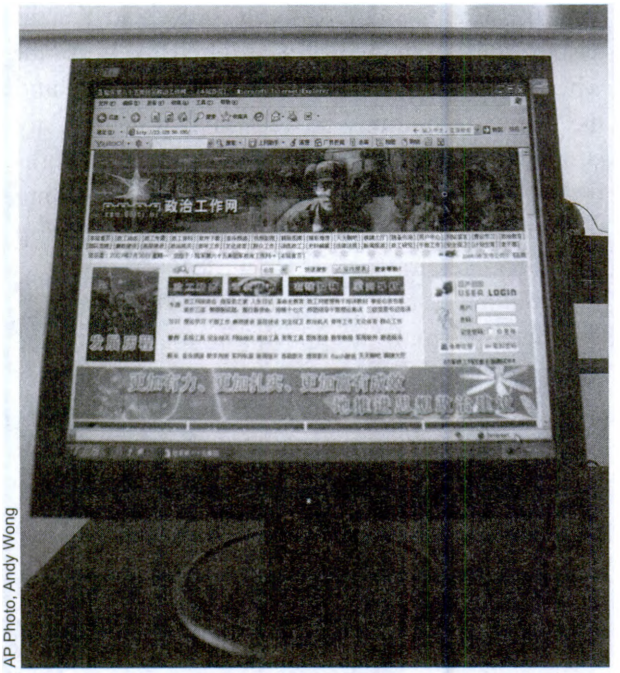
In "stovepipe" structured commands of the past, a force calculated its strength by adding together all of its parts. Today, a force's combat strength is a product of operational elements where information technologies factor into a potentially exponential multiplication.[30]

Yao writes that "informationized" warfare has changed the traditional significance of "attack, capture, control, and defend" because precision attacks have made possible the destruction of the enemy's entire war system. The primary attack target has become an enemy force's strategic information system. All activities now revolve around gaining battlefield supremacy, and information supremacy is the foundation of battlefield supremacy. Directly destroying an enemy's will has supplanted the annihilation of an enemy's military capability. This focus on information invites completely new methods in future wars.[31]

2007

Author Zhang Zhibin notes in *Jiefanguin Bao,* 13 March 2007, that the dialectical relationship between offense and defense in network warfare must place equal emphasis on each. A network deterrence theory implies that both capabilities are neces-

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AP Photo, Andy Wong

A computer screen displaying a military website is seen inside an army base in Tianjin, on the outskirts of Beijing, China, 30 July 2007. Computer networks have been targeted by cyber spies that media reports say are directed by China's military, but China denies backing such attacks.

sary, offense to scare any potential enemy force, and defense to thwart any attack. Zhang says:

> Only by doing a solid job of positive defense can China ensure winning the initiative in network warfare. Thus, China should make unremitting efforts to seek such preemptive opportunities through developing network technology and systems and making corresponding network defensive operations research and implementation.[32]

Other articles from 2007 stress a need for PLA action to gain network control, including access, if possible. Two books on Chinese IO by this author, *Dragon Bytes* and *Decoding the Virtual Dragon,* mention this focus on control.

...information supremacy is the foundation of battlefield supremacy....This focus on information invites completely new methods in future wars.

Probable Chinese Computer Attacks against America

Over the past several years, Chinese information warfare and IO capabilities have become more visible and troubling. China has used these capabilities not only against the U.S. but reportedly against Japan, Taiwan, Germany, England, and Australia as well. Due to the nature of computer network operations, exactly how many Chinese information warfare reconnaissance or offensive events have transpired or the actual intent of these incursions remains unknown. Those episodes that have leaked into the public domain include the following:

- Espionage conducted against the U.S. Department of Defense computers, reported in *Time* magazine. The report concerned a Chinese cyber espionage ring that federal investigators codenamed Titan Rain.[33]
- Chinese attempts to blind a U.S. satellite, reported in *Defense News*. The report discussed high-powered Chinese laser attacks on a U.S. satellite.[34]
- Chinese hacker attacks on the U.S. Naval War College's net capability, reported in *Federal Computer Week.* This attack purportedly originated from China and took systems off-line.[35]
- The Chinese destruction of an old Chinese weather satellite with an anti-satellite missile, reported on National Public Radio. The report cited a Beijing People's University commentator. He noted, "Satellite-killing technology is logical in the development of missiles and an information warfare capability."[36]
- A sophisticated computer attack on Tennessee's Oak Ridge National Laboratory in October and November 2007. The assault was in the form of phony e-mails which, when opened, allowed hackers to penetrate the lab's computer security.[37]
- Hacker attacks against Japan and Taiwan, reported in the Japanese and Taiwanese press.[38] The reports noted that these attacks were retaliations for Japan's anti-Chinese interpretations of history and for Taiwanese claims for independence.

On 5 September 2007, the *Kansas City Star* carried an article in which China denied cyber-attacking any country. Foreign ministry spokesperson Jian Yu noted, "The Chinese government has always opposed an Internet-wrecking crime, including hacking, and cracked down on it according to the law."[39] He dismisses accusations of Chinese attacks

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on Pentagon computers as "groundless." A Pentagon spokesperson refused to say if the perpetrator was China, but Britain's *Financial Times* quotes an unidentified senior U.S. official as saying the source had been traced to the PLA.

A week earlier, Germany's *Der Spiegel* magazine reported that the PLA had infiltrated Germany's government computer systems. The report said the hackers had been traced back to Guangzhou and Lanzhou.[40] Thus, circumstantial evidence continues to grow. It is difficult to believe that Germany, Australia, Japan, Taiwan, and America are all conniving to indict China and portray it as a new threat. Indeed, through unprovoked cyber operations, China seems to have indicted itself without anyone's assistance.

China's Use of Surrogates

One of China's stratagems is to "attack with a borrowed sword." Perhaps the use of patriotic hackers fits this stratagem. A recent article in *Time* magazine discussed the use of a "network crack program hacker" (NCPH) group initiative to accomplish this goal. The article said the PLA had developed a competition for hackers and that the winner would receive a monthly stipend from the military. It noted that the NCPH group not only won the competition and received the stipend, but the PLA also used the NCPH to teach techniques and procedures to other members of the PLA's cyberwarfare team. A U.S. branch of VeriSign, iDefense, has noted that China's NCPH created 35 programs to implant Trojans (which take partial control of computers) and that these programs attacked U.S. government agencies. VeriSign's iDefense accused the NCPH of siphoning off thousands of unclassified U.S. documents. Such activity would fit the PLA's preemption focus.[41]

The concept of "people's war" also fits with so-called patriotic hacking. "People's war" in the cyber age means that citizens get involved with hacking or cyber attacking an enemy's systems. Presently over 250 hacker groups operate in China.[42] Quantity could thus create a quality all its own with the variety and intensity of incursions they could conduct. None could be traced directly to the PLA if hacker groups are private citizens (or for that matter, military members or military reservists conducting cyber operations from their home computers). Again, circumstantial evidence is all that one has to go on, but that evidence is becoming overwhelming.

One of China's stratagems is to "attack with a borrowed sword." Perhaps the use of patriotic hackers fits this stratagem.

Conclusions

Chinese theory over the last several years indicates that China wants to become proficient in active offense, cyber reconnaissance, cyber-stratagem, and computer exploitation activities in case the PLA has to go to war. If China feels it can gain the initiative by obtaining information superiority or by preventing cyber strikes, then the coming years may involve challenges from that sector. While it remains easy to measure the intent of troop deployments, the intent of a Chinese electron is harder to measure. Is it inserting a virus, conducting reconnaissance, or disabling a system? The world will move into uncertain territory as nations attempt to conduct responses to and develop consequence management actions for truly disruptive electronic intrusions.

The Chinese note that IO tactics and techniques allow more emphasis on the principle of offense than on traditional warfare. A weaker force, for example, can inflict much damage on a superior force with a properly timed and precisely defined asymmetric information attack. China portrays itself regularly as the weaker side of the U.S.-Chinese relationship. It thinks that offensive operations such as information deterrence, information blockade, information power creation (electronic camouflage, network deception, etc.), information contamination, information harassment, nodal destruction, system paralysis, and entity destruction are key to victory in a modern conflict with America.

One should remember that this analysis stems only from open-source information and public comments from the PLA, and that China's understanding of the intersection of strategy and information technology, especially as it relates to actual conflict, is not extensive in a practical sense. The

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Chinese have little recent experience with conflict. Their forces have not fought an actual war in decades. From a theoretical perspective, however, China has written extensively on the use of information technology and electronic preemption and given both much thought. Chinese cyber intrusions indicate that the Chinese are gaining a lot of practical and theoretical experience in peacetime.

The PLA's open-source comments can be interpreted either as an attempt to work with the West or to vigorously oppose it. Perhaps the PLA is being very open and transparent in its cyber strategies, perhaps more open than in any other area of military operations. (The PLA is far more open with its information warfare thinking, for example, than Russia.) If the PLA's intent is to oppose the West, it may in fact be concealing rich information warfare concepts in PLA "rules and regulations" (the PLA's equivalent of doctrine) within the general staff directorates and research institutes. China's information warfare rules and regulations are not available to other nations, while unclassified U.S. doctrine is available to anyone on the Internet. The PLA keeps its rules and regulations close to its chest. In this case, lack of transparency introduces unwanted ambiguity. America and other nations under threat of PLA incursions may react harshly to some scenarios developed by the Chinese and, thus, unintentionally set off a conflict.

How and when China might use its active-offensive concepts for purposes other than reconnaissance is unclear, but, as general concepts, they are worrisome. It does not bode well for future cooperation and stability if Chinese theorists really do believe (as they openly state) that China can offset an opponent's information superiority only if China strikes first. China will no doubt continue to use technology in conjunction with innovative stratagems to try to deceive our high-tech systems or perhaps even to force errors in the cognitive processes of U.S. decision-makers. We live in interesting times. ***MR***

NOTES

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39. Tim Johnson, "China Denies Cyber-Attack," *Kansas City Star*, 5 September 2007, A5.
40. Ibid.
41. Simon Elegant, "Enemies at the Firewall," *Time*, 19 December 2007, <www.time.com/time>.
42. Conversation with Scott Henderson, whose book on Chinese hackers, *Dark Visitor*, is forthcoming. This book is probably the best open-source work on Chinese hackers.

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ON METAPHORS WE ARE LED BY

Colonel Christopher R. Paparone, Ph.D., U.S. Army, Retired

Reflection

Metaphor is one of our most important tools for trying to comprehend partially what cannot be comprehended totally: our feelings, aesthetic experiences, moral practices, and spiritual awareness. These endeavors of the imagination are not devoid of rationality; since they use metaphor, they employ imaginative rationality.

—George Lakoff and Mark Johnson[1]

DESPITE PRINCIPLED ATTEMPTS to prosecute "information operations" and "strategic communications," there is scant discussion in current military discourse about how people assign meaning to their perceptions. This essay investigates how the use of metaphor shapes understanding in an increasingly ambiguous world of meaning. Indeed, the rhetorical work of pundits, politicians, appointees, bloggers, academics, military doctrinaires, and flag officers (those I call "thought leaders") is largely the management of meaning. That is, thought leaders engage in persuading the naïve, the obtuse, or those with different understandings to follow their narrative constructions, which are often riddled with metaphors.

In a world of vagueness and ambiguity, coupled with global interconnectedness, the range of possible meanings geometrically multiplies to unimaginable degrees. Some subscribe to the "information age" metaphor, suggest that objective "facts" are omnipresent, and wonder why the truth they see is not as clearly seen by everybody else. Yet global information media amplify the diversity of meanings and the expansion of useable metaphors. Without such a multiplicity, a greater shared understanding would be implausible; still, ever-changing expression creates frustration as well. Those aspiring leaders who seek to influence and indoctrinate others with their own sense of bringing verbal clarity have to be mindful of creating frustration and misapprehension. Wars, messy social problems, and disasters present ineffable complexities that metaphors only approximate. With the clever and often hidden use of metaphors, the most effective thought leaders indoctrinate others to grasp and communicate the intractable or inscrutable. This essay proposes a framework that can help military practitioners judge the appropriate use of metaphor and be more reflective about how indoctrination can work to shape their "sensemaking" in important ways.[2]

A Framework for Reflecting on Metaphor

The term metaphor is derived from the Greek word *meta-* which means "beyond," and *-pherein,* which means "to bear." Hence, metaphor takes us beyond surface textual meaning and serves as a substitute for literal

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or objective definitions of complicated matters. Non-Defense Department communities have often borrowed military words and phrases to convey meaning where otherwise impossible. For example, businesses and other public organizations borrow terms like "strategy" (from the Greek word for "generalship"); they declare "war" to "defeat" social problems like poverty, drugs, AIDS, and illegal immigration; and they employ "tactics" (from the Greek for "orders") for negotiating deals and winning against competitors. For centuries, the military community has perhaps unwittingly drawn on language from other communities to reduce the ambiguity it faces: center of gravity (from physics), operational art (from the design studio), and enemies that operate asymmetrically and as networks (from the biological sciences). Here are some others that may be familiar: mapping human terrain (the logic of cartography applied to sociology), mission creep (like a sneaky arachnid or "slow-river-rising" analogy), global war on terror (an ecumenical story of the dichotomy of good vs. evil). In short, thought leaders in various knowledge communities "manage meaning," that is, they employ metaphors as:

- Sensibility-on-loan (from other knowledge forms).
- Exemplars for the otherwise unfamiliar constituency (analogy is better than total ignorance).
- "Bridges" from what they tacitly know but cannot say (mysteries) to others' quasi-comprehension.
- Implicit substitutes for inexplicit reality (symbols of reality).
- Purposeful ambiguities (equivocations) to gain support from otherwise conflicting interpretations (often used in political rhetoric).
- Euphemisms or hyperbole (defectively absurd if taken literally).
- Mind-imageable idioms (in-*sight*-ful ways of looking at things).
- Imaginative "frames" of reference (creative, and even poetic).
- Metaphysical explanations (permitting pseudo-awareness).[3]

Three primary sources of metaphor are at work in the contemporary Western military community of thought: Newtonian science (as portrayed by the knowledge disciplines of physics, engineering sciences, architecture, etc.); post-Newtonian science (complex biological sciences, physiology, etc.); and the humanities and fine arts (history, literature, the performing arts, and so on).

Each primary source of metaphor reflects a dominant view of reality. When taken together, they form a synthetic concept of reality construction—that of sensemaking. These bodies of metaphor are best portrayed by crossing two continua, the "objective-subjective" continuum and the "simple-complicated" continuum. The resulting quadrants are: *objective-simple* (Newtonian science), *objective-complicated* (post-Newtonian science), *subjective-simple* (the humanities & fine arts), and the most conceptual of all, *subjective-complicated* (sensemaking). Although these categories of metaphor exist simultaneously, examining each category separately and with examples helps in understanding how thought leaders employ them as "sense-givers" (see Figure 1).

As aforementioned, in this heuristic Newtonian science is associated with the objective-simple quadrant, post-Newtonian science with the objective-complicated quadrant, and the humanities and fine arts with the subjective-simple quadrant. This framework helps illustrate how thought leaders can feed on metaphors from potentially incompatible views of reality. Sensemaking about complex issues ("this is an insurgency") can only offer an appearance of objectivity ("insurgency is a disease") and in doing so can lead to crippling misapprehensions ("we can intervene to stabilize health"). To enable better understanding, the military practitioner can use this heuristic framework to reflect critically on the strengths and weaknesses of the metaphors used by thought leaders ("this insurgency is not really a disease, it has many incomprehensible complexities that exceed those of medical practice").

Newtonian science metaphor. Newtonian science is underpinned by an empiricism probably best exemplified by the philosophical rigor of "logical positivism" (a term coined by the Vienna Circle in the 1920s). These positivists thought that true knowledge could only be discovered by removing all reference to metaphysical explanations of why things are the way they are. Logical positivists were more concerned about logic in language and set theory than about empirical science, but their technique has informed the way Westerners employ scientific metaphor for non-scientific endeavors. We can be "positive" about our "logic" of external

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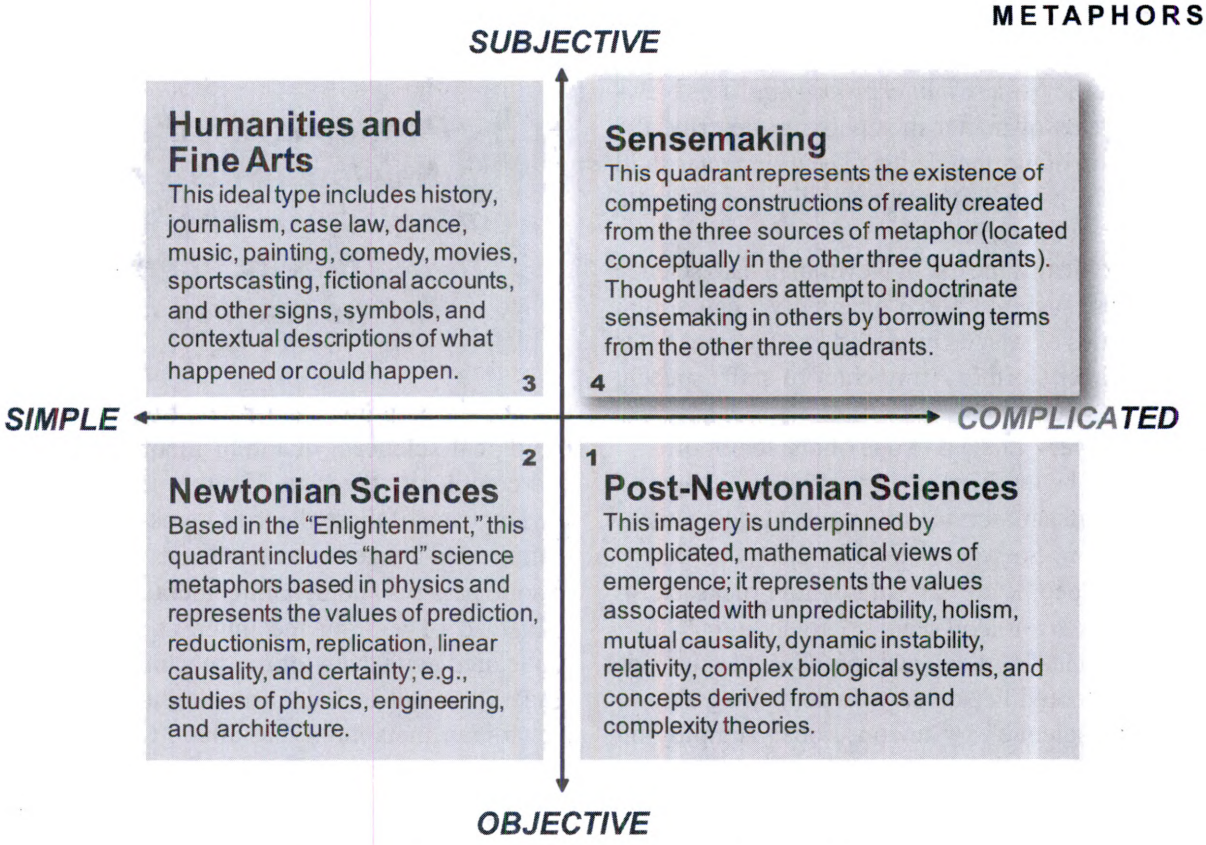


Figure 1. Framework for reflecting on metaphors.

reality as we experience it with our objective five senses. Hence, to understand the world, we isolate variables in terms of objective experience and reduce them until we think we can discern the simplest cause-and-effect relationships among them. In Western societies, thought leaders tend to use Newtonian mechanics to facilitate understanding of sense experience, and they resort to mechanics for metaphorical apprehension of complex meaning. Such a worldview can imply, erroneously, that even complicated human problems will yield to an empirical isolation and reduction process. These engineer-like metaphors thus impose an objective-simple sense of reality to evoke comforting images of "applied science": prediction, problem reduction, finding one-way causality, and certainty in replicating these relationships between variables. Such intellectual comfort comes at the price of oversimplification.

Politically motivated thought leaders may speak, for instance, of the *spread* of democracy that will cause world peace. Military-minded thought leaders may indoctrinate the troops, similarly, to believe they are part of an *instrument of power* and will help solve the problem of rogue actors and terrorists by attacking their *centers of gravity*. The indoctrination of the term *military power* is taken for granted in the military community to the point of losing touch with its metaphoric basis of meaning in Newtonian physics (some would call this a "dead metaphor"). Yet, this model resurrects the root metaphor and exposes its reference to positivistic physical laws and their related images of force to symbolize *power* (as in armed forces), *mass* (as a recognized principle of war), and *speed* and *direction* (as in maneuver).

We find more subtle uses of Newtonian metaphor as well. Alexandr A. Svechin, the Russian "father of operational art," provided this Newtonian, geological image of military planning in the late 1920s: "Actions will become ordered and coalesce into small streams flowing down to the goal and will form one broad stream as a result."[4] David Galula,

... intellectual comfort comes at the price of oversimplification.

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in his classic book, *Counterinsurgency*, uses Newtonian states-of-matter metaphors to describe the asymmetry of the opponents: "The insurgent is fluid because he has neither responsibility nor concrete assets; the counterinsurgent is rigid.[5]

Paradoxically, the use of Newtonian hard science analogies, such as "force of gravity," can soften the realities of war, as indicated in a General Peter Schoomaker (former Army chief of staff) speech, when he said:

> Last week I talked to one of our senior officers who lost his second son two weeks ago, a Lieutenant serving in Baghdad leading his platoon. So when I look at the rocks that some people are carrying in their rucksack, it makes our load seem relatively light.[6]

Thought leaders thus treat complicated situations as if they could be solved with something akin to "applied science" by unconsciously employing Newtonian science metaphors. They imply one-way causality, such as this "police-reduce-crime" analogy used by General Peter Pace to influence the public on how to think about counterinsurgency operations:

> If you would use the analogy of a police department in a city, it's not that the city itself is without crime, but that the police department itself is capable of keeping the crime level down at a level below which the society can function.[7]

Finally, the most recent Army Field Manual 3-0, *Operations*, quoted the secretary of defense using Newtonian metaphor when he spoke of:

> ...states enriched with oil profits and discontented with the current international order; and Centrifugal [*sic*] forces in other countries that threaten national unity, stability, and internal peace.[8]

In sum, these examples reflect the Newtonian-oriented, "Western" cultural proclivity to subscribe to an "objective-simple" reality. Today, the epistemological norms of logical positivism best express this approach.

Post-Newtonian science metaphor. Economist Kenneth E. Boulding suggests that revolutionary changes can occur when a new set of metaphoric meanings "converts" us, resulting in a "reorganization of the image" that can sometimes be spectacular.[9] Some have argued that such a spectacular change in imaging has come from a major shift in metaphor—from Newtonian to post-Newtonian science—stemming from revolutionary ideas in biological sciences, quantum theory, and chaos and complexity theories. Thought leaders call on the language of these theories invoking objective-complicated images to create visions of complex or chaotic patterns and dynamic interactions.

Paradoxically, the use of Newtonian hard science analogies, such as "force of gravity," can soften the realities of war...

Instead of valuing the inherent predictability associated with Newtonian mechanics, thought leaders attempt to indoctrinate others with post-Newtonian metaphors that allude to complexity. Post-Newtonian metaphors are more useful when addressing ineffable complexities in social issues such as war, poverty, world hunger, and so on. Such issues possess autonomous factors whose networked relationships exhibit adaptive qualities that will not yield to a mechanistic analysis. Where Newtonian metaphors (appropriate for mindless, physical models) have been used to understand complex and adaptive systems, understanding of the network's emerging relationships has gone wanting. Biological, post-Newtonian models work better as metaphorical conceptions for understanding such emergent qualities in complex systems.

The biological model of a complex adaptive system serves as the basis for the *Capstone Concept for Joint Operations*. Here is an excerpt:

> Military, political and social entities and situations are complex, adaptive "systems." . . . Complex and adaptive adversaries will likely employ traditional, irregular, disruptive, and catastrophic methods singularly or in combinations that are intended to keep the future joint force from being successful across the range of military operations. While many events will be unpredictable and uncontrollable, broad patterns often emerge and systems respond to outside influences, purposeful or otherwise. Recognizing these patterns and applying integrated systemic actions across multiple domains enables

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> the joint force to achieve notable success in complex operational environments.[10]

Now here is a similar quotation from current doctrine, Joint Publication 5-0, *Joint Operation Planning*, that uses this objective-complicated type of metaphor:

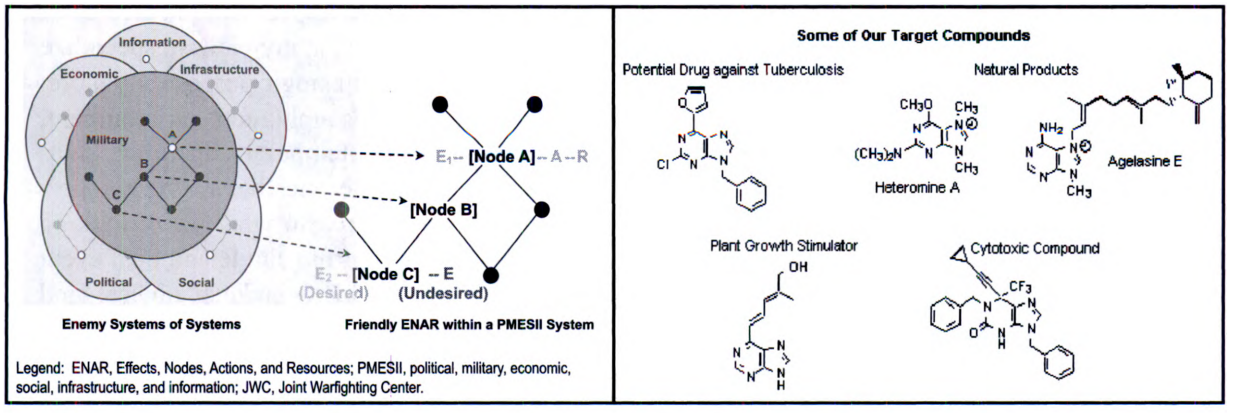
> Although the systems approach is helpful in understanding the complex nature and composition of a given system or subsystem, this approach cannot account for all variables. Most systems can often exhibit unpredictable, surprising, and uncontrollable behaviors. Rather than being an engineered solution, a military operation evolves as the joint force adapts responsively to systems that also are adapting.[11]

Current discourse on the revolution of military affairs calls for developing so-called "networkcentricity" and "systems of systems" that match the complexity of the operating environment. Such approaches strive to look for emergent patterns and clues in conducting what have been termed "effects-based operations" by using methods akin to social network analyses. Revolution of military affairs discourse evinces numerous similar heuristics, such as the operational net assessment (ONA), associated with organic, holistic conceptions of stability operations. In at least one military publication, ONA has been reduced to these interrelating systems and their relationships: political, military, economic, social, infrastructure, and information (PMESII). Operational net assessment looks at how each might map to external manipulation to achieve holistic PMESII effects through interaction with other variables of diplomacy, information dissemination, military action, and economics. The diagrams compared in Figure 2 illustrate process similarity between ONA and organic chemistry.

Using complexity theory as a metaphor, authors of Joint Warfighting Center Pamphlet 7 created this system-of-systems diagram on the left that they associate with effects-based thinking in systemic operational design. Academics in the business and public policy sciences are communicating with similar post-Newtonian imagery, including "disruptive evolution," "unpredictable trajectory," and "quantum leaps." Examine this quotation from two University of Colorado researchers:

> The terrorists attacks on September 11, 2001 demonstrated clearly the urgent need to develop the skills of complexity thinking—to recognize changes in the larger context; to take a big picture approach to intelligence-gathering and national security; to develop a deeper understanding of the system dynamics influencing regional politics and conflicts; and, most importantly, to enhance our understanding of complex sociopolitical human systems.[12]

Even the oft-used term "transformation" is borrowed from the logic of studying complicated biological systems and now permeates international military discourse (e.g., NATO's Allied Command Transformation). Simply stated, biological transformation occurs when organisms, as open systems, adjust to the environment by changing the way they transform inputs from the environment into outputs back into the environment. Ideally, military transformation metaphorically expresses continuous change from one state to the next dependent on



Legend: ENAR, Effects, Nodes, Actions, and Resources; PMESII, political, military, economic, social, infrastructure, and information; JWC, Joint Warfighting Center.

Figure 2. Conflict as a biochemistry metaphor.

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environmental pressures, just as a species would evolve over time or an individual organism would adapt in responding to the survival needs in a given environment.

Thought leaders also use metaphors from the physiology of the human body to portray war and its complicated operations. For instance, consider this 2001 quote from Richard Haas, then director of the Office of the Policy Planning Staff, U.S. State Department, where he attempts to indoctrinate his listeners to a terrorism-as-disease metaphor to convey the complexity at hand in the War on Terrorism:

> Another way of looking at the challenge is to view international terrorism as analogous to a terrible, lethal virus. Terrorism lives as part of the environment. Sometimes dormant, sometimes virulent, it is always present in some form. Like a virus, international terrorism respects no boundaries—moving from country to country, exploiting globalized commerce and communication to spread. It can be particularly malevolent when it can find a supportive host. We therefore need to take appropriate prophylactic measures at home and abroad to prevent terrorism from multiplying and check it from infecting our societies or damaging our lives.[13]

President Bush alluded to a post-Newtonian image of mutual causality (associated with complexity theory) in the dynamics of war when he reflected on the initial combat successes in Iraq:

> Had we to do it over again, we would look at the consequences of catastrophic success, being so successful so fast that an enemy that should have surrendered or been done in escaped and lived to fight another day.[14]

The paradox inherent in Bush's explanation is that there was no way to "look at the consequences" ahead of time, but only in retrospect. Sometimes thought leaders mix up the unpredictability associated with post-Newtonian metaphors with the false determinism that mechanistic Newtonian metaphors permit.

Humanities and fine arts metaphors. Non-scientific communities of knowledge, such as humanities and fine arts, offer more nuanced metaphors that thought leaders can use to communicate understanding when mechanistic and biological models do not work as well. Such non-empirical metaphors reflect expressions with complex psychological implications.

As an example, Chris Matthews (of MSNBC's *Hardball* fame) used these stories to describe President Reagan's presidency:

> He was the political street fighter who got up off the dirt to win the 1976 North Carolina primary when nearly everybody counted him for dead. He was the cold-blooded gladiator who strode to the podium of that year's Republican convention and delivered such a barnburner it made people wonder what Gerald Ford, the party nominee, was doing on the stage. He was the no-nonsense boss who fired thirteen thousand striking U.S. air traffic controllers. . . . When Reagan spoke about the boys who stormed Normandy, or the astronauts lost in the *Challenger*, he tapped into the deepest sentiments of his hero-worshipping compatriots. While he may never have fought in World War II, he evoked its aura with greater success than anyone who had ever lived on K-rations.[15]

Former Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld used this World War II historic analogy to communicate meaning in aiming to develop a specific morale:

> Take speed. After the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, Doolittle shocked the world by retaliating against Tokyo, some 4,000 miles from Hawaii, in just four months. In 2001 the United States struck a terrorist regime in Afghanistan, nearly 7,000 miles from the World Trade Centers, less than a month after September 11th.[16]

In another example, former Chief of Staff of the Army General Peter Schoomaker employed a sports analogy when he proclaimed that his officers must be more adaptable and less specialized in their careers:

> We cannot afford, in my view, to specialize totally to units for single purpose any more, especially in this ambiguous environment, not only the contemporary operating environment, but the one that we're going to face in the future. So what we're looking at here is going from single and dual event athletes to decathletes and pentathelete kind of formations that allow us to be successful in a variety of events.[17]

This quadrant of the framework evokes a "sixth sense" that those viewing the world from the lower

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quadrants may ignore—that is, the stories associated with a sense of retrospection (images of what has happened), aesthetics (images of what is beautiful), context ("with text," to create a mental image), and the counterfactual (images of what could happen, could have happened, or what is perceived as possible right now or in the future).

Sensemaking. Human nature is often too complicated to ascribe meaning based on a single type of metaphor. The subjective-complicated quadrant from Figure 1 ("sensemaking") represents a hybrid of types of metaphor already discussed. Sensemaking reflects how thought leaders seek to construct reality for others by drawing on metaphor from the other three types (Figure 3); hence, "making sense" often becomes the mixing bowl of metaphoric types. This analogical perspective illustrates how thought leaders aspire to indoctrinate others' understanding of otherwise uninterpretable, incoherent, or disorderly discourse. Thought leaders create political rhetoric, psychological schema, opinions, arguments, judgments, and other metaphoric constructions of reality in attempts to formulate shared meaning. Within the framework's heuristic, all conceptual quadrants promote social constructions of reality. Whether or not such constructions correspond to an objective world depends on how effectively these constructions serve to replicate it. One or more quadrants may dominate over others at various points in time and may vary across and inside various knowledge communities (i.e., the effectiveness of these blends has cultural implications).

Thought leaders feed on metaphors from the other three views of reality while they attempt to impose their view of reality (upper-right quadrant), their sensemaking, on others.

Implications of the Framework

From the "post-positivist," multiple perspectives that this model permits, the basis of professional military knowledge seems to heavily favor the sensemaking quadrant. A major implication is that military doctrine and "future concept" discourse seldom seem to adhere to the positivist communities' standards (i.e., the exactness required of academics and professionals engaged in the empirical sciences). Positivist discourse entails austere norms

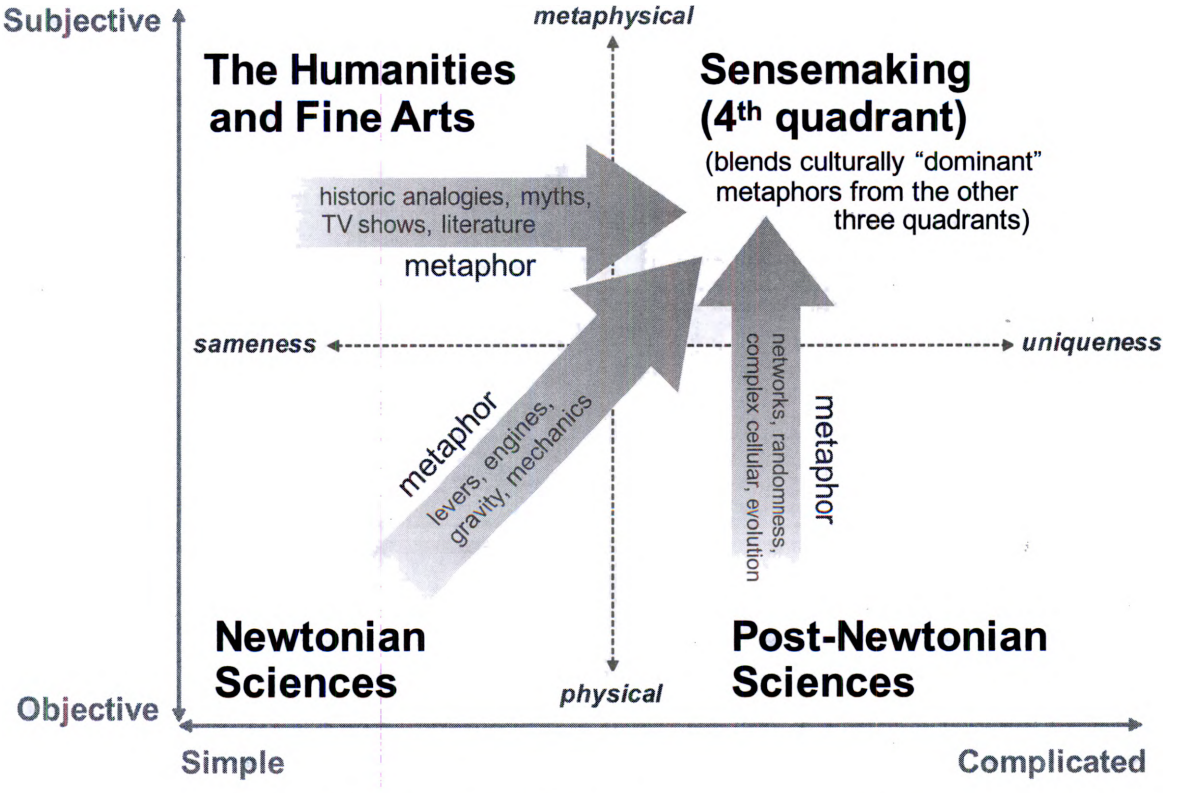


Figure 3. Three sources of metaphoric sensemaking.

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and values of intellectual argument found, for example, in peer-reviewed applied science journals and textbooks. Such standards include attributing authorship to individuals, adhering to a custom of making citations, documenting a rich audit trail of intellectually rigorous discussion, and socializing a revulsion toward plagiarism. The absence of strictness in military indoctrination efforts should underscore that doctrinal and future concept texts are only weakly supported by a façade of scientific metaphors and therefore do not reflect knowledge values of the applied sciences. They are rarely, if ever, subject to the rigor of scientific knowledge management. More often, they are founded on received wisdom from sense-givers who are rarely subjected to critique. In that regard, military doctrine and so called "futures concepts" should not warrant recognition as a professional body of knowledge when compared to the natural sciences.

The framework above is a heuristic for critical thinking. It can help one recognize and discern metaphor to be on guard against the influencing process of thought leaders and the specious logic they may employ, knowingly or not. One might even conclude that military thought leaders' reliance on Newtonian and post-Newtonian metaphor reveals a pretense of knowledge because it implies predictions about events and environments that are inherently intractable. A case in point is the three levels of war (tactical, operational, and strategic) metaphor produced under the sense-givings of key 1970s, post-Vietnam, military thought leaders, Generals William E. DePuy, Donn A. Starry, and Creighton Abrams. The three levels of war present a façade of Newtonian-style empiricism that eventually became enshrined as categorical truths for study of complex military organizations and their operations.

The military's professional community has largely lost track of Newtonian root-metaphors. Conceptions of truth have commensurately spiraled into objective-simple images that often inappropriately reflect mechanistic (i.e., dangerously

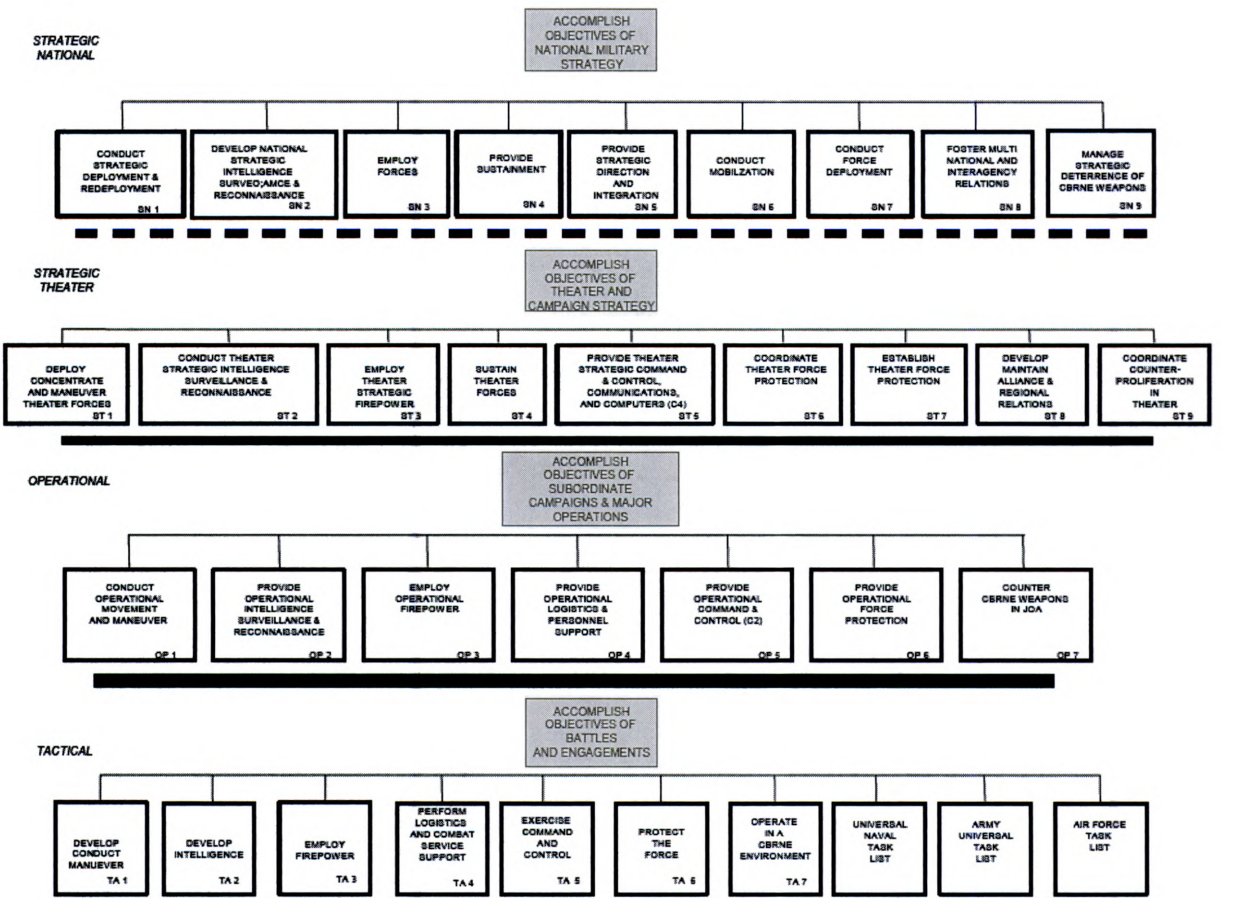


Figure 4. War as hierarchy.

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oversimplified) implications of applied science's empirical methodology. The indoctrinated practitioner has taken these implications to extrapolate further and produce extreme analytical diversification (and rendering a wholly factitious genera and species). This diversification is common; doctrinal artifacts such as the table at Figure 4 demonstrate this. The table, taken from Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Manual (CJCSM) *Universal Joint Task List* (CJSCM 3500.04, 1 July 2002), demonstrates graphically how a metaphor associated with a hierarchy can enhance further objectification by this science-like categorization of military discourse.

This diagram possesses further diversified layers of sub-tasks under these tasks later in the manual. It represents an architectural engineering metaphor of warfare that may be counterproductive by promoting the reification of its categories.

Armed with the framework for deciphering types, reflective military practitioners can evaluate such a metaphor's efficacy. Instead of an architectural-level analogy of tactics-operations-strategy (similar to an organization's "block and wire" diagram signifying most important to least important), the reflective professional can perhaps examine war with a more nontraditional and more aesthetic metaphor borrowed from the humanities and fine arts—through interpretive narratives or creative processes like painting, composing music, poetry, and so on. For example, should generals "orchestrate" operations like conductors, or should they be more like jazz musicians who allow the music to flow more freely, permitting other members of the band to assume the "lead" where it feels right? The same critical reasoning can reflect on other cases of Newtonian metaphor still used in modern military discourse. Examples for scrutiny might be "culminating point," "decisive point," "friction," "control measures," "center of gravity," and so on.

In an unpublished manuscript, two researchers, Mary Jo Hatch and Dvora Yano, propose that painting can offer rich metaphor to stir new imaginations and possibilities when it comes to dealing with ambiguity:

> Our metaphorical use of painting . . . adds an aesthetic channel for communicating about [differences in how we make sense]. Used as a supplement to verbal argumentation, the visual, artistic material opens the discourse . . . not only to other avenues of understanding complex philosophical ideas, but also to greater aesthetic appreciation of its phenomena and to acts of theorizing about them.[18]

Military practitioners often hear from thought leaders about the "art of war," or the "operational art," yet where is reflection on the aspects of this metaphor encouraged in professional military education and self-development?

Note how the following description employs both Newtonian (machinelike) and Post-Newtonian (complicated, holistic) patterns to indicate the need for adjustments when working in the interagency:

> The DOD is like clocks and the interagency is like clouds. Clocks operate in an orderly way. The actions of each component are predictable from the other, synchronized, and unified. The interagency is more like clouds. Clouds lack the orderliness of clocks. Clouds change form, grow and shrink, and are strongly affected by environmental conditions. The movement of molecules and particles making up a cloud are nearly impossible to predict precisely. The interagency is highly responsive to contextual influences while absent neat orderliness. Just as understanding some of its "molecules and particles" does not give us an understanding of the entire cloud, so do we fail to appreciate the nature of the National Security Council, Departments of State, Justice, Homeland Security, etc. or an interagency working group when we focus only on its elemental members. The actions and attributes of one group member do not accurately predict another's. The behavior of the interagency does not unfold like clockwork. Rather, variation is the rule.[19]

Notice also how the eloquence of my short paragraph can convey a richness of meaning about the cultural peculiarities of interorganizational relations. In lieu of managing the military body of knowledge as one would an applied science, perhaps military practitioners should, as University of Michigan Professor Karl E. Weick suggests, learn to manage the eloquence of meaning as inherent to professional development.[20]

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Unreflective indoctrination can... seductively serve to reduce anxiety and confusion while encouraging complacency about knowledge.

Conclusion

Thought leaders' sense-givings are so prevalent that it is easy to mindlessly treat a metaphor as a certain "truth" rather than as a shadowy image for communicating only dimly perceived realities. Unawareness of metaphor can grow and work to anesthetize professionals from feeling and understanding the implications of truth as it is socially constructed into a makeshift correspondence with fact. Unreflective indoctrination can thereby seductively serve to reduce anxiety and confusion while encouraging complacency about knowledge. In uncritical practitioners not tuned to reflection, a leader's over-simplified representations of truths can be crippling. Given a framework for evaluating metaphors, the reflective military practitioner can adjust to the ambiguity prevalent in complex operational environments. This discussion and its proposed framework seek to promote the post-positivist logic that has been suppressed (and often stigmatized) by a long-standing façade of logical positivism in military doctrine. Professional debate about whether prevailing operational metaphors can be appropriately modified, diminished in use, or wholly discarded is needed. Some other form of sensemaking that works better to convey complexity and emergence as shared meaning is required. Barring such reflection, professionals may easily become too comfortable by following the influence of inappropriate thought-leader metaphors and fail to employ their own imaginative rationality.

This essay has proposed a framework that can assist in needed reflection and help professionals decipher whether specific metaphors are imaginative enough. The mindless tyranny of defunct metaphors in Western military knowledge has already proven its liabilities. Mindfulness of the inherent potential for such domination can serve to motivate imaginative ways to explore breakthrough sensemakings. Such reflection could lead to inventions of breathtakingly rich eloquence in postmodern military discourse. ***MR***

NOTES

1. George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980) 193.

2. Hence, the common metaphor of "worldview". Several prominent social psychologists, such as Karl E. Weick (University of Michigan) have studied the concept of sensemaking. Paraphrasing his and others' work, sensemaking is using, modifying, rejecting and creating new paradigms or mental models when dealing with situations of incoherency and disorderliness. Is this not the work of thought leaders when they employ metaphoric reasoning? See Karl E. Weick, *Sensemaking in Organizations* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995).

3. I synthesized this list from the ideas of multiple writers in Andrew Ortony, ed, *Metaphor and Thought*, 2d ed. (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

4. Alexandr A. Svechin, *Strategy*, 2d ed.,original published in 1927 (Minneapolis, Minnesota: 1991), 74.

5. David Galula, *Counterinsurgency: Theory and Practice* (New York: Praeger, 1964) 12.

6. General Peter J. Schoomaker's remarks at the Association of the US Army convention, 4 March 2004, <www.ausa.org/webpub/DeptHome.nsf/byid/CTON-6FUSYZ> (25 May 2007).

7. General Peter Pace, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, National Press Club Luncheon, Washington, DC, 17 February 2006, <www.jcs.mil/chairman/speeches/060217NatPressClubLunch.html> (28 May 2007).

8. These remarks (quoted in Army Field Manual FM 3-0, *Operations*, February 2008, 1-1) were originally delivered in a speech by Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates, Manhattan, Kansas, 26 November 2007.

9. Kenneth E. Boulding, *The Image: Knowledge in Life and Society* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 1971), 148. Boulding suggests that continuous development of general-purpose metaphors for sensemaking, especially those borrowed from the natural sciences, should constitute an entirely new field of study he calls "eiconics." He used "general systems theory" for his case study of how systems theory can be applied as a biological metaphor to explaining the nature of human social systems. For an excellent critique of how almost two centuries of metaphoric reasoning has led to a distorted and biased view of the field of sociology, see John Hassard, *Sociology and Organization Theory: Positivism, Paradigms, and Postmodernity* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University, 1993).

10. Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Capstone Concept for Joint Operations*, Version 2.0. <www.dtic.mil/futurejointwarfare/concepts/approved_ccjov2.pdf>.

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SOCIOCULTURAL EXPERTISE AND THE MILITARY: Beyond the Controversy

Pauline Kusiak, Ph.D.

The views expressed herein are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the views of the 4th Psychological Operations Group, the U.S. Army, or the Department of Defense.

OVER THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS, a growing number of military planners and strategists have expressed concern that success in 21st-century warfare increasingly will depend on the U.S. military's ability to acquire and skillfully use sociocultural expertise.[1] Although a small number of units already provide sociocultural research and analysis to military operations (for example the Strategic Studies Detachment of the 4th Psychological Operations [PSYOP] Group [4POG], the Marine Corps Intelligence Activity, or the Human Factors Group of the Defense Intelligence Agency), no initiative has been as aggressive or arguably as innovative in its attempt to rapidly deliver sociocultural expertise to the battlefield as has the human terrain system (HTS).[2] With feature stories in major daily newspapers and on nationally broadcast radio programs, HTS has brought renewed attention to the need for sociocultural expertise in military operations and planning and has sparked a considerable degree of debate about the relationship between the social sciences and the military.

The debate about the military's use of sociocultural expertise presents an ideal opportunity to address the role of civilian and military cooperation in security affairs. Such issues have been, however, almost completely absent from the debate so far. Instead, the rhetoric in this debate often rapidly disintegrates into a polarized polemic that is often as unenlightening as it is nasty. My intention in this article is to translate the controversy about the use of sociocultural expertise into terms that military commanders can appreciate, and to differentiate the legitimate methodological considerations that the controversy highlights from those concerns that may be somewhat overstated. Ultimately, I suggest that the best way to acknowledge the challenges raised by the controversy and to tackle the military's sociocultural shortfall may very well be to actively pursue the blurring of boundaries between the spheres of military operations and civilian academic scholarship.

Sociocultural Expertise: What is it, and where does it come from?

To begin to unpack some of the academic anxiety about the military's interest in sociocultural expertise, it would help military commanders first to understand some of the techniques that social science researchers use to learn about other cultures and societies. Press coverage of the controversy surrounding the military's desire for greater sociocultural expertise seems to instinctively use the term "anthropologists" as a stand-in for the more general category of "civilian academics who produce cultural knowledge."

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PHOTO: A civilian interpreter with a tactical psychological operations team asks a local Iraqi civilian for directions to the nearest fish farm in Haswah, Iraq, 23 March 2008. (DOD, SPC Tiffany Dusterhoft)

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While the shorthand is understandable, it is not entirely accurate.

Numerous academic disciplines lay claim to the production of knowledge about other cultures and societies; today, anthropology is far from having a corner on the market. While disciplines such as anthropology and sociology are still staples of social science education and training, for at least the last 20 years graduate students have earned doctorates from newer, interdisciplinary departments and programs of social and cultural studies. In the academic arena, few today would question that producers of cultural knowledge can also be trained in interdisciplinary fields such as literary studies, communications and media studies, religious studies, rural sociology and geography, or in area studies programs, such as African studies, Middle Eastern studies, or Asian studies.

One of the best methods available to social science researchers to gain cultural knowledge is ethnographic fieldwork—traveling to a site, spending an extended period of time in residence there, and using specific techniques to learn about how people there behave and why.[3] Many people are familiar with the experience of living in a sociocultural milieu distinct from the one in which they grew up or encountering a group of people with a set of norms and behaviors different from their own. Being a tourist or a new member to a group often gives someone the analytic distance necessary to question the unspoken rules of that new community. However, ethnographic fieldwork is not as simple as living abroad or being a stranger. It is rather a deliberate effort to teach yourself to see the world through someone else's eyes. In most cases, that turns out to be a full time job in itself.

By learning the local language and building rapport with key members of the local community, the ethnographic researcher is able to gain entry into that community and to observe how people go about their everyday business in their "natural" habitat. Notes from these observations are typically transcribed into field journals on a daily basis and then coded and analyzed to assess patterns of behavior. Combining this data with formal and informal interviews of key informants and exhaustive reviews of the existing literature on a subject, the researcher is able to assess the underlining meaning of those behaviors and is able ultimately to gain a tacit understanding of "what makes that group tick." Unlike being a tourist or simply working in an embassy overseas, fieldwork involves embedding oneself in the local environment and objectifying one's day-to-day experience, usually by writing about it extensively and in great descriptive detail. Without this objectification process, a traveler would likely only filter what he sees and hears through preconceptions that he walked in with. Rather than cultural insight, the outcome would more often be reinforced stereotypes.

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What Ethnography Can Bring to the Military

It has been pointed out elsewhere that ethnographic information can be used to discern the fundamental structures into which a society may organize itself and that knowledge of these social structures can be used to plan more effective military responses to unconventional foes—for example, terrorist groups that rely on kinship relationships to sustain their operational networks.[4] However, the ability to perceive and thereby to penetrate the social organization of enemy combatants is not the only insight that military commanders and warfighters can gain from sociocultural research and analysis. Some additional capabilities that the military can gain by reaching out to ethnographic fieldwork include the ability to differentiate the ubiquitous from the abnormal in another sociocultural milieu, an understanding of the role of identity in fueling conflict, and fluency in alternative explanatory frameworks and narratives.

The ability to recognize somebody else's "everyday." Since coming to Fort Bragg in 2005, I have deployed numerous times in my capacity as a sociocultural analyst and research specialist, and each time, I was reminded of just how much of a bubble American ex-pats and Soldiers are in when they are stationed overseas. Having done extensive

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fieldwork in Africa as an academic researcher before coming to Fort Bragg, I am well aware of the daily life and experiences that "official Americans" miss by virtue of this status, but those who have never done ethnographic fieldwork often are not even aware of the realities that they are missing out on. When I was conducting fieldwork for my dissertation in Senegal, for example, I was once asked by an economics officer from the U.S. Embassy (who had been living in Senegal considerably longer than I had been at that point) who "all these little kids in the street with the tomato paste cans" were. The kids were supposed to be Quranic school students, but in reality, they were child beggars. In pre-colonial West Africa, itinerant clerics (or *marabouts*) would set up Quaranic schools in a village, taking full charge of the students, or *talibes*, for several months at a time. To earn their keep and to learn humility, the students would go house-to-house carrying calabash bowls begging for food. In the modern era, the system has become an organized, exploitive racket. Kids from rural communities are often sent to the cities to get what their parents think is a Quranic education at the feet of a marabout, but when the children get to the city, instead of learning the Quran from the marabout, the talibes spend most of their day in his service begging for money. Instead of a calabash, today talibes carry the large empty cans of tomato paste so essential to Senegalese cuisine. When the economics officer asked me who these kids were, I was living with a Senegalese host family (rather than in a gated embassy compound, as he was), and at my house and throughout our neighborhood, talibes still visited nightly to collect leftovers from the evening meal. I had learned in less than a week of living in Senegal who the kids were and what they were up to. In fact, talibes were such a standard fixture of daily life in Senegal that it was hard for me to imagine how anyone, especially someone so knowledgeable about the Senegalese economy, could really describe himself as "living in Senegal" and not know who "the kids with the tomato paste cans" were.

To be fair to the diplomat and to other kinds of official personnel who live in an ex-pat bubble when overseas, "official Americans" simply cannot get as far "out of the net" as independent scholars can. Security concerns and the requirement to avoid "going native" currently make it all but impossible to do what the ethnographic researcher is trained to do, which is to immerse him or herself in the life of another culture, to ask knowledgeable insiders questions about what he or she is seeing, and thereby to learn to distinguish the everyday from the unusual in the sociocultural landscape. In my own experience, I have seen many capable special operations Soldiers take on this participant-observer role almost instinctively, but also quickly max-out the training that they received in endeavoring to do so. Today, even their efforts are ad hoc at best. Learning about other cultures and societies while deployed overseas is simply not sufficiently prioritized as a requirement, even within the special operations community, for anything like "participant observation" to have become embedded as standard operating procedure.[5]

An understanding of the role of identity in fueling conflict. Another kind of insight that one can gain from ethnographic fieldwork is the realization that "who people are" is often the least obvious question one can answer about another community. The complications of the identity question usually compound in contexts of conflict. Concepts of race and identity in the Sahel region illustrate the point. For example, in Wolof, which is the lingua franca of Senegal, the word *tubaab* means "French person," but colloquially the term means "white person" more broadly. Membership in the category of tubaab, however, is determined less by skin color (as Americans would probably assume) than by one's behavior, and especially by the use of language. African-American travelers to Senegal are frequently also designated "tubaab" if they do not speak Wolof. In other parts of the Sahel, for example in Mauritania and Mali, the word "Arab" can have a variety of meanings, and only one bears any resemblance to what we usually mean by "Arab." In many cases, being an "Arab" can have more to do with your social status (e.g. your family name is considered to belong to a "warrior class") than it does with the color of your skin, your ethno-racial make-up, or your geo-strategic location. Being "Arab" in this context is performative; different communities at different times have tried to lay claim to "Arab" identity for sociopolitical reasons.[6]

Another example of a highly contested identity in the Sahel is the category *Tuareg*. Tuareg people are considered Berber peoples in ethno-linguistic

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scholarship, but both pan-Arabist voices and North African Berber nationalist movements have at various times tried to lay claim to Tuareg people as "one of their own."[7] Tuareg themselves have at different times and in shifting political contexts identified themselves as Arab, *Kel Tamashek* ("speakers of Tamashek"), and "people of the Sahara."[8] In other words, there is nothing obvious or given about categories like "white," "black," "Arab," or even "Tuareg" in an area as historically disputed as is the Sahara. Intelligence analyses often deal with racial and identity categories such as these as self-evident black boxes, a practice that, while understandable given time constraints and other priorities, undoubtedly leads to inaccuracies and errors. This is likely even more so the case in the context of insurgencies, in which identity itself is often precisely what is being contested. While one can study the meaning of different racial and identity categories by reading the research of others, the full range and complexity of such concepts is difficult to master any other way than by conducting some kind of ethnographic fieldwork.

Fluency in alternative explanatory frameworks and narratives. One of the most powerful kinds of insights that one can gain from ethnographic fieldwork is an understanding of the rhetorical resources and shared narratives that people use to make sense of their world. The empirical discovery of just how radically different the "normal" and the "sensible" can be to different groups of people can be shocking. When I arrived in Senegal soon after 9/11, for example, local people often asked me "what did you think when you saw the World Trade Center bombing?" Instead of answering, I often turned the question back on my interlocutors. "Well, what did you think about it?" I would ask. Most would immediately exclaim that they found the events to be horrible and "*incroyable*," but nevertheless, expressed some scepticism that Osama Bin Laden was in fact the culprit. "If you really think about it," they would say, "is it even possible for one guy in a cave to have done all that? America is big and powerful. So whoever did this must be big and powerful too, right?" "Well, who did you have in mind?" I would ask. Their answer? Al Gore.

The first time I heard this response I was perplexed and surprised, dismissing the respondents as seemingly rational, yet slightly unbalanced, conspiracy theorists. However, I gradually started to hear the same explanation from a number of different people, from university-educated professionals to taxi drivers. The story went like this: Al Gore, apparently angry that George W. Bush had stolen the election in 2000, crashed the planes into the Twin Towers and into the Pentagon as part of an attempt to overthrow President Bush in a coup d'etat. While this was not necessarily a widely held view, it was certainly an account circulating in Senegalese popular imagination at the time—and one that at least some found plausible.

PSYOP planners and strategic communications specialists might hear in this story evidence of an enemy information operations (IO) or PSYOP campaign. While understandably instrumental in simplifying a complex situation, reducing such phenomena to "enemy IO/PSYOP" can precipitate a misfire in our response. Instead, reading these phenomena through the lens of deep sociocultural understanding enables a far more prescient and on-target counter. No enemy IO can manufacture the sociocultural logic that makes it possible for "an attempted coup" to stick as the explanation for 9/11. That logic is entirely indigenous. Although Senegal has been blessed with a relatively well-functioning democracy since Independence in 1960, civil wars and coup d'etats are very much a facet of the West African political culture of which Senegal is a part. From the Senegalese perspective, if America was having contested elections (just as they themselves have frequently experienced), then why should an attempted coup d'etat in America be so far-fetched either? Some of the most unstable places in the world, and the places where we will most likely be forced to intervene in the 21st century, are precisely those developing nations where people are coming of age and living out their lives in political universes

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that are radically distinct from our own. It is hard to see how we can possibly understand those peoples' points of view, let alone attempt to change them, without cultivating and institutionalizing some version of ethnography-based research as a part of our national security tool kit.

In short, sociocultural research—and in particular ethnographic fieldwork—can bring to the national security tool kit a raw "feeling" for a place, a time, and a group of people. Arguably, no other academic enterprise has the pretense or potential to provide the same level of insight into the behavior and worldviews of other societies. In many ways, however, this intangible, tacit characteristic of sociocultural expertise makes it comparatively unwieldy to harness as an instrument of strategic planning and military operations. Ethnographic research is in part more unwieldy than other forms of area research because achieving this level of tacit understanding often requires establishing a degree of trust with members of the local community who can serve as ethnographic informants. And it is in large part because they fear that such relationships of trust between ethnographers and local informants will be betrayed that some academics are alarmed to learn that the military is attempting to mobilize ethnographic resources for its own purposes.[9]

So what is the controversy? And should military commanders care? While the human terrain teams in Iraq and Afghanistan have garnered the lion's share of academic critique to date, some of the more sweeping generalizations about the dangers of "militarized social science" leave little doubt that it is not the HTS initiative alone that animates the academic consternation.[10] Some of this academic apprehension undoubtedly originates in the contentious history of the use of social science by the U.S. military and intelligence agencies during the Vietnam era.[11] The contentiousness of this history itself, however, suggests that more than one response is available to that past.

Given this history, some may find it safer for the academy to unilaterally reject any kind of relationship between the academic social sciences and the military. But those of us who provide, or who want to provide, sociocultural expertise to the military should instead take stock of the lessons from history and endeavor to do it better this time. One first step



DOD, Petty Officer 2d Class Greg Pierot

U.S. Army SSG Stephen McDowell, working with a tactical PSYOP company, speaks to local Iraqis, Baghdad, Iraq, 18 February 2008.

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in this direction is to acknowledge the legitimate challenges raised by concerned academics, recognizing that there may be areas of tension—and even incompatibility—between the methodological requirements of social science research (in particular, ethnographic fieldwork) and the exigencies of military operations.[12] Some of the major methodological challenges raised by concerned scholars are the issues of voluntary participation by research subjects and the lack of academic oversight in research conducted for the military.

Voluntary Participation

Some concerned scholars have questioned whether informed consent is possible and whether the safety of research informants can be ensured in the context of armed conflict. In such contexts, these scholars suggest, local people may feel that researchers embedded with U.S. military units can exert power over them and may therefore feel forced to participate in research. Civilian researchers that are wearing military uniforms or carrying arms could exacerbate such feelings of coercion, thereby skewing the accuracy of the ethnographic data collected. Ethnographic fieldwork has a built-in "check" that this concern overlooks; however, rapport cannot be coerced. Those who have conducted face-to-face research know that the best data usually come not from participants who feel obliged to participate but rather from those who want to participate. For a well-trained ethnographic researcher, the bottom line should be simple: if carrying a gun or wearing a uniform interferes with a researcher's ability to build rapport with local informants, then these conditions will likewise frame and limit the data that a researcher ultimately walks away with.[13]

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My own experiences suggest that the general concern over "coercion" may be somewhat overstated. Arriving to an interview as a "white person" in an automobile with diplomatic plates, for example, leaves your interlocutors little doubt about whom they are talking to. No matter who else you might be, to them you are first and foremost an "official American;" local people will convey their views not to a "neutral researcher" but to a representative of the U.S. government. Far from being fearful of the consequences of such engagement, many people in the parts of the world in which I travel are instead willing and exceptionally eager to convey their views through such a channel.[14] After all, it is not every day that a U.S. government official bothers to visit a rural community, to talk to representatives from local non-government organizations, or to spend the day with a collection of students walking through their world. While there may be risks associated with talking to official Americans, local people may feel far more risk in the possibility of never getting the chance. Of course, it is naïve to believe that such interlocutors will forget about your "official" status and confide unvarnished truths to you. But holding out for such a possibility misses the point. Precisely by listening against the grain of these stories to hear what local people want "official Americans" to hear, we learn about their views of the world and of the United States. The challenge for the sociocultural researcher working for the military is not to create some kind of "pure" ethnographic environment, but rather to be doggedly self-reflective about the conditions in which this sociocultural data are collected and to be rigorous in qualifying the analyses that are ultimately made from this data.

Lack of Academic Oversight

Another substantive point raised by some concerned scholars is the issue of secrecy and the limitations that may be imposed on the publication of ethnographic research conducted for or by the military. Many question the academic integrity of research findings if those findings are only circulated in classified channels. As these scholars might point out, part of what moves ethnographic observation beyond mere subjective musings and grounds its findings in objectivity is the regular practice of sharing one's analysis with colleagues. In so doing,

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researchers verify and corroborate what they think they are seeing in the field. This process, called peer review, typically involves at a minimum presenting papers at professional society meetings and publishing studies in journals with rigorous reviewing processes. Peer review is not only the means that scholars use to stay abreast of the latest findings in their respective fields, but it is also how academics assess the relative capabilities and expertise of their colleagues. Military requirements can make continued participation in this kind of peer review process challenging if not impossible.

The challenge here for sociocultural researchers working for the military is not so much with classification (since only references to operational activity need to be redacted), but rather that there is a fundamental divergence between the needs and priorities of sociocultural research conducted for the military and that conducted in a university context. The structure of knowledge production in the academic environment of a university is more like a distributed network: typically, no single center monopolizes authority, rather multiple communities compete with each other (as "schools of thought" on a subject, for example). The structure of knowledge production in the military, as well as in the intelligence community more broadly, is instead far more vertically organized and hierarchically oriented. What commanders are looking for is a single authoritative voice on a problem, not a cacophony of competing views (even if the latter is still often what they get). In practice, this often means that rather than making an original contribution to a field of study, sociocultural researchers and analysts working in a military context often find themselves instead summarizing the state of academic understanding on a given topic for an educated lay audience. Our goal is typically not to stake out a new and daring position on a subject among a field of experts (as it would be in the academic arena), but rather to address concerns of immediate relevance to military planners and operators in as timely a manner as possible. These operational priorities cannot absolve the need for academic rigor, however. Without some way to loop sociocultural research back into academic channels, military planners risk putting too much faith in the untested assumptions of their sociocultural researchers and of putting on a pedestal "academic expertise" that is no longer truly tested as such.

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The structural differences inherent to producing knowledge in an academic as opposed to an operational environment will vex any effort to institutionalize sociocultural expertise within the military. The scale of the challenge is hardly a satisfactory reason to not try, however.[15]

There Are Gray Areas

As the above has suggested, some of the issues raised by concerned scholars highlight legitimate challenges entailed in incorporating sociocultural research and analysis into military operations. However, some scholars have weakened their claims about the risks entailed in the military's use of social science by drawing too stark a line between the challenges of working for the military and the challenges of working for any other social institution. In other words, many of the concerns they raise are gray areas for university-based academics themselves. Ethnographic fieldwork in some ways is inherently deceptive as far as the researcher's goal is to integrate him or herself into a community in such a way that people will go about their usual business so that the researcher can observe their "normal behavior."[16] As a result, questions about betraying the trust of informants are in some sense already germane to the production of cultural knowledge. They are not concerns that arise exclusively from doing this work for the military. Furthermore, despite the guiding principle to "do no harm," no scholar can ever know for certain the uses to which his or her work will be put. Even informants in non-conflict settings can potentially be harmed by poorly conducted social science research.[17] For example, studies of workplace practices can precipitate the dismissal of employees, and studies of criminal behavior may render research subjects more vulnerable to apprehension by law enforcement. Scholars are never simply mouthpieces for

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the communities they study. Instead, they frame and reinterpret what their informants tell them. In doing so, there is always potential for conflict between the interests of the scholar and the interests of his or her research subjects.

To manage such risks, academic researchers have created institutional review boards and human subject research committees on university campuses. The job of these committees is to review human subject research proposals and to provide oversight of research that involves human subjects. In this case, the academic concern to "do no harm" highlights another component of social science research that can be honed to ultimately improve the quality of the sociocultural research being produced for the military. Nothing precludes the Department of Defense (DOD) from organizing and managing its own institutional review boards or from ensuring that research conducted for the DOD subscribes to common regulations of federally funded research.[18] Because institutional review boards were principally designed to provide oversight on biomedical and laboratory science, there has always been some tension between the requirements of such review boards and the methods of social science research, in particular ethnography-based methods. But there seems to be no clear reason why scholars who work for the military ought to be held to a higher (or lower) standard than are their university-based colleagues with respect to such issues.

The Civilian-Military Gap

Ultimately, much of the controversy surrounding the military's interest in sociocultural expertise highlights the tremendous chasm that exists between the broad strokes of academic theorizing and the everyday workings of the military. Let's face it—very few university professors in social and cultural studies fields have any real exposure to members of the U.S. Armed Forces. They may on occasion have ROTC students in their classes, but they probably have never met a private first class, a staff sergeant, a captain, or even a colonel for that matter. In the absence of relationships with real people, it is easy to substitute fantasy and fear for reality.

When I first came to Fort Bragg, I myself was not sure of what to expect. I imagined that soldiers might be confused or frustrated by my attempt to complicate their worldviews and operational plans, and that I would have to fight hard to make my contributions heard. Nothing has ended up being further from the case. The soldiers and officers that I have worked with have soaked up my analytic soliloquies and have almost uniformly been excited and eager to bring me on as a member of their team. In the process, they have taught me invaluable lessons about teamwork and camaraderie, leadership and management, and above all humility, things which the competitive and individualistic environment of graduate school frankly did not provide much training in.

While there is little time for intellectualism for its own sake at a place like Fort Bragg, the palpable energy and earnestness that soldiers there bring to the task of learning is both infectious and inspiring. As ironic as it is, making the transition from teaching at a university to working as a sociocultural analyst and researcher on a military base has made me reevaluate and appreciate again the purposefulness of scholarship.

From the military member's perspective, some of the anxieties that concerned scholars raise suggest a profound misunderstanding of the range of activities that military members perform. Some claim that sociocultural knowledge can be used to reduce indiscriminate kinetic action. Others believe this claim only white-washes the military's "real" interest in sociocultural knowledge. On blogs and internet chat forums devoted to this debate, some have stipulated that the "purpose" of the military is "to kill." According to this reasoning, by definition, the purpose of anything that enables the military to do its job must be to make lethal action more efficient or more effective. From the military commander's perspective, this reasoning likely appears to be an almost comical over-simplification of the full range of security-related activities in which the military engages, and it completely ignores those military operations whose purpose is actually to avoid killing or to bring violence to an end.[19]

For instance, PSYOP and civil affairs missions are designed to support non-kinetic irregular warfare in order to secure long-term advantage with civilian populations. These are precisely the military units for which sociocultural knowledge is perhaps most critical and for which lethal action is

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U.S. Army Civil Affairs and Psychological Operations Command's CPT Rundgren, right, helps an Ethiopian volunteer carry supplies during a Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa exercise in Boren Jeden, Ethiopia, 5 May 2008.

very often counter-productive. Because concerned scholars ignore the complexity and breadth of military operations such as these, their concerns are frequently dismissed as irrelevant within the armed services.

At the same time, military members' lack of exposure to civilian postgraduate education means they often misunderstand the motives of such academic critique as purely political in nature. There seems little doubt that some of the critique (of HTS in particular) is indeed a thinly veiled protest of the war in Iraq.[20] But the more substantive aspects of the critique are instead motivated by the perfectly logical desire for proprietary self-preservation. Military commanders often may not realize that it is precisely the charge of the academic to reproduce his discipline, first by training younger scholars to take his or her place, and second by policing the boundaries of the discipline. The professional world of social and cultural-studies scholars is extraordinarily competitive, and pretenders to disciplinary titles are routinely submitted to intense scrutiny and "cast out" by their peers and mentors if they do not "make the cut."

Because concerned scholars ignore the complexity and breadth of military operations..., their concerns are frequently dismissed as irrelevant within the armed services.

While academics may be particularly worried about the intentions of the military, analysts who work for the military are differentiated from the academic community as "practitioners" rather than included in it as scholarly members. To survive in this academic environment, young scholars are typically groomed to harbor an intense sense of defensive individualism; rarely are they afforded the luxury of collaborative teamwork. Unfortunately, such norms of competitiveness and boundary-drawing often only "prove" to military members that the "ivory tower" is in fact petty and parochial.

In addition, most press coverage of the debate about sociocultural expertise and the military has been devoted to screeds and unilateral condemnations from the academic community, fueling negative stereotypes of civilian academics as arrogant, patronizing, and self-righteously indignant. As a result, some military commanders may feel even more inclined to do away with the whole onerous hassle of dealing with "civilian academic types" at all. I would contend, however, that there is a real need to take the controversy seriously as a first step in moving past it. There is simply too much at stake to capitulate to academic censure or cross-institutional misunderstanding.

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Blurring the Boundaries, Building Better Security

Given the angst-filled controversy among civilian academics, some military planners may feel that it would be easier to find some internal solutions to its deficit of sociocultural expertise. A variety of authors have suggested several internal solutions that might be considered. For example, one suggestion is to train a corps of troops specifically dedicated to collecting ethnographic information, thus avoiding the tendency simply to add another task to the soldier's "to do" list while at the same time enabling the military to respond to its own shifting area needs.[21] While no military occupational specialty currently trains soldiers or officers to conduct ethnographic fieldwork, building up the foreign area officer (FAO) program could constitute a promising intermediate step, especially if force protection restrictions are moderately lifted and an effort is made to engage civilian foreign nationals, not just members of foreign militaries.[22]

Another step that has been suggested is to encourage officers to pursue advanced study in social, cultural, and area studies at civilian universities in lieu of, or in addition to, command and general staff curriculums at military universities.[23] Advanced study and postgraduate work at civilian universities would familiarize military leaders with the demands of rigorous social science research and analysis (such as peer review) and would better enable them to recognize substantive sociocultural analysis and its value for military operations. Opportunities for cross talk between civilian academia and the military can also be augmented by funding research through scholarships, language study, and study abroad.

Finally, adding faculty positions for social scientists and cultural studies specialists at war colleges and military universities would work to constructively blur the divide. In particular, such faculty positions would facilitate institutional bridge building that could better address the challenges of producing rigorous sociocultural analyses within the military environment (for example, by providing an institutional home for human subject research committees). Even if all of these measures were undertaken, however, internal solutions to the military's sociocultural deficit problem are on their own likely to prove inadequate.

There are a number of reasons why civilians inside and outside the Department of Defense must continue to be part of the solution to the military's sociocultural deficit problem.

First, the training involved to produce quality ethnographic researchers is extensive, usually requiring anywhere from five to eight years of focused study in languages, area orientation, and social and cultural theory. During this training, future ethnographic researchers learn how to assess the strengths and weaknesses of sociocultural analyses, especially those concerning the assumptions and framings that unavoidably underpin any interpretation of culture. Time constraints and budgetary realities alone would preclude the possibility of educating enough "school-trained" social scientists and cultural experts within the armed forces to support all potential operations.

Second, military members are first and foremost soldiers, not scholars. While their operational planning and campaigns will no doubt be improved by a comprehension of the sociocultural terrain, understanding that terrain is only one among many priorities that they must manage. Understanding that terrain is, on the other hand, the primary objective of the sociocultural researcher and analyst, and their professional success can be made to depend largely upon the quality and value of the research that they produce.

Finally, civilian researchers and analysts should continue to be part of the solution to the military's sociocultural deficit precisely because *they are civilians.* As warfare of the future is projected to be increasingly unconventional, irregular, and population-centric, our military will be forced to operate in largely *civilian* contexts.[24] The translation work needed to operate in this environment will entail not only translating the worldview of foreign area populations, but also translating the mores and practices of non-military U.S. agencies to members of the armed forces and vice versa. Such translation work is far from pointless exercise. In light of 21st century threats and security challenges, increasing opportunities for civilian-military dialogue is one of the best means to build better forces and a stronger national defense.

Unfortunately, it will not be easy to buttress the ranks of socioculturally savvy soldiers with civilian social scientists who are eager and willing to

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work for the military. As the controversy over the military's interest in sociocultural expertise has made clear, many university-based sociocultural scholars still deeply distrust the military, and would not only refuse to work for the military themselves, but would also dissuade their graduate students from considering such a path. Attempting to deflate such gestures as mere political grandstanding, however, will do far less to move past the civilian-military divide than would weighing these scholars concerns deliberatively and taking them seriously as research challenges to be overcome. In particular, adhering to widely shared methodological standards of social science research renders the continued academic angst about the military's interest in sociocultural expertise essentially a moot point. Ultimately, the manner in which sociocultural initiatives are implemented today will go a tremendous way toward either bridging the gap or deepening the divide between civilian sociocultural scholarship and analysis that supports military operations.

In the meantime, those civil service organizations that already provide sociocultural research and analysis in support of military operations should continue to act as mediators between academia and the military. Unfortunately, those government organizations that already provide sociocultural expertise for military operations are struggling to meet the increasing demand for their services, especially because of manpower shortages. Such manpower shortfalls are not likely to be resolved soon, however. This reality may make institutional reorganization the best course of action. The military is always forced to prioritize its assets and can only concentrate operations in so many parts of the world at once. Civil service organizations that provide sociocultural expertise to the military must also find a way to respond to these new realities.

While there is merit in maintaining a wide range of area expertise within the Department of Defense in order to respond to unexpected contingencies, proving the utility of sociocultural knowledge and research to service commanders means that sociocultural research units need the institutional flexibility to respond to the military's operational priorities. One way to do this might be to temporarily detail civilian personnel from agencies and organizations that take a "long view" of national security issues (e.g. the Defense Intelligence Agency, defense universities, and the war colleges) to operational units, and to rotate them as necessary. There simply are not enough sociocultural and area experts in all of the DOD combined–and not likely to be in the near future–to justify the instinctive bureaucratic turf war. Instead of the standard operating procedure of intelligence stove-piping and institutional rivalry, the new security paradigm will likely demand information-sharing, communicative networking and robust cross-talk between agencies.[25] Enlisting resident subject matter experts as reach-back support and as internal peer review for researchers who are collecting new ethnographic information in theater are other ways to take advantage of current assets and to get on with the task of providing warfighters with what they need to do their jobs.[26] Ultimately, the best case for augmenting sociocultural expertise across DOD will likely be made by proving the operational utility of sociocultural analyses on the ground.

Conclusion

In this article, I have tried to explain where some of the academic anxiety over the military's interest in sociocultural expertise originates. I have also suggested that the best response to that controversy is in fact to continue to blur the divide between military and academic spheres, in essence confronting and overcoming the academic critiques by embracing them. The challenges entailed in integrating academic sociocultural expertise into military operations fundamentally reflect a much larger gap between civilian and military spheres in American political culture, especially within the academy. This gap needs to be recognized not only as a handicap to military operations, but also as an essential detriment to our long-term national security. Through the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan, military commanders have become acutely aware of the primacy of civil-military cooperation in counterinsurgency, for defense support to public diplomacy, and for other forms of irregular warfare in foreign theaters. It may now be up to our national-level leaders to recognize and to respond to the chasm between civilian and military spheres on the domestic front in order to mobilize the kind of public service required to move past Vietnam-era divides and to collectively meet the challenges of the 21st century. ***MR***

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NOTES

1. For example, COL Maxie McFarland, "Military Cultural Education," *Military Review* (March-April 2005): 62-69; Montgomery McFate, "The Military Utility of Understanding Adversary Culture," *Joint Forces Quarterly* (July 2005): 42-48; MG Robert Scales, "Clausewitz and World War IV," *Armed Forces Journal* (July 2006), <www.armedforcesjournal.com/2006/07/1866019>; and LTC Fred Renzi, "Networks: Terra Igcognita and the Case for Ethnographic Intelligence," *Military Review* (September-October 2006): 16-22. Their work responds to a growing consensus among military strategists that warfare in the 21st century increasingly will be unconventional and irregular. For example, GEN Charles Krulak, "The Strategic Corporal: Leadership in the Three Block War," *Marines Magazine* (January 1999), available at <www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/usmc/strategic_corporal.htm>; Thomas Barnett, *The Pentagon's New Map: War and Peace in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Berkeley Books, 2004); Colin S. Gray, "Irregular Enemies and the Essence of Strategy: Can the American Way of War Adapt?" U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute (March 2006); and COL Thomas Hammes, "Countering Evolved Insurgent Networks," *Military Review* (July-August 2006): 18-26.

2. Jacop Kipp, Lester Grau, Karl Prinslow and CPT Don Smith, "The Human Terrain System: A CORDS for the 21st Century," *Military Review* (September-October 2006): 8-15; and David Rohde, "Army Enlists Anthropology in War Zones," *The New York Times*, 5 October 2007, <www.nytimes.com/2007/10/05/world/asia/05afghan.html> (1 March 2008).

3. While cultural anthropologists will rightly claim a primordial ownership of ethnography, the methodology has been extensively used and developed in other social science disciplines as well. For example, it is commonly used by sociologists, and is often deployed in fields such as education, social psychology, and the sociology of knowledge. Ethnography is also routinely used as a behavioral research method in advertising, marketing, management, and design.

4. Renzi, *Military Review*; and Anna Simons, "Seeing the Enemy (or Not)," in Anthony McIvor, ed., *Rethinking the Principles of War* (Naval Institute Press, 2005).

5. McFate, 2005, provides a good overview of the inadequacies of the current system to acquire and to deliver sociocultural expertise to military commanders and warfighters.

6. Bruce Hall, "The Question of 'Race' in the Pre-Colonial Southern Sahara," The Journal of North African Studies, 10, 3 (September-December 2005): 339-367. A similar point is made in LTC Michael Eisenstadt, "Tribal Engagement? Lessons Learned," *Military Review* (September-October 2007): 16-31, 16-17.

7. LTC Kalifa Keita, "Conflict and Conflict Resolution in the Sahel: The Tuareg Insurgency in Mali," U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute (May 1998); Mohamed ag Ewangaye, "The Inadan, Makers of Amazigh Identity," in *The Art of Being Tuareg: Sahara Nomads in a Modern World*, eds., Thomas K. Seligman and Kristye Loughran (Los Angeles: UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History, 2006), 57-69; and Cynthia Becker, "Matriarchal Nomad or Freedom Fighter? Expressions of Amazigh Consciousness in Art by Moroccan, Algerian, and Nigerien Activists," paper presented at annual meeting of African Studies Association; New York, New York; 18 October 2007.

8. Susan Rasmussen, "Modes of Persuasion: Gossip, Song and Divination in Tuareg Conflict Resolution," *Anthropological Quarterly* 64, no. 1 (January 1991): 30-46; and Jeremy Keenan, "Ethnicity, Regionalism and Political Stability in Algeria's *Grand Sud*," *The Journal of North African Studies* 8, 3 (September 2003): 67-96.

9. See for example, American Anthropological Association (AAA) Executive Board Statement on the Human Terrain System Project, 31 October 2007, <www.aaanet.org/blog/resolution.htm>.

10. Ibid.; and Network of Concerned Anthropologists, "Pledge of Non-Participation in Counter-insurgency," available at <://concerned.anthropologists.googlepages.com/NCA-pledge.pdf>. Between 2005 and 2006, *Anthropology Today* also ran a series of articles on the U.S. military and intelligence agencies' interest in sociocultural knowledge.

11. Montgomery McFate, "Anthropology and Counterinsurgency: The Strange Story of their Curious Relationship," *Military Review* (March-April 2005), <www.army.mil/professionalwriting/volumes/volume3/august_2005/7_05_2.html>; and Alan Wolfe, "Academia (Kind of) Goes to War: Chomsky and his Children," *World Affairs* (Winter 2008): 38-47.

12. I derive this summary of concerns from the AAA's ad hoc report "On the Engagement of Anthropology with the US Security and Intelligence Communities," 4 November 2007, <www.aaanet.org/pdf/FINAL_Report_Complete.pdf>. In addition to the concerns I address here, some anthropologists are also deeply troubled about the potential damage that could be done to the field of anthropology if its scholars engage too directly with the military. Understandably, few military commanders are likely to concern themselves with the potential damage that could be done to the reputation of the field of anthropology, and issues that pertain to such potential damage are almost certainly best left to academic anthropologists to sort out. The American Anthropological Association executive board statement on the Human Terrain System project provides a good summary of some of these concerns.

13. This standard conforms to National Science Foundation guidelines concerning informed consent in ethnographic research. According to those guidelines, "[i]nformed consent is usually implied by the respondent's willingness to talk to the researcher." See <www.nsf.gov/bfa/dias/policy/hsfaqs.jsp#egraphy>.

14. Admittedly, I have not conducted such research in Iraq or Afghanistan. Nevertheless, I gather from talking to many soldiers and officers who have been to both that the experience of meeting eager interlocutors is not too dissimilar from their own. There are, of course, important considerations that must be taken into account with respect to protecting interlocutors, but this concern (which I address in the next section) should be differentiated from a concern about the perception of coercion.

15. There are institutional precedents for such defense-oriented social science research organizations, for example social psychology-oriented initiatives of the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) and the Special Operations Research Office. See McFate, "Anthropology and Counterinsurgency."

16. This point is made, for example, in Kathleen DeWalt and Billie DeWalt, *Participant Observation: A Guide for Fieldworkers* (New York: Alta Mira Press, 2002), 198-9.

17. Social science research generally strives for representativeness and generalizability. These research imperatives should mitigate the bulk of concerns about the harm that may come to specific informants in the context of research conducted for the military. The charge of sociocultural researchers should be to collect information about *types of people*, not specific individuals. If what researchers are doing is the latter, then their claims to be doing social science research could and should legitimately be challenged.

18. According to the National Science Foundation, the Department of Defense already subscribes to the "common rule" regarding social science research, which is stated in Subpart A of the Department of Health and Human Services regulation on human research (Code of Federal Regulation [CFR] Title 45, Part 46: Protection of Human Subjects). Subpart A stipulates that human subject research must be reviewed and approved by an institutional review board that operates in accordance with the pertinent requirements of 45 CFR 46. However, Subpart A also *exempts* from this regulation "research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior unless: (i) information obtained is recorded in such a manner that human subjects can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; and (ii) any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation." This exemption leaves a wide window in which sociocultural researchers who work for the military can operate while remaining in full compliance with existing federal regulations as far as their research focus should typically be of *types of people* in a given society and not specific, named individuals. See footnote 15.

19. The concerns these academics raise suggest that they are taking a conventional military approach as their model for "how the military works." The requirement to understand one's operating environment is considered the first imperative of Special Operations Forces (SOF), and social and political terrain is usually considered as at least one component of that environment. The need to understand your enemy's operating environment has also recently become enshrined as a pillar of counterinsurgency doctrine (see FM 3-24: *Counterinsurgency* [December 2006]). In other words, even conventional forces involved in COIN operations will need to adopt some basic tenants of the SOF approach. The view that the purpose of the military is to kill seems to completely disregard the distinctions between conventional military and SOF approaches.

20. David Kilcullen makes a persuasive case to this effect in David Kilcullen, "Ethics, politics and non-state warfare: A response to González," *Anthropology Today* vol. 23, no. 3 (June 2007).

21. LTC Alfred Renzi, "The Military Cooperation Group," Naval Postgraduate School Thesis, December 2006.

22. Renzi, NPS thesis; and MAJ Ron Sargent, "Strategic Scouts for Strategic Corporals," *Military Review* (March-April 2005), available at <www.army.mil/professionalwriting/volumes/volume3/august_2005/7_05_1.html>.

23. GEN David Petreaus, "Beyond the Cloister," *American Interest* 2, (July-August 2007), available at <www.the-american-interest.com/ai2/article.cfm?Id=290&MId=14>.

24. FM 3-24; and David Kilcullen, "Countering Global Insurgency: A Strategy for the war on Terrorism," 2004, available at <http://smallwarsjournal.com/documents/kilcullen.pdf>.

25. Carmen Medina, "The Coming Revolution in Intelligence Analysis: What to do when Traditional Models Fail," *Studies in Intelligence*, 46, no. 3 (2002), available at <www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/vol46no3/article03.html>.

26. For example, partnering human terrain team social science researchers in Iraq and Afghanistan with resident area experts at the 4 Psychological Operations Group's Strategic Studies Detachment, the Defense Intelligence Agency, or Marine Corps Intelligence Agency.

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REVISITING *MODERN WARFARE*
COUNTERINSURGENCY in the Mada'in Qada

Lieutenant Colonel David G. Fivecoat, U.S. Army, and Captain Aaron T. Schwengler, U.S. Army

NEARLY HALF A CENTURY AGO, Colonel Roger Trinquier, a French Army officer, wrote *Modern Warfare: A French View of Counterinsurgency*.[1] Intent on capturing what really worked in a counterinsurgency, Trinquier drew on the vast experience he had amassed as one of Jean Larteguy's centurions—the hard-bitten French regulars who served as the backbone of the French Army during the tough post-World War II counterinsurgency campaigns in China, French Indochina, and Algeria. *Modern Warfare* became a best seller in France and was translated into English in 1964, complete with an excellent forward by Bernard Fall, the renowned journalist-historian.

In his book, Colonel Trinquier defined modern war as "an interlocking system of actions—political, economic, psychological, and military—that aims at the overthrow of the established authority in a country and a replacement by another regime."[2] Fittingly, Trinquier's easy-to-read, practical guide to executing counterinsurgency operations has appeared on a variety of reading lists since the U.S. entry into conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq.[3] However, since 2004, no author has examined Trinquier's theories to see if they remain applicable on the Iraqi or Afghan battlefields.

During the 3d Heavy Brigade Combat Team (3HBCT), 3d Infantry Division's (3ID) 14 months of combat in the Mada'in Qada, Iraq, the brigade faced many of the same challenges as Trinquier and his French counterparts did in French Indochina and Algeria.[4] The brigade also implemented key tenets of Trinquier's *Modern Warfare*—control of the population, destruction of the guerrilla forces, and eradication of the guerrillas' influence on the population—and achieved a significant reduction in violence, the initial stages of reconciliation, and an increase in the capabilities of both the Iraqi Security Forces and the qada government. From the 3HBCT's experience, it appears that many of Trinquier's theories remain as relevant to the 21st century counterinsurgent as they did to his 20th century predecessors.

Background

The 3d HBCT, also known as the Sledgehammer Brigade, deployed to Iraq in March 2007 as the third of five surge brigades. It is a transformed brigade consisting of 1st Battalion, 15th Infantry Regiment (1-15 IN); 2d Battalion, 69th Armor (2-69 AR); 3d Squadron, 1st Cavalry Regiment (3-1 CAV); 1st Battalion, 10th Field Artillery Regiment (1-10 FA); 3d Battalion, 3d Brigade

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Captain Aaron T. Schwengler is an infantry officer who served as the 3HBCT, 3ID, Chief of Operations during Operation Iraqi Freedom V. He is currently attending the Maneuver Captains Career Course, Fort Benning, GA. CPT Schwengler has a B.S. in political science from North Dakota State University.

PHOTO: Local Abna'a Al Iraq (Sons of Iraq) gather for a joint clearing operation with U.S. Army Soldiers from the 3d Infantry Division, Salman Pak, Iraq, 16 February 2008. (U.S. Army, SGT Timothy Kingston)

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Special Troops Battalion (3-3 BSTB); and 203d Brigade Support Battalion (203 BSB). However, during the deployment, 2-69 AR was detached to Multi-National Division-Baghdad and fought in the streets of eastern Baghdad.



Colonel Roger Trinquier

From March 2007 to May 2008, the 3HBCT controlled the Mada'in Qada, the southeastern portion of Baghdad province. Bounded by the Diyala River on the west and the Tigris River on the south, the qada is over 2,500 square kilometers of mostly irrigated farmland with almost 1.2 million Iraqis living there. An ethnic fault line runs through the qada, with over 840,000 Shi'a living in the Narhwan, Jisr Diyala, and Wahida Nahias and 360,000 Sunni citizens clustered around the Salman Pak enclave.[5] During 2006 and early 2007, ethnic cleansing occurred along the boundary between the sects, resulting in an average of 53 murders per month during 2006. Key terrain in the qada include two bridges into Baghdad, the Baghdad-Al Kut Highway, the former Tuwaitha Nuclear Research Facility, and the Arch of Ctesiphon in Salman Pak.

Upon arrival in Iraq, the Sledgehammer Brigade focused on securing the population. Approximately 2,500 Soldiers served as part of the brigade combat team (BCT), with over 40 percent of them deployed in and amongst the population. The brigade constructed and operated from Forward Operating Base (FOB) Hammer; Combat Outposts (COP) Cahill, Carver, Cashe, Cleary, and Salie; and Patrol Base Assassin. On the ground, 1-15 IN operated in Salman Pak, 3-1 CAV controlled Jisr Diyala, and 1-10 FA patrolled Narwhan. In February 2008, the 13th Georgian Light Infantry Battalion (13th GG IN BN) joined the Hammer Team and occupied Wahida. In addition to 3HBCT, over 900 Iraqi Police, 500 members of the Wassit Emergency Response Unit, and over 2,000 National Policemen helped to control the qada. Collectively, the Iraqi Security Forces operated 129 checkpoints. Together, U.S. and Iraqi forces were able to provide almost five security force personnel for every 1,000 residents, equivalent to the force ratio in post-World War II Japan, but significantly less than the ratio in Bosnia under the implementation force (18:1,000 residents).[6]

Just as Colonel Trinquier experienced in French Indochina and Algeria, 3HBCT fought "armed elements acting clandestinely within a population manipulated by a special organization."[7] Due to the presence of two ethnic groups in the qada, the brigade fought two insurgencies—a Shi'a insurgency centered on the Jaysh Al Mahdi (JAM) political

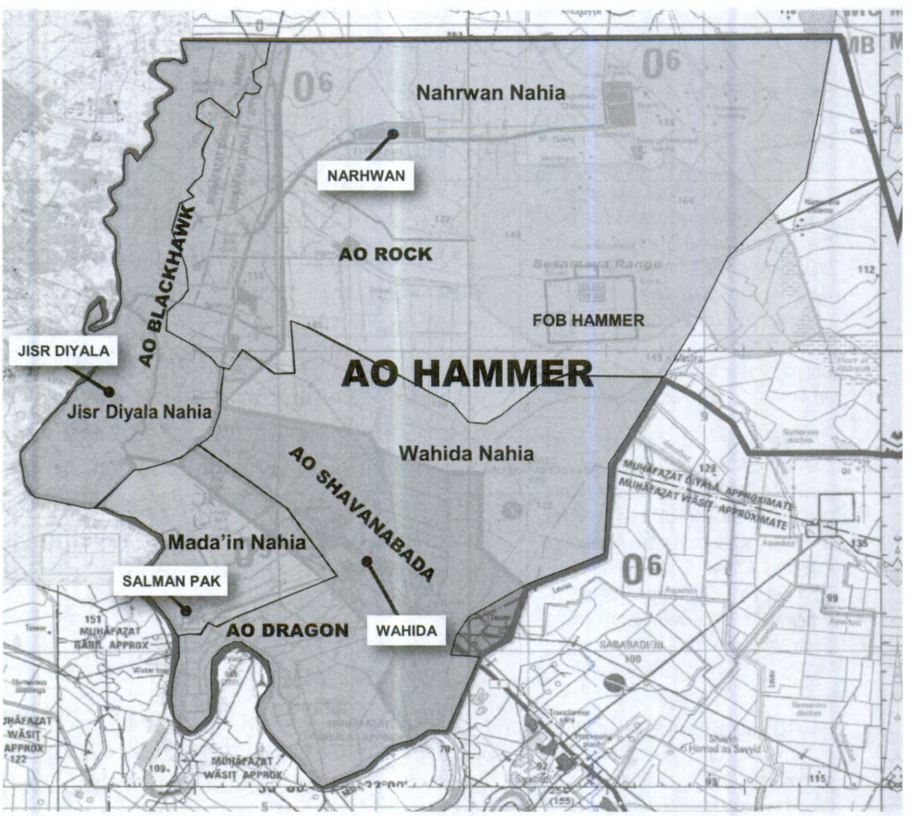


Figure 1. 3HBCT, 3ID Area of Operations (AO Hammer)

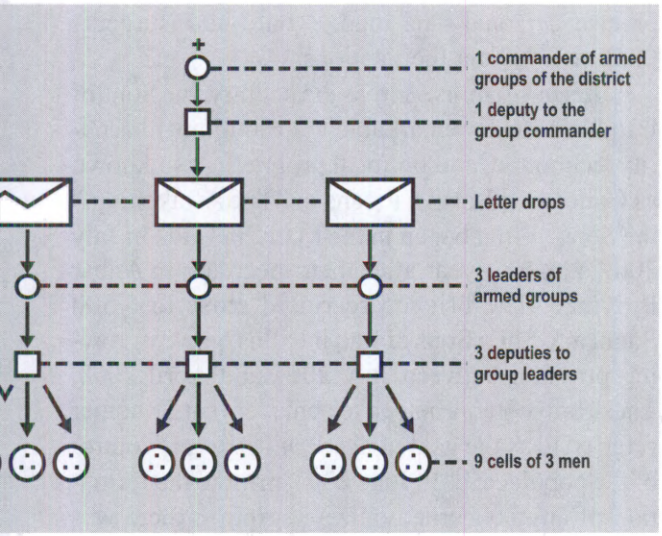
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organization and the JAM special groups (or "direct action cells"), and a Sunni insurgency composed of members of Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI).

The Shi'a insurgency attempted to control the population in the Jisr Diyala, Narhwan, and Wahida Nahias by dominating the Iraqi Police, taking tacit control of the nahia governments, and managing the health care clinics. In addition, the insurgency solicited donations at the mosques and from local businesses to fund their operations. Tactically, the Shi'a insurgents defended their areas from sectarian attacks; attrited coalition forces (CF) with improvised explosive devices (IED), explosively formed penetrators (EFP), and rocket attacks; and disrupted CF operations with small arms fire. The Shi'a direct action cells in the 3HBCT area of operations consisted of over ten groups in and around Jisr Diyala, Narhwan, and Wahida that attacked coalition forces with 107-mm rockets and EFP IEDs. In the summer of 2007, several 107-mm rocket cells operated in the northern and western parts of the qada and attacked FOB Rustamiyah, FOB Hammer, and PB Assassin with deadly accuracy. Throughout the 3HBCT's time in the qada, several EFP cells conducted more than a score of attacks against 3HBCT forces along major routes.

The 3-1 CAV, 1-10 FA, and 13th (GG) Infantry Battalion primarily conducted operations against the Shi'a insurgency. Interestingly, the insurgency organized itself in brigades, battalions, companies, and platoons, although each formation was smaller than its American counterpart. The 3HBCT S-2 shop developed an order-of-battle chart that helped track the enemy's composition. The Shi'a organization replicated the configuration Trinquier fought in Algeria in the late 1950s. This order of battle chart proved a valuable tool as the brigade attempted to neutralize the insurgency in the qada.

The Sunni insurgency that 3HBCT fought was an AQI umbrella organization. It consisted of several IED cells, two vehicle-borne improvised explosive device (VBIED) cells, a suicide vest (SVEST) cell, multiple extra-judicial killing (EJK) cells, a foreign fighter facilitator network, a command and control infrastructure (leadership), and a logistics group (auxiliary) that provided safe houses and vehicles and transported fighters. Working out of the numerous villages around Salman Pak, AQI attempted to control the Nahia's population; defend the Sunni areas against sectarian aggression; attrit coalition forces with IEDs, mortar attacks, and small arms fire; and disrupt National Police and Iraqi Police operations with IEDs and sniping. During 2007 and 2008, AQI conducted seven VBIED attacks and seven SVEST attacks across the qada. The most spectacular attack occurred on 11 May 2007, when the insurgents detonated two VBIEDs simultaneously on the Baghdad-Al Kut Highway Bridge and the Old Jisr Diyala Bridge. Until repairs were complete five days later, the insurgents succeeded in blocking traffic into Baghdad from the east side of the Tigris. AQI also waged a conventional IED campaign along the Jisr Diyala-Salman Pak highway. In just over a year, 79 IEDs were found



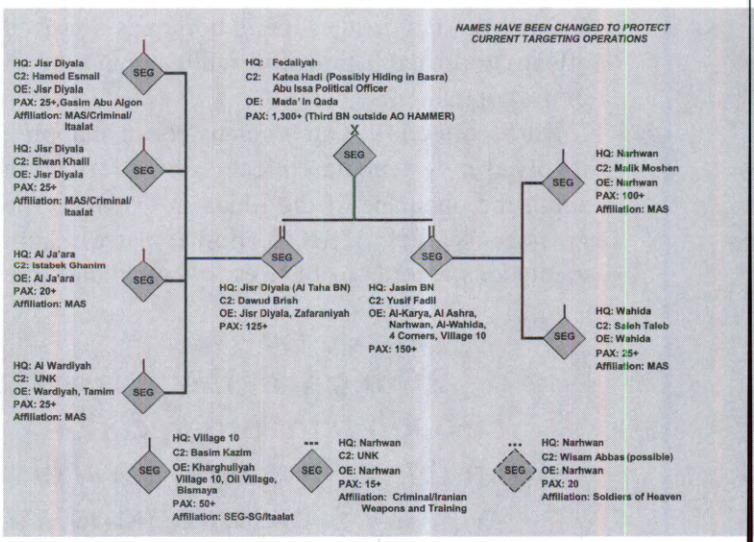


Figure 2. Algerian cell structure (left) and Hammer Shi'a Extremist Order of Battle (right).

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or detonated along the route; fortunately, only five attacks caused casualties. AQI dominated Salman Pak until early 2008, when operations conducted by teams of coalition forces working with Sons of Iraq cleared them from the villages of Ja'ara and Bawi. Additionally, a special operations forces' (SOF) raid in early February 2008 killed a key AQI leader, captured 30 other fighters, and forced the remaining AQI to leave the sanctuary around Salman Pak. During the rest of its tour, 3HBCT hunted the remnants of AQI and worked with the Sons of Iraq to keep AQI from returning to the area.

Obviously, Iraq in 2007 and 2008 was not Algeria or French Indochina in the 1950s. However, remarkable similarities in the important topics addressed in Trinquier's *Modern Warfare*—population control, destruction of the guerrilla force, and eradication of the insurgents' influence, for example—show that his work is still valid. Indeed, a careful look at the two experiences—their successes and their challenges—will serve as a practical tool for others conducting modern warfare in the future.

Control of the Population

Colonel Trinquier argues, "Control of the masses through tight organization, often through several parallel organizations, is the master weapon of *Modern Warfare*."[8] The 3HBCT and the Iraqi Security Forces developed multiple means to control the qada's 1.2 million inhabitants. Three methods in particular—human terrain mapping and biometric data collection, the establishment of the Sons of Iraq, and the empowerment of the Iraqi Police to enforce the law in their neighborhoods—proved effective in establishing and maintaining control of the population.

Data collection. Our human terrain mapping involved a systematic collection of information about the populace of the Mada'in Qada. At the grassroots level, 3HBCT combat patrols kept meticulous records of their everyday contacts by obtaining photographs and demographic information such as full names, residential addresses, tribal affiliations, and employers.

Control of the masses through tight organization, often through several parallel organizations...

This example from A Troop, 3-1 CAV highlights the importance of human terrain mapping. Captain Troy Thomas, the troop commander, identified Al Bataa village as a staging area for AQI as they moved from south of Baghdad to Baquba, in the Diyala Province. To separate the insurgents from the rest of the population, Thomas conducted "a careful census of the entire population."[9] He took account of everyone in the village by collecting data and photographs of each male resident from age 16 to 40. He then placed the cards into a binder and had a local sheik and a Sons of Iraq leader vet the information. The 3-1 CAV used that information during subsequent operations to identify and question Iraqis who were new to the area and who did not appear in the census binder.

The 3HBCT also employed another aspect of human terrain mapping by using the "handheld interagency identification detection equipment" (HIIDE) or the "biometrics automated toolset" (BAT). These systems allowed the brigade to gather biometric data on people, including their pictures, fingerprints, and retinal scans. Human intelligence collection teams would further refine the map through their sources. The brigade also leveraged our Iraqi advisory task force personnel to collect atmospheric and economic data in each of the nahias. In short, the perception of being constantly monitored by intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance assets and the fact that CF possessed precise personal data made would-be insurgents think twice about their actions.

Citizens' groups. Across the country, the Sons of Iraq have made remarkable contributions to security, economic, and political progress. Also known as Concerned Local Citizens or "The Awakening," the Sons of Iraq began in the Mada'in Qada in July 2007, almost a year after their inception in Anbar Province. The brigade recruited close to 6,500 Sunni and Shi'a Sons of Iraq into this quickly growing program between July 2007 and April 2008. These brave Iraqis helped to achieve what Trinquier referred to as the goal of *Modern Warfare*: "control of the populace."[10] In June 2007, prior to the formation of any concerned citizens' groups, there was an average of 2.6 attacks daily in the qada. In April

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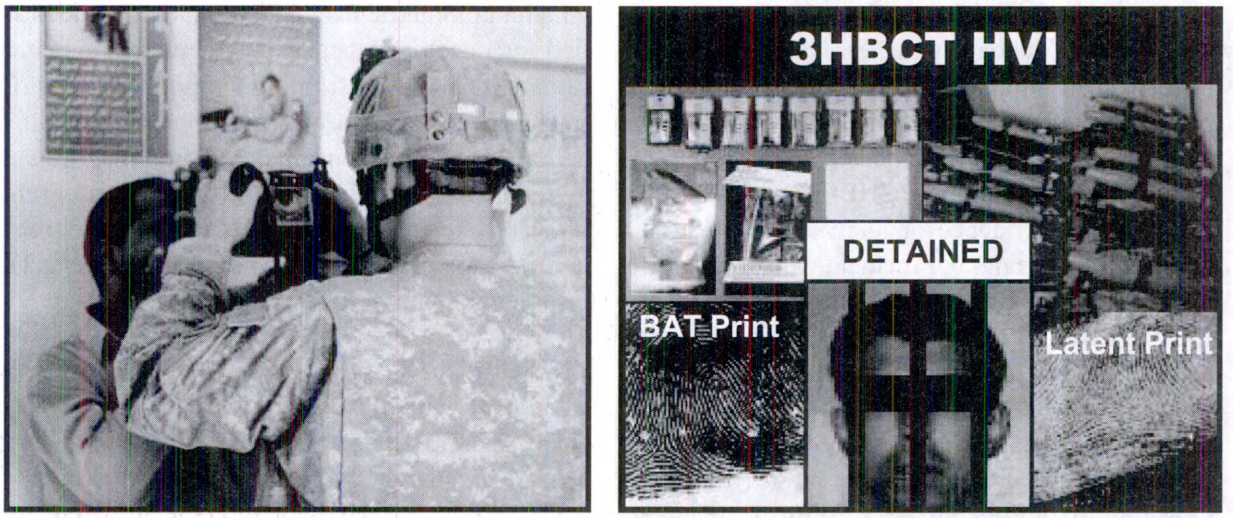


Figure 3. 3HBCT, 3ID, Soldiers use HIIDE to capture a retinal scan (left). A BAT match of a fingerprint led to the detention of a 3HBCT high value individual who participated in a rocket attack on FOB Hammer (right).

2008, after recruiting 6,500 Sons of Iraq, the daily attack average declined to 1.7 per day.

The inaugural Sons of Iraq group, in AO Hammer, was established in the small village of Al Arafia. Under the leadership of Muqtar Allawi and the protection of coalition forces, this citizens' group (and others) started to "take part in their own defense."[11] Earning $8.00 per day, they operated checkpoints, guarded neighborhoods, identified IEDs, reported weapons caches, and interdicted the movement of weapons and insurgents. During the first ten months, the group gave the brigade over 200 tips, operated 334 checkpoints, turned in 126 weapons caches, and located 45 IEDs. They increased security in the neighborhoods, decreased freedom of movement for insurgents, and removed IEDs and caches, thereby dramatically increasing security across the qada, slowly cutting off the insurgent from the population, and ultimately helping to break the back of AQI in the Mada'in Qada.

Over the next ten months, 3HBCT used the Arafia model to develop 50 different Sons of Iraq groups to improve security and degrade insurgent influence over the local population. The addition of this citi-



The Sons of Iraq guarding a checkpoint on Butler Range Road.

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zens' group increased the number of security forces to residents in the qada to a 10 to 1,000 ratio, half the level in the initial stages in Kosovo (20:1,000).[12] Trinquier noted that the "total dependence on terrain and population is also the guerrilla's weak point."[13] Through the Sons of Iraq, 3HBCT exploited the insurgent's dependence on the population, took control of the terrain, eliminated the peoples' support for the insurgents, and significantly diminished insurgent control of the citizens of the Mada'in Qada. In addition, the local economies in controlled areas blossomed overnight due to the direct stimulus of $1.6 million in salaries each month.

Police forces. To improve the Mada'in Qada's 900-strong Iraqi Police force, the brigade assigned E Company, 1/125th Infantry and the 59th Military Police Company as its police transition team. In comparison, Trinquier asserted that "broad police operations will be performed by the regular police if they are adequate and capable."[14] Inadequate and incapable of leaving their own station, the qada's Iraqi Police were cowed by the insurgency in April 2007. Taking "advantage of the Army's presence and its protection and the assistance," the Iraqi Police, under the guidance of the police transition team, slowly brought law enforcement back to the qada.[15]

In addition to basic police training and daily mentoring, the brigade focused on helping the Iraqi Police track crime statistics. With accurate data now available, 3HBCT was able to show the Iraqi Police how the crime rate declined from 28 murders in February 2007 to only 5 in February 2008. The 2007 murder rate in the Mada'in Qada fell to a rate comparable to Detroit, Michigan's, in 2006.[16] Once the crime statistics program was in place, the brigade encouraged the police to begin enforcing laws and executing warrants issued by judges. In February 2008, the police took the next step and enforced five arrest warrants.

To effectively control the people, Trinquier instructed forces to "cut off the guerrilla from the population that sustains him, render the guerrilla zones untenable, and coordinate these actions over a wide area."[17] The 3HBCT's human terrain mapping and biometric data collection process identified and developed data on the population to better isolate the insurgent from his support, the Sons of Iraq groups made former insurgent strongholds dangerous to operate in, and the Iraqi Police began to restore the rule of law in the qada by enforcing laws and executing warrants. Together, these techniques helped 3HBCT drain the sea that the qada's insurgents swam in for so long.

Destruction of the Guerrilla Forces

Colonel Trinquier states that the goal of modern warfare for the counterinsurgent is to "eliminate from the midst of the population the entire enemy organization."[18] From March 2007 to April 2008, 3HBCT and the Iraqi Security Forces used this as their mantra; the brigade killed more than 160 insurgents and captured 560 more. Although the kinetic operations removed the insurgents from the streets, 3HBCT used other means to disrupt the insurgents. For example, aggressively tracking and interdicting the enemy's financial transactions, the brigade collected enough evidence for the authorities to charge insurgents with extortion and eventually prosecute and convict them in the Central Criminal Court of Iraq. Taken together, these endeavors helped to remove the insurgents from the Mada'in Qada.

The 3HBCT understood the need to relentlessly pursue the insurgents both inside the Mada'in Qada and outside it. Over the course of the deployment, 3HBCT killed or captured more than 30 of the brigade's or division's high value individuals (HVIs). Remarkably, almost half of these HVIs were captured outside of the Mada'in Qada—in places like Baghdad, Tikrit, Samarrah, and Abu Ghraib. Typically, just as Trinquier described nearly a half century ago, a concerted operation conducted by even a single battalion could "compel the guerrillas...to leave their comfortable hiding places"and seek refuge outside of the area. [19] Once removed, the insurgents would usually adopt easily targetable habits since they assumed that they were safe. The brigade tracked one target for nearly six months

Trinquier instructed forces to cut off the guerrilla from the population that sustains him...

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before he was finally captured in Baghdad. This success was due in part to building detailed target packets on the HVIs that could be easily passed to other brigades and the special operations community. Such relentless pursuit had a tangible effect on the enemy. After detaining both a Narhwan JAM battalion commander and his successor, the brigade received an intelligence report indicating that no one in JAM wanted to assume command because they realized that they would likewise be detained by American forces.

In Algeria, the French fought the National Liberation Front which had a "financial committee [that] gathered funds from the population at large...and directly from big companies, banks, leading merchants, etc."[20] Similarly, 3HBCT was confronted by the Narhwan JAM battalion, which funded its operations by intimidating and harassing the local population and the owners of the brick factory, Narhwan's largest business enterprise. JAM extorted nearly 5,000,000 Iraqi dinars (approximately $4,200) from the factory owners each week, because refusal to pay the Shi'a extremists meant that the factory would be shut down or its owners kidnapped. By engaging local leaders and interrogating captured guerrillas, 3HBCT intelligence analysts traced the financial network, discovered the process for collecting the funds, and tracked down the key players involved in the extortion in and around Narhwan. The brigade then conducted operations that specifically targeted these key players. In one operation near the brick factory complex, 3-1 CAV detained seven extortionists immediately after they collected their weekly payola. In another operation, 3HBCT captured the Shi'a extremists' ledgers. Thereafter, the combat team focused on "following the money" to identify and detain extortionists, severely disrupting the Narwhan Shi'a extremist group's cash flow and subsequent ability to conduct attacks.

Once an insurgent was detained, 3HBCT worked diligently to ensure his conviction through the Central Criminal Court of Iraq. The brigade stressed to its units that to be successful at gaining convictions, the units needed to take a law-enforcement approach to the insurgency. Toward that end, 3HBCT conducted tactical site exploitation on each objective to collect, document, and organize legally admissible evidence. Units leveraged the Law Enforcement Professionals Program, an MPRI creation that couples experienced law-enforcement agents with Army battalions and brigades to increase conviction rates. Working with law enforcement agents, units constructed criminal case files of unclassified forensic evidence, including fingerprints, photographs of weapons caches, videos of attacks, sworn statements from both U.S. Soldiers and Iraqis, and even signed confessions. Moreover, the thousands of Iraqi biometric records enrolled in BAT and HIIDE proved invaluable in matching evidence found at attack sites to specific suspects.

As a result of this meticulous—sometimes high-tech—evidence collection, the brigade directly linked a dozen insurgents to specific IED and EFP attacks. Additionally, the weapons intelligence teams examined all evidence related to attacks in 3HBCT's AO to identify bomb-making signatures. These efforts allowed the brigade to track numerous





Dollars and dinars confiscated by the 3HBCT when it detained seven individuals suspected of extorting money from the Narhwan Brick Factories, in September 2007.

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IED cells and determine their tactics, techniques, and procedures. As a result of detailed tactical site exploitation, organized-criminal case files, and biometric matches to specific IED or EFP attacks, the brigade sent 315 insurgents to the theater internment facility. In addition, as of April 2008, 24 insurgents had been convicted or were awaiting trial at the Central Criminal Court of Iraq.

To destroy an insurgency, Trinquier advises that a counterinsurgent force methodically pursue it "until the enemy organization is entirely annihilated."[21] The 3HBCT attempted to destroy both Shi'a and Sunni insurgencies through relentless pursuit of enemy leaders, focused efforts to eliminate insurgency funding, and law-enforcement approaches to countering guerrilla activities. Together, these efforts significantly reduced attacks, emboldened Iraqi Security Forces, and allowed Sons of Iraq to retake control of their communities. Although the insurgents in the Mada'in have not been completely eliminated, they have been neutralized to such an extent that, by April 2008, established laws were being enforced and the elected political leaders and local Iraqis had begun to control the future of the qada.

Eradication of the Guerrilla's Influence on the Population

As it was for Trinquier and his foes in Algeria, the goal for both the insurgent and the counterinsurgent in Iraq is to "control . . . the population."[22] While the Sunni and Shi'a insurgencies resorted to assassinations, murders, spectacular VBIED and SVEST attacks, and extortion of legitimate businesses to dominate the people, the 3HBCT used all six lines of effort—security, transition, governance, rule of law, economics, and communications—to manage the people of the Mada'in Qada to purge the insurgency and to support coalition forces and the government of Iraq. Some of the more successful policies that 3HBCT employed were reconstructing the irrigation infrastructure, rehabilitating the Narhwan brick factory, stimulating the economy using the Sons of Iraq, and establishing the Voice of Mada'in radio station. Collectively, these initiatives worked towards the "eradication of their [the insurgent's] influence on the population."[23]

The 3HBCT also funded over $37 million in projects during its 14 months in the Mada'in Qada.

Some of the more successful policies...employed were reconstructing the irrigation infrastructure...[and] stimulating the economy using the Sons of Iraq...

Several multi-echelon projects played an instrumental role in reducing the insurgents' influence, because these projects had both an initial impact and created longer-term, sustainable employment. Two examples stand out. In 2006, insurgents destroyed the huge pumps at the nine Nissan and Al Bawi pump stations. These pumps transferred water from the Tigris River into canals to irrigate farmers' fields dozens of kilometers away. Working with key leaders in the nahia and qada governments, the brigade coordinated and funded the repair of the pump stations over a nine-month period. The difference between the 2007 and the 2008 growing seasons was remarkable—fields that had lain fallow produced crops. Another project with a multi-echelon impact was the Narhwan Brick Factory complex. In 2007, over half its factories were dormant due to limited distribution of heavy fuel oil, a byproduct from oil refineries. Once again, the brigade worked with officials from Baghdad Province and local leaders to ensure that heavy fuel oil and electricity were available to power the kilns to dry the bricks. After several months of negotiations, the government began to move heavy fuel oil from the Bayji refinery, north of Baghdad, to the brick factories. Dozens of factories re-opened and production increased from 750,000 to 3.7 million bricks per day. The increased flow of oil and the resulting increased manufacturing capacity also increased employment six-fold, from 2,000 to 12,000 employees.

As mentioned above, the Sons of Iraq had a powerful influence on decreasing violence and revitalizing the economy in the Mada'in Qada. The $8 daily payment to each member resulted in $1.7 million in salaries to be spent in the local economy, providing an immediate and much-needed economic stimulus. This stimulus, coupled with the marked increase in security, translated into

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"Before" and "after" pictures of a market where Sons of Iraq and 3HBCT conducted revitalization projects.

revitalized neighborhoods. No longer intimidated by extremists, and no longer afraid to conduct daily transactions, business owners reopened markets with the help of micro-grants. For example, in early 2008, 3HBCT conducted a market revitalization project in Salman Pak that cleaned up the market. And because the Sons of Iraq had money to spend, storeowners' profits doubled. In areas where 3HBCT did not form Sons of Iraq groups, the economic recovery was much less noticeable.

In early 2007, extremist groups were also winning the information war in the Mada'in Qada. Without a constant coalition force presence, and given limited sources of outside information and an abundance of extremist propaganda, the insurgency controlled what local Iraqis saw and heard. They were able to portray coalition operations as "brutalities in the eyes of the public."[24] The 3HBCT attacked the insurgents' messages through an effective information campaign that used leaflet drops, loudspeaker broadcasts, and face-to-face engagements. Iraqi advisory task force and tactical PSYOP teams gathered atmospherics following these IO attacks. Using FOB Rustamiyah's Peace 106 as a model, 3HBCT established the qada's first radio station, FM 107.1. Opened in January 2008 as a joint government of Iraq and coalition project, the "Voice of the Mada'in" provided a forum in which Iraqis could ask their questions, voice their concerns, and sometimes express their anger towards local, tribal and CF leaders. Since most Iraqis receive their information from radio and television, the radio station's potential impact on extremist information warfare is important. The Voice of the Mada'in radio station gave 3HBCT another means with which to thwart extremist propaganda and spread positive, accurate information about current events and the future of Iraq.

The 3HBCT attacked the Shi'a and Sunni insurgencies in the Mada'in Qada across all lines of operation. The completion of multi-echelon projects increased crop production for farmers and increased productivity and the numbers employed at the Narhwan Brick Factory complex. Establishing the Sons of Iraq provided jobs for unemployed males who might otherwise have taken up arms against the coalition. It stimulated the local economy and led to the reopening of many stores. Finally, the "Voice of the Mada'in" radio station opened lines of communication between ordinary Iraqis and the qada government. More important, these endeavors helped eliminate the insurgents' control and influence over the Mada'in's citizens.

Torture in *Modern Warfare* and the Law of Land Warfare

Unfortunately, *Modern Warfare* gained notoriety because of Colonel Trinquier's advocacy of torture as an acceptable means of defeating an insurgency. He believed that the fear of torture is the only deterrent for the guerrilla since "he cannot be treated as an ordinary criminal, nor [sic] like a prisoner taken on the battlefield."[25] This quotation demonstrates Trinquier's ignorance of the Just War tradition's stance on treating guerrillas as legitimate combatants unless they are proven guilty of violating the norms of war. His mistaken attitude encouraged violations of the 1949 Geneva Protocols of War, to which the French had subscribed, that called for due process in determining an insurgent's status.

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From a practical perspective, in a COIN environment the moral corrosiveness of torture runs counter to long-term goals, as it did for France in Algeria. Torture backfired on the French and they lost their strategic legitimacy. Trinquier's advocacy of torture dishonored himself and the French military.

The 3HBCT's experience demonstrated the effectiveness of other measures that both deterred insurgents and allowed the brigade to maintain the standards expected of Americans. In the post-Abu Ghraib environment, rigorous adherence to the law of land warfare is essential. Many of the legitimate measures already discussed—such as population control, biometric data collection on adult males, and relentless pursuit of the enemy—provided that deterrent. During its 14 months in Iraq, the brigade captured more than 560 suspected insurgents. In the same time period, military intelligence interrogators in the division holding area-annex conducted over 1,500 interrogations, with most detainees experiencing an average of 3 interrogations. The system produced 345 intelligence reports without once resorting to torture. The reports the brigade gleaned from interrogations led to numerous operations in and outside the brigade's area that targeted extremists without undermining our long-term credibility. More important, it contradicted Trinquier's assertion that torture is the only way to develop intelligence on an insurgency and deter the guerrilla.

Challenges

From his experience, Trinquier documented several "errors in fighting the guerrilla."[26] Likewise, 3HBCT experienced missteps in fighting the insurgency in the Mada'in Qada. Poor placement of outposts, the lack of a standardized national ID card for Iraqis, and 3HBCT's initial large sweep operations all presented challenges that the brigade worked to overcome throughout its tour.

The 3HBCT built several outposts in locations where the Soldiers did not control the population as they could have. Two of the brigade's outposts—Patrol Base Assassin and COP Salie—were perfectly placed in the midst of a town with Iraqi Police or National Police within arm's reach. However, the other five—FOB Hammer, COP Cashe, COP Cahill, COP Cleary, and COP Carver—were separated from the population, the Iraqi Security Forces, or both. FOB Hammer, although next to an Iraqi Army training compound (FOB Besamiya), was 25 kilometers from any major population center. As a result, the zone of security around the FOB benefited only the few sheepherders who lived in a couple of villages south of the FOB. In retrospect, better positioning of the outposts could have helped the brigade to institute greater control over the 1.2 million citizens of the Mada'in Qada.

The lack of a national identification card also made population control challenging. For 25,000 Iraqi dinars (about $13), any adult Iraqi could get a Jensia card, as long as two other people vouched for his identification. HBCT improvised several solutions to overcome the lack of an ID card, like A Troop, 3-1 Cavalry's binder on Al Baata Village, or B Company, 1-15 Infantry's Sons of Iraq ID card, but a tough-to-forge, accurate, and rigorously enforced system of national identification would have made controlling the population less of a challenge.

Prior to the fall of 2007, 3HBCT engaged in several large unit sweeps, like Operations Blore Heath I and II, Beach Yellow, and Bull Run. Each of these operations achieved short-term tactical successes: several insurgents killed or captured, multiple weapons caches seized, and a handful of IEDs removed. However, each of these operations failed to destroy the insurgency because they did not establish a permanent coalition, Iraqi Security Forces, or Sons of Iraq presence in the villages to keep the insurgents from returning. In the fall of 2007, the 3HBCT Commander, Colonel Wayne W. Grigsby, Jr., mandated that all major operations incorporate Sons of Iraq to hold the terrain, man checkpoints, and keep the insurgents from returning to cleared areas. Subsequent operations—Tuwaitha Sunrise I and II, Ja'ara Sunrise, Bawi Sunrise, and Durai'ya Sunrise—achieved not only similar tactical successes, but also emplaced Sons of Iraq checkpoints to prevent the insurgents' return.

From 2007 to 2008, 3HBCT experienced many of the same impediments as their French brethren had before them. Poorly located outposts, the lack of an official national identification card, and large sweep operations without maintenance forces all hampered the brigade's ability to control the population, and thus its ability to neutralize the Shi'a and Sunni insurgencies.

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Conclusion

Five years of operations in Iraq have taught a generation of American Soldiers some of the best practices to use in counterinsurgencies. In fact, some of our Army's young men and women may soon boast more COIN experience than their historic predecessors. Still, Colonel Trinquier's work will remain a useful guide for leaders conducting COIN in Iraq. The advent of precision-guided munitions, the internet, unmanned aerial vehicles, mine resistant ambush protected vehicles, IEDs, and EFPs has not changed Trinquier's principles. The 3HBCT's 14 months of continuous combat in the Mada'in Qada resembled the French experience in Indochina and Algeria 50 years earlier because those basics have not changed. Together, the principles of controlling the population, destroying the guerrilla forces, and eradicating the guerrilla's influence helped to neutralize both Sunni and Shi'a insurgencies. Trinquier's advice also helped initiate the reconciliation process for disenfranchised Sunnis, embolden and enhance the Iraqi Security Forces, and improve the qada government.

Our employment of Trinquier's legitimate principles during our 14 months of counterinsurgency operations has brought significant improvements to the Mada'in Qada. As the French did in Algeria, the 3HBCT experienced some difficulties along the way. Nevertheless, by selectively applying the moral lessons of *Modern Warfare* and heeding the wisdom gained by other American units over the last five years, we made good progress. American Soldiers operating in places like Iraq and Afghanistan in the future can build upon both Trinquier's and 3HBCT's experiences to conduct effective counterinsurgency operations. ***MR***

NOTES

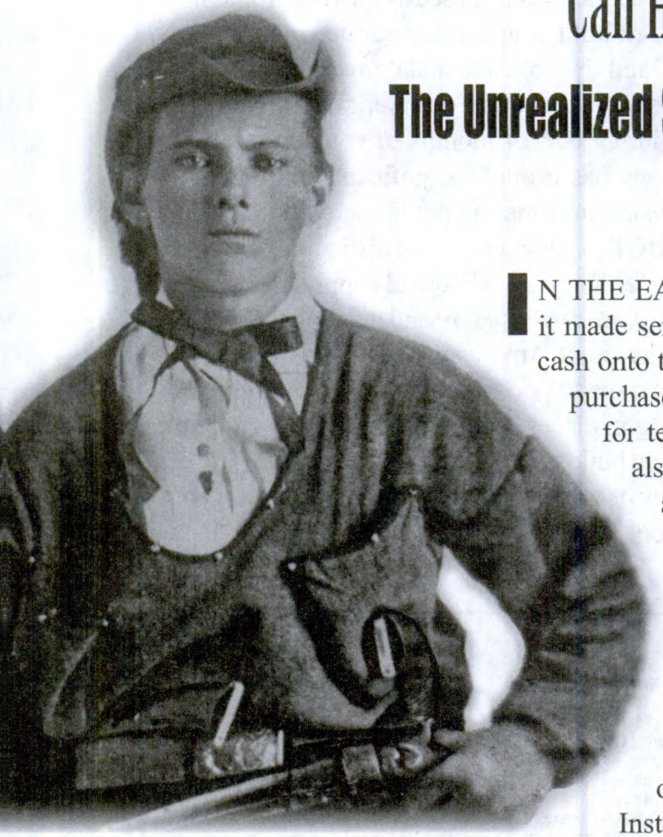
1. Colonel Roger Trinquier served as an officer in the French Colonial Marines and Army from 1931 to 1961. During that span, he spent six years in China before World War II in a low-intensity conflict, four years conducting counterguerrilla operations in French Indochina after the war, and three years executing COIN operations in Algeria. He wrote *Modern Warfare* immediately after his retirement in 1961.
2. Roger Trinquier, *Modern Warfare: A French View of Counterinsurgency*, trans. Daniel Lee (New York: Praeger, 1964), 6.
3. The book is available for download from the Command and General Staff College website. See <www-cgsc.army.mil/carl/resources/csi/trinquier/trinquier.asp>. Chapter 5, "Identifying the Adversary;" Chapter 8, "Errors in Fighting the Guerrilla"; and Chapter 10, "Conducting Counterguerrilla Operations", are particularly enlightening for a leader deploying to Iraq.
4. A qada is a subordinate government structure in an Iraqi province. The Baghdad Province, of which the Mada'in Qada belongs, is one part of six qadas and nine security districts.
5. A nahia is a subordinate government structure in a Qada. The Mada'in Qada has four nahias: Narwhan, Jisr Diyala, Wahida, and Salman Pak. It is the lowest form of government recognized by the Baghdad Provincial Government.
6. Peter J. Boettke, Christopher Coyne, and Peter Leeson, *Institutional Stickiness and the New Development Economics—2005*, <www.ccoyne.com/Institutional>, 2005, 25.
7. Trinquier, 8.
8. Ibid., 30.
9. Ibid., 31.
10. Ibid., 16.
11. Ibid., 75.
12. Boettke, Coyne, and Lesson, *Institutional*, 25.
13. Trinquier, 64.
14. Ibid., 43.
15. Ibid., 44.
16. Data taken from <http://detroit.areaconnect.com> Detroit, MI, with a population of 1 million, had 418 murders in 2006 with an average of 47.2 murders per 100,000 citizens. The Mada'in Qada, Iraq with a population of 1.2 million, had a reported 243 murders in 2007 with a weighted average of 40.5 murders per 100,000 citizens. The average number of murders was weighted with the assumption that only 50 percent of the murders in the Mada'in Qada were reported in 2007.
17. Trinquier, 65.
18. Ibid., 43.
19. Ibid., 85.
20. Ibid., 12.
21. Ibid., 48.
22. Ibid., 15.
23. Ibid., 65.
24. Ibid., 48.
25. Ibid., 21.
26. Ibid., 52.

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How Jesse James, the Telegraph, and the Federal Reserve Act of 1913 Can Help the Army Win the War on Terrorism:

The Unrealized Strategic Effects of a Cashless Battlefield

Peter E. Kunkel



IN THE EARLY PHASES OF OPERATIONS in Iraq and Afghanistan it made sense for maneuver units to bring large amounts of American cash onto the battlefield. Army units used it to make various battlefield purchases, including construction materials for foxholes and flooring for tents and even bottled water for Soldiers. These Army units also used cash to reward tipsters or even to pay for battle damaged private property. Cash, particularly a hard currency like American cash, was the best tool for the job at hand, and local residents preferred to accept it.

Even so, the volume of these transactions was colossal. For the last several years, the Army has spent approximately $1.5 billion per year in American cash in theater.[1] Relying on cash, year-after-year, at such a scale to handle such purchases in these economies meant missing, year-after-year, an opportunity to advance economic and security objectives there. Instead, transitioning today away from cash could make valuable improvements to these unstable economies.

Excessive reliance on cash for such purchases stunts entrepreneurial activity and job creation. But using commercially available, non-traditional banking methods for these purchases could arrest the trend. Further, transitioning away from cash would eliminate handling large sums on the battlefield, eliminating the need to put every person involved in distribution and usage at risk of personal violence.

Life in the Wild West of Reconstruction-era western Missouri offers some salient lessons to understand the insidious military consequences of this large-scale reliance on cash in Iraq and Afghanistan today. During those times, insurgents enjoyed strong popular support and operated with impunity. During those times, cash (actually state-chartered bank notes) was the dominant medium of value.[2] During those times, changes in banking and wire transfer absorbed cash, helping to settle the Wild West. Today, the same principles can be applied in Iraq and Afghanistan to advance economic and security objectives there as well.

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PHOTO: 17-year-old Jesse James, 1864. (Library of Congress)

Jesse James

Of course, the most famous figure from Reconstruction-era western Missouri is the folk legend, Jesse James. James was nearly 14 at the beginning of the Civil War, too young to fight for the Confederate side. However, just as massed warfare gave way to insurgency, James came of age, and he rose to notoriety for banditry during and after Reconstruction. Against great odds, he managed

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to elude capture by law enforcement officials for 17 years until his murder by a bounty hunter in 1882.[3]

Surely, his success was due in part to widespread support from local residents. One source of his appeal may have been the sheer audacity of his successive bank and train robberies, but that alone probably would not explain why he eluded capture for so long. Rather, a more plausible source of his popular support was likely his reputation as a Confederate champion.[4]

So, for some, James was merely a violent outlaw bent on robbing trains full of cash, using violent insurgent tactics. However, for others, he wasn't merely employing insurgent tactics, he was, in fact, an insurgent. Indeed, local citizens dissatisfied with current political arrangements in Missouri aided him. The distinction between outlaw and insurgent was probably just as unclear to the people on the ground in Missouri as it is today in Iraq and Afghanistan. Because James directed his energies specifically at cash, he himself contributed to the confusion.

Cash Economy in Reconstruction-era Missouri

Those trains were loaded with cash in the first place because gold, the official specie, was virtually unavailable, and even state-chartered bank notes and the new federal "greenbacks" were in rare supply. Cash was extremely precious as the only alternative to the widespread practice of bartering.[5,6] Cash had to be physically transported into the frontier region in trains, placed in bank vaults, and then distributed by bank cashiers to individuals for their own safekeeping and use. In such an environment, it would be likely that people would not use cash for frivolous purchases, or even some consequential ones, and banks and trains would be very lucrative targets for bandits like Jesse James.

The Telegraph

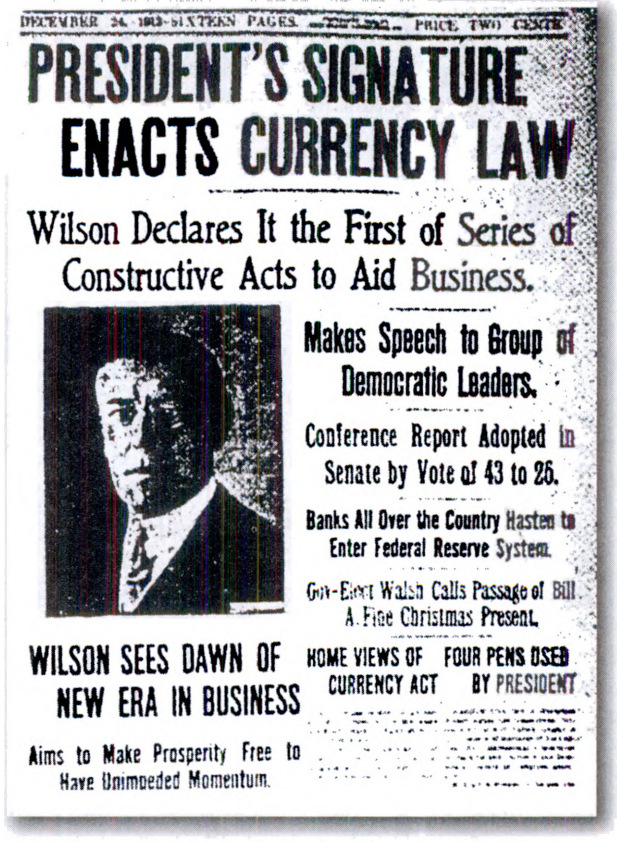
Fortunately, during James's lifetime, an alternative to moving cash across great distances by train was developed. In 1871, Western Union introduced money transfer by telegraph, allowing "money" to be moved freely and without risk of violent theft. Actually, money was not literally being moved at all. Instead, bankers were simply communicating by telegraph and making mutual bookkeeping entries in their respective ledgers. However, in western Missouri, James's violent train robberies continued because the trains still had cash in them. And, clearly, so did the banks.

The distinction between outlaw and insurgent was probably just as unclear to the people on the ground in Missouri as it is today in Iraq and Afghanistan.

The Federal Reserve Act of 1913

It was not until the passage of the Federal Reserve Act of 1913, creating "an elastic currency" and the Federal Reserve System, that the nation even had centralized large-scale substitutes for cash in the form of demand deposits and time deposits regulated at the national level. Banks could offer demand deposits and time deposits, i.e., checking accounts and savings accounts, without having to stockpile and physically transport large quantities of cash. Accounts were simply bookkeeping entries in a ledger.

Bandits like Jesse James could not steal an accounting ledger and expect to use it for much.



DECEMBER 24, 1913—SIXTEEN PAGES. PRICE TWO CENTS

PRESIDENT'S SIGNATURE ENACTS CURRENCY LAW

Wilson Declares It the First of Series of Constructive Acts to Aid Business.

Makes Speech to Group of Democratic Leaders.

Conference Report Adopted in Senate by Vote of 43 to 26.

Banks All Over the Country Hasten to Enter Federal Reserve System.

Gov-Elect Wilson Calls Passage of Bill A Fine Christmas Present.

WILSON SEES DAWN OF NEW ERA IN BUSINESS

Aims to Make Prosperity Free to Have Unimpeded Momentum.

HOME VIEWS OF CURRENCY ACT

FOUR PENS USED BY PRESIDENT

Headline on a newspaper clipping dated 24 December 1913 announces that Woodrow Wilson has signed the Federal Reserve Act.

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No bandit could use an accounting ledger to make a purchase. And if the banks had fewer requirements to store cash in their vaults, then they would no longer need to transport so much cash in trains. And if the banks would no longer need to transport cash in trains, then thieves would generally no longer have reason to rob trains because there would have been scant cash in the train to steal.

So, telegraphs and cash substitutes offered by banks presented a compelling countermeasure to violence brought on by the prevalence of cash. Bankers had largely removed the temptation for thieves to commit physical violence, regardless of whether the thieves were bandits or insurgents.

These innovations solved problems not only for banks but also for everyday citizens. People no longer needed to store cash in their homes or fear for their own or their family's security simply because they had cash or because insurgents sought to make a political statement by stealing from moneyed interests. In James's day, when barter was prevalent, these lessons would have been particularly well understood.

The lesson the Jesse James experience offers is how to discourage thieves from resorting to physical violence. Wire transfer and cash substitutes, the tools of modern banking, remove temptations for physical violence.

Converting the Challenge into an Opportunity

The Army generally understands that security in Iraq or Afghanistan or, indeed, in any counterinsurgency environment, would improve if a local banking sector existed. Certainly, Army disbursing agents on the ground in Iraq and Afghanistan today understand well that enticing local Iraqis and Afghans to get bank accounts would greatly simplify disbursements. However, most assume that implementing a banking system in a counterinsurgency is a strategic challenge that traditional Army operations, logistics, and disbursing procedures cannot squarely address. Therefore, with the exigencies of ongoing battle—ameliorated by resorting to cash in the short term—and with incessant delay in passing legislation to protect depositors and creditors, creating a viable Iraqi private banking system from whole cloth seems out of reach.

The Army generally understands that the security in Iraq or Afghanistan or, indeed, in any counterinsurgency environment, would improve if a local banking sector existed.

Nevertheless, there is a way to convert this challenge into an opportunity. If the Army sees itself as a market participant with enough purchasing power to change the behavior of other market participants, a path out of this confusion appears.

Between 2003 and 2008, Army finance units in Iraq purchased from or made payments to Iraqis for goods and services worth nearly $7 billion. They paid this staggering sum in cash. Including the nearly $12 billion of seized cash from the previous regime tendered to the Iraqi government, the total reaches $19 billion in cash introduced by the Army into the Iraqi economy.[7] Factoring in the second- and third-order effects of spending all of this cash in the Iraqi economy, this sum represents approximately 20 percent of official Iraqi gross domestic product from 2003 to 2007.[8]

It is important to make two distinctions. First, although Iraq surely has a vigorous unofficial economy (i.e, a black market), Iraq is still an oil-exporting nation. As such, its economy is already robust compared to many war zones, so at 20 percent of GDP, the Army's impact on the economy is even more impressive. Second, this spending is separate from the large-scale reconstruction projects administered through the Coalition Provisional Authority, the State Department, or other relief agencies. There, the payees are U.S. or international engineering contractors that hire American, third-party national, or Iraqi employees—the spending really made its way into the Iraqi economy only to the extent that Iraqis were hired as employees. Here, payments were due simply to the sheer gravitational pull attributable to sustaining such a large-scale Army presence.

Under these circumstances, it seems reasonable that the Army, with such immense purchasing power in addition to its manifest kinetic power, would have the necessary tools at its disposal to dry up the cash

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by mandating and creating incentives for its vendors and others to accept wire transfers, also known as electronic funds transfers (EFTs).

Of course, for this to work, these counterparties would require access to bank accounts so they could accept payment by EFT. Since Iraqi state-run banks with brick-and-mortar branches have generally proven themselves unfit for the task (essentially, they are just cashiers), the Army must help these counterparties find an alternative. Commanders will need to take two steps.

The commanders' first step must be to mandate EFT for all payments in their sectors. Counterparties, be they concerned local citizens or vendors, sheiks or contractors, will not set up bank accounts and accept EFT without commanders mandating it. In many cases, commanders may need to create incentives for counterparties to take this step (e.g., monetary inducements).

However, after these sheiks and contractors have received the first few EFT payments, commanders will have to solve an even harder problem. These sheiks and contractors will not have cash to pay employees' salaries or their own subcontractors. The employees and subcontractors, in turn, will need to get bank accounts to accept EFT so they can get paid. The problem is that, although brick and mortar bank branches with EFT capability are opening in Iraq, in a nation with a population of 26 million people, commanders might have to wait a long time before such banks will open in their sectors.[9] Further, once the Army stops delivering cash to the battlefield, this problem will intensify. Something better is required.

The commanders' second step will be to help the sheiks and contractors find a banking solution—other than traditional brick-and-mortar bank branches—that can link outdated or non-existent banking sectors to modern, private banking institutions and regulatory regimes. Such commercial banking products and providers exist today, and they use mobile technologies.

For example, on 10 February 2008, the global mobile telecommunications company, Vodafone, partnered with the leading telecommunications operator in Afghanistan, Roshan, to launch "M-Paisa," the first ever mobile money transfer service in Afghanistan.[10]

As commanders insist their vendors use mobile banking technologies, the aggregate effect will



U.S. Air Force, SSGT Jason Robertson

A U.S. Soldier pays a local citizen in cash—in this case Iraqi dinars—22 November 2007, in Baqubah, Iraq.

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be to accelerate the penetration of retail banking into the population. Army EFT payments, diffusing throughout the Iraqi or Afghan economies or, for that matter, any economy in which the Army operates, can help wean the population from cash, thereby priming the pump in converting an unbanked population to a banked population.

So the importance of the commander's role cannot be overstated. Although the contracting and resource management communities in the Army have had some success getting EFT implemented under certain circumstances, given the operational importance but cultural resistance to mandating EFT and mobile banking, this task must fall to operational commanders and not be relegated to a support function.[11]

Mobile Banking

Mobile banking is a technology unknown to most Americans. It allows the unbanked to conduct a variety of financial transactions by using existing cell phone networks. A solution that is both portable and virtual, mobile banking is versatile in the types of payments that it supports: payroll, retail, business-to-business, money transfer, and micro-lending. It allows the unbanked to move funds and credit quickly and easily, eliminating the requirement to carry around substantial amounts of cash. However, if cash is needed and no cashier or automated teller is available, all a mobile-banked consumer needs to do is get cash from a mobile-banked vendor after a purchase. This is similar to the point of sale "cash back" option available at supermarkets and pharmacies in the U.S. today.

Cell phones allow users to communicate both voice and data without the major investment of time and money to build a land-line infrastructure.[12] Innovations in banking technologies and models that use these same wireless communication networks to provide banking services to the world's poor are promising.

As these mobile banking networks are spreading rapidly and extending to ever more remote regions to overcome the lack of bank branches and wire-line banking infrastructure, when the Army is called upon to enter a part of the world that has no banking sector, it should leverage these same banking technologies and models.[13]

In such cases, the Army likely would not be able to rely on local legislation protecting depositors, creditors, and borrowers, so it would have to build a system that can reach back to foreign legal protections and financial indemnities and infrastructure. Further, the Army would possibly even have to underwrite such financial indemnities by using appropriated funds.

Mobile banking is a technology unknown to most Americans. It allows the unbanked to leverage existing cell phone networks to, essentially, make a phone call to conduct a variety of financial transactions.

However, even though mobile banking uses existing cell phone networks and reaches back to existing banking infrastructure, the challenge confronting commanders is to get that first sheik or contractor to embrace it. The challenge is to harness the power of the network effect.

The Network Effect

The network effect is well understood in the Army. A network with only one node is worthless. With a second node, it becomes more valuable. With a third node, it becomes more valuable still, and so on. When it has millions of nodes, the network has tremendous value. Cell phones are already being used all over the world, including 10.9 million cell phones in Iraq in 2007, so it makes sense to use these preexisting networks. However, this is only half the problem.[14]

As commanders ask local contractors or others to accept payment by electronic funds transfer, these local first-adopters will not be able to turn the funds around and spend them again unless their own contractors or payees also have bank accounts. For vendors, the risk is high, as they have to make payroll on time. For individuals, it is cold comfort indeed to accept on faith that precious funds will be available on demand. It is risky for the Army's small unit commander to experiment with mobile banking on strategic programs, such as the Commander's Emergency Response Program (CERP), currently heavily conducted in cash.

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U.S. Air Force, TSGT John L. Houghton

Guests, faculty, and Iraqi students tour the new Baghdad University Internet Cafe and Baghdad University Museum, December 2003. The museum and internet cafe were rebuilt using money from the Commander's Emergency Relief Program (CERP) funds from the U.S. Army's 1st Armored Division.

CERP is an invaluable tool for field commanders to influence their environment without resorting to force. It enables them to provide urgent humanitarian relief and reconstruction assistance. Commanders use cash to make payments pursuant to various agreements for many different kinds of projects. Examples of these kinds of payments include payments for road and school projects, battle damage repair, civic cleanup activities, condolence payments, detainee payments, and even "concerned local citizen" payments.

Therefore, conversion of CERP payments from cash to EFT, essentially a simple contract amendment, has both the highest risk and highest reward. On one hand, the commander does not want to endanger the influence CERP affords, but on the other, the best way to overcome the network effect is to carefully pick counterparties who have the ability, through their own purchasing power, to affect the largest population and then have them follow suit. The numerous, diverse CERP payees might become appropriate conduits for the growth of the network.

Local contractors working with the Army also wield important purchasing power over their subcontractors and employees, but Army relationships with contractors typically involve sophisticated transactions that recur repeatedly and so may lend themselves to EFT at banks. In any case, mobile banking would not be optimal for the large payments that tend to occur in a contracting environment.

By adopting a combination of EFT for large funds transfers and mobile banking for non-repetitive or small funds transfers, the Army can begin the process of mopping up the $1.5 billion of cash the Army brings into the battlefield. This combination of mobile banking and EFT, or expeditionary banking, can perform the same function for modern battlefields as traditional banking and wire transfer did in Missouri and elsewhere in the Wild West.

There are additional benefits as well. A functioning banking sector not only reduces the risk of physical violence (for market participants who substitute cash with bank accounts) but also provides powerful tangential advantages for the host nation and the Army.

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By adopting a combination of EFT for large funds transfers and mobile banking for non-repetitive or small funds transfers, the Army can begin the process of mopping up the $1.5 billion of cash the Army brings into the battlefield.

Job Creation and Basic City Services

In Iraq or in any counterinsurgency, the challenge for the Army is to win the trust of local residents to gain their support to deny insurgents sanctuary. To do so, a genuine improvement in the quality of local residents' lives must occur. Job creation is imperative. Provision of basic city services must occur (e.g., septic removal, well digging, trash collection), but during counterinsurgency, the regime is likely to be unstable, rendering job creation and the provision of city services by government agencies very difficult.

Since government agencies are likely to be hamstrung, private contractors could fill the gap to provide basic city services on behalf of the new regime. This model could provide jobs as well as the services themselves, and it could make an immediate, perceivable improvement for local residents. It could also support the Army's objective of winning their trust.

But such contractors would need access to investment capital to get started. To be sure, cash could provide that seed capital, but modern, foreign public and private lending institutions that can bring in robust seed capital will not lend in cash. The risk of loss is too high. These institutions require a means to lend electronically into a functioning host-nation banking sector.

If a functioning banking sector were in place, local entrepreneurs could tap into rich sources of capital to compete for contracts to provide basic city services. Thus, by injecting a combination of mobile banking and EFT payments into the economy, the Army can help create a functioning banking sector and facilitate the extension of credit to ready, willing, and able entrepreneurs. Then, jobs could be created and city services could be more effectively performed. More important, an ever-greater proportion of the population would be literally invested in the new regime and less dependent on prewar, pre-regime, and perhaps state-managed institutions.

In addition, as access to capital for entrepreneurs creates economic activity, it reduces the number of unemployed men who might otherwise become desperate enough to take up arms against the Army simply for pay. However, there are other more direct counters to violence.

Additional Counterinsurgency Tools

Although a functioning banking sector should eliminate some of the temptations for physical violence in society, if insurgent violence or simple criminal violence does occur, a functioning banking sector also creates tools to check it.

Insurgents use cash to acquire weapons and other resources that degrade security and stabilization efforts. So if a mobile banking network has been established, financial flows across the network would be transparent, limiting opportunities for corruption, and increasing law enforcement tools to battle more serious threats such as terrorism financing.

Further, with a functioning banking sector in place, the discovery of large quantities of cash would be a good general indicator of suspicious activity. Today, a Soldier on patrol who encounters a large sum of cash in a private home might conclude that the cash is evidence of suspicious activity, even though in a cash-and-carry economy like Iraq's, the cash could simply be someone's savings. However, with a functioning banking sector, Soldiers on patrol might be able to avoid apprehending law-abiding non-combatants or seizing their funds. Such incidents only degrade the trust and confidence the Army might enjoy with the local population.

Beyond the tactical and operational utility that expeditionary banking provides, there are other strategic objectives served as well.

Quadrennial Defense Review

On 15 April 2008, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates testified before the House Armed Services Committee that he believes "building partner capacity is a vital and enduring military requirement"

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U.S. Army, SSG Sean A. Foley

U.S. Army SPCs Graham Mullins and Paul Koop stack cash and other items on the hood of a car during a patrol with Iraqi National Police in Al Doura, Iraq, 5 April 2007.

beyond the current operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. Un-governed and under-governed regions around the world offer havens for non-state actors to gather strength and execute attacks against the United States and its allies. Rather than attempt to neutralize these threats with our own forces, which would require vastly more combat power than the Nation has on hand, Defense Department leaders instead seek to increase American support to friendly governments' military and police forces so that they can influence these areas. The most recent *Quadrennial Defense Review Report* outlines the "critical importance of being organized to work with and through others, and of shifting emphasis from performing tasks ourselves to enabling others."[15]

In shaping Army doctrine and capabilities for future contingencies, the Army should study the experience of current train-and-equip missions in Iraq and Afghanistan. The Army can learn from accounts of Iraqi units suffering high rates of absenteeism while indigenous soldiers and police travel great distances to deliver cash to their families and, while in transit, suffer attacks by insurgents seeking to weaken the nascent force and discourage potential recruits. A practical solution to this problem could be to conduct salary payments of indigenous soldiers and police by money transfer enabled by expeditionary banking. This would keep government employees off the road and within the relatively safer confines of their units. The contributions expeditionary banking could make to the strategy are manifest. However, there are still other reasons to study the impact of cash on Army operations.

Improved Stewardship

The well-publicized irregularities identified in Kuwait contracting operations last year prompted Army leaders to conduct a comprehensive review and implement immediate and ongoing contracting reforms. Expeditionary banking would support many of these reforms as the automated records-keeping capability inherent to EFT improves transparency and supports audit of contracts and disbursements. Indeed, EFT and mobile-banking-enabled money transfers deliver automated record keeping to the battlefield.

However, mandating EFT and bringing it to the battlefield would also improve force protection for Army finance Soldiers. The $1.5 billion of cash the Army transports annually in cargo aircraft on the battlefield has resulted in nearly one million cash payments since 2003.[16] This heavy logistical burden endangers Soldiers, both in the air and on the ground, transporting required cash to commanders at forward operating bases and combat outposts.

Conclusion

There are some encouraging developments. The Department of Defense has undertaken several initiatives to revitalize the Iraqi economy, including efforts to develop Iraq's financial infrastructure and private banking.[17] The Army supports these initiatives, but it will be important that the Army learn the right lessons from them.

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On one hand, it is encouraging that, after five years of operations in Iraq, commanders are beginning to de-emphasize cash in favor of EFT, particularly local-denominated EFT.[18] On the other hand, there is a risk that in future contingencies the Army could repeat the process of handling bulky cash, ultimately becoming a victim of its own success, as the burden to distribute the cash increases. In that case, the Army would have drawn an incomplete lesson from today's experience, and this would be a failure to recognize EFT and mobile banking for their own intrinsic tactical, operational, and strategic value.

Rather, recall that the Army was responsible for spending enough money in Iraq to account for 20 percent of official Iraqi GDP across 2003 to 2007. The challenge for the Army is to make the necessary alignments between finance doctrine and contracting doctrine to develop Army purchasing power as a non-kinetic weapon to deliver banking to the battlefield and then link this doctrine to its operational counterinsurgency doctrine.

Army Vice Chief of Staff General Peter W. Chiarelli has written of the capabilities gap between the capabilities the Nation needs and the combined resources the U.S. government can apply.[19] The Army, with the direct support of the Department of Treasury and Department of Defense, and with minimal impact on its traditional roles and missions and culture, can create a banking system wherever it is asked to go, made possible not by infringing upon the traditional missions of other Federal agencies but rather by its local economic leverage as a market participant.

Expeditionary banking could do for modern battlefields like Iraq and Afghanistan what the telegraph and the Federal Reserve Act of 1913 did for the Wild West of the United States: remove incentives for violent theft and create opportunities for economic prosperity and job creation. Near total reliance on cash would be replaced by a more balanced approach between banking and cash as a convenient medium for very small scale economic activity far away from the battlefield, with commanders assessing just how far away from the battlefield those activities occur in time and space.

The challenge for the Army is to make the necessary alignments between finance doctrine and contracting doctrine to develop Army purchasing power as a non-kinetic weapon to deliver banking to the battlefield and then link this doctrine to its operational counterinsurgency doctrine.

Only ground commanders know which neighborhood is a battlefield and which neighborhood is not. When commanders deem that expeditionary banking is appropriate for their areas of responsibility, they must have the tools to make the transition quickly. Preparations must begin now. The tools must be understood before they can be used. More study is necessary, but it seems clear that modern banking, particularly mobile banking, has a tangible security effect.

That is, it has military application. ***MR***

NOTES

1. U.S. Army Finance Command, *Finance Activity in Operation Iraqi Freedom* (4 June 2008).
2. T.J. Stiles, *Jesse James: Last Rebel of the Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), 168-70.
3. Ibid., 3.
4. James was the subject of much reporting and editorializing by John Newman Edwards. Edwards was an editor on the staff of the *Kansas City Times* and a "voice of the Confederate wing of the Democratic Party . . . and a close friend of Jesse James . . . [who] largely shaped the outlaw's public image and political strategy, spearheading the former Confederates' rise to political and cultural preeminence in the 1870's." State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.
5. Stiles, 168-70.
6. The 5 June 2008 Federal Reserve Statistical Release, *Monthly Historical Money Stock Tables*, indicates that, today, the opposite is true. As of December 2007, currency comprises just 10 percent of the U.S. money supply, but this is not because the alternative is barter.
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PLANNING FULL SPECTRUM OPERATIONS

Implications of FM 3-0 on Planning Doctrine

Major Glenn A. Henke, U.S. Army

Since war contains a host of interactions, since the whole series of engagements is, strictly speaking, linked together, since in every victory there is a culminating point beyond which lies the reality of losses and defeats—in view of all these intrinsic characteristics of war, we say there is only one result that counts: final victory. Until then, nothing is decided, nothing won, and nothing lost.[1]

—Carl von Clausewitz

DURING THE PERIOD between the World Wars, the German army experimented with armored formations and ultimately invented a new kind of warfare based on closely integrating combined arms to a degree scarcely imaginable in 1918. While the British army also experimented with this new form of warfare, it was unable to achieve the same level of effectiveness and integration as the German army. There are many reasons for this disparity in results, but one key factor was that the Germans were more unsentimental about preserving existing ways of fighting than the British, due in large part to the outcome of World War I. By ignoring existing mind-sets and paradigms such as regiments and horse cavalry, Germany discarded both the institutions and organizations that did not suit the new combined arms form of warfare. This unsentimental mind-set also extended to doctrine, which the Germans modified after examining the evidence provided by battlefield performance and experimentation.

Today the U.S. Army stands at a similar crossroads with the recent publication of Field Manual (FM) 3-0, *Operations*. Like Germany during the interwar period, current operations have driven America's Army to overhaul doctrine, tactics, and organizations, leaving no "sacred cows" untouched, including the primacy of divisions or command-centric officer career paths. The Army's concept of full spectrum operations as outlined in the latest version of FM 3-0 is partially intended to advance Army doctrine beyond thinking primarily in terms of force-on-force engagements, so we must ensure that our planning paradigms are truly in line with full spectrum operations. While it is one thing to understand the complexities involved with planning and integrating offense, defense, and stability missions in a specific point in time, it is another thing entirely to understand how this integration spans the entire operation from Phase I (deter) to Phase V (enable civil authority).[2] As a result, current doctrinal planning processes focus primarily on tactical engagements or a single phase with minimal integration between phases. Campaign planning can address this, but the process is not as systematic as the current Military Decision Making Process (MDMP). Therefore, in order to meet the full intent of FM

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PHOTO: LTC Drew Meyerowich, center, commander, 2d Battalion, 27th Infantry, speaks to his Soldiers during an operation in Zanjaliah, Iraq, 1 February 2007. (U.S. Air Force, MSGT Andy Dunaway)

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3-0, we must assess planning doctrine to ensure it is consistent with operations doctrine.

The question is not whether the MDMP is flawed but whether the current thought process adequately addresses the entire spectrum of operations. We could modify the existing process by reformulating step III (course of action development) to look beyond simple ratios of relative combat power to generate options. However, this still fails to capture the dynamic interplay between different stages of an operation. Is the concept of phase-based planning (as opposed to execution) sufficient for full spectrum operations? During the after-action review for a recent Command and General Staff College (CGSC) division-level exercise, a student commented that Phase IV (stability) actually begins in Phase I (deter). While units fighting in Iraq and Afghanistan clearly understand this, we have not yet corrected one of the root causes of the confusion that reigned during April 2003 in the transition to Phase IV. Since we do not have the opportunity to "reboot" these operations and start from scratch, we must transition into the next phase of operations immediately after we obtain our final objective in decisive combat operations. The transitions between phases are the most complicated part of any operation. How do we plan so as to make these transitions seamlessly?[3]

The question is not whether the MDMP is flawed but whether the current thought process adequately addresses the entire spectrum of operations.

The Current Paradigm

Before proceeding, we should analyze the current MDMP to see if the problem is one of process as opposed to paradigm. The Army designed the current MDMP for planning force-on-force operations, which typically occur in Phase II (seize the initiative) and Phase III (dominate). During course of action development, we analyze our combat power in relation to the enemy's, generate options, array our forces, develop a concept of operations, and assign headquarters for task forces.[4] The bias toward force-on-force operations is apparent. While the MDMP is a useful tool in Phases II-III, solutions for Phase IV and V tend to be ad hoc, and other than their anticipated end states, little in the existing process links the phases together. If Phase IV truly begins in Phase I, what tools synchronize effects across the full spectrum of an operation?

In addition to the concept of full spectrum operations, the new FM 3-0 introduces lines of effort (LOE), previously known as logical lines of operation.[5] Most planners familiar with campaign planning are well versed in the idea of multiple lines of operation. General Tommy Franks's "lines and slices" diagram is a famous example; the lines of operation detailed by Lieutenant General Peter Chiarelli while commanding the 1st Cavalry Division during OIF II is another. According to FM 3-0, lines of effort "typically focus on integrating the effects of military operations with those of other instruments of national power to support the broader effort."[6]

Commanders and planners can combine lines of effort with LLOs, since LLOs should not extend the operational design beyond decisive combat operations, which usually culminate in Phase III.[7] Unfortunately, FM 3-0 does not provide an example of this approach. The closest example in current doctrine is in Joint Publication 5-0, *Joint Operation Planning*, which also includes some linkages between lines of operation.

Courses of Action

Based on this knowledge of both MDMP and campaign design, we can conclude that while the current planning paradigm embodied in MDMP is well-suited for planning individual phases or specific actions, it is not suited for planning across the full spectrum of an operation. Systematic and doctrinal campaign planning tools have not achieved the same level of maturity, refinement, and ubiquity as the traditional military decision making process. This leads us to our own courses of action regarding the current paradigm.

The first course of action (COA) is "no change," which is to leave the current system as is. While this is admittedly the "throwaway" COA for the purposes of this article, one can reasonably argue that the current process has been successful in the past and that changing it is both complicated and could require a complete overhaul of Joint doctrine and existing OPLANs. This paper does not address

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these considerations but acknowledges the likelihood of second- and third-order effects on Joint operations stemming from substantive changes in Army doctrine, especially for a Joint headquarters built around a standing Army headquarters.

The second course of action is to: 1) modify the current MDMP process to develop courses of action by phase, and 2) develop a systemic process to link phases. This COA might be called a "modified MDMP." Critics of this COA could reasonably argue that this should already be done under the current system. However, the turbulent transition into Phase IV of Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF) leads one to the conclusion this process was either not followed or executed incorrectly. Even if the planners developed a perfect plan for Phase IV, the fact remains that this detailed planning would probably not have begun until sometime during Phase II or III, after which it would have been too late to shape the battlefield to support Phase IV. This tardiness is especially important with regard to targeting, since targeting boards need to know whether the intended target, such as a bridge or power station, will be needed in the future. While it is tempting to think that we have learned our lesson and rely on experience and tactics, techniques, and procedures, this is not the basis for sound doctrine, which needs the ability to survive outside a specific time and context. Additionally, this COA does not address the fact that while the current MDMP can successfully plan Phase II and III operations, we still lack systemic tools for planning Phase IV and V operations.

This leads us to the third and recommended course of action. This COA is "abandon phase-based planning," that is, we cease planning operations by sequential phases (with some overlap during the transitions) and instead plan by LLO and LOE that run simultaneously.

Abandoning the Phasing Construct

Since most commanders and planners know that several phases of an operation may be executed simultaneously, changing the existing planning paradigm to a LLO/LOE-based paradigm is more of an evolutionary than revolutionary change. To extend our new operations doctrine into our planning doctrine and meet the full meaning of FM 3-0, we must develop planning doctrine that identifies the linkages between phases and actions. We are already familiar with this idea when we consider the concepts of "shaping" and "decisive" operations. For instance, in a brigade attack, there are shaping operations, such as a spoiling attack, that are linked to a decisive operation, and the decisive operation cannot occur until those shaping operations are successful. This linked concept is also used in decision support templates, since certain information must be known and certain events must transpire in order to make the appropriate decision. Planning based on lines of operation and effort uses a similar model.

The interaction between lines and events is the key distinguishing feature for LLO/LOE-based planning. If planners do not address this interaction, we have not resolved the core problem we set out to remedy. Since any given event or task may be shaped by some other event or task (just as a shaping operation links to a decisive operation), it is reasonable to assume that these tasks may exist in different lines of operation or effort. This is where a phase-based paradigm fails us, since it looks at sequences of operations instead of across the full spectrum of an operation in space and time.

Thinking of events as arranged in time with actions that support each LOE must account for the linkages between each action. For instance, what

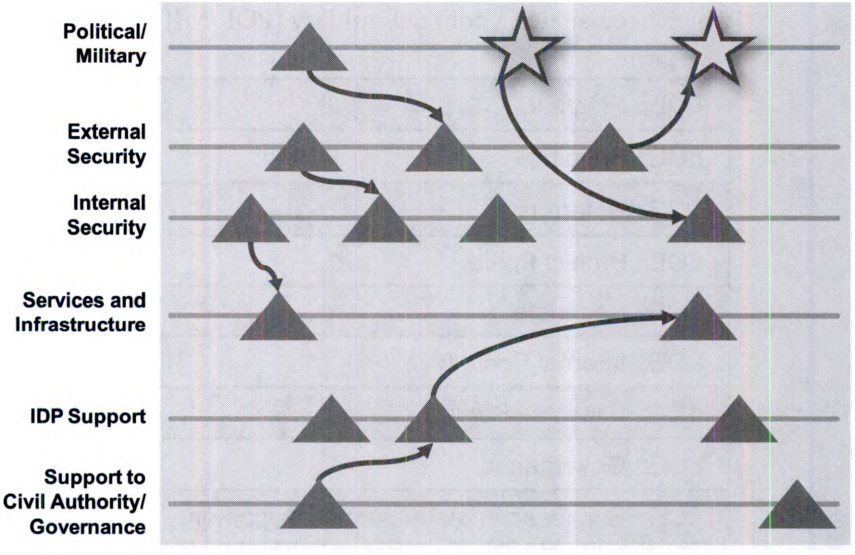


Figure 1. Linked LLO/LOE.

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external and internal security, service, infrastructure, and support to civil authority and governance actions are linked to tasks such as "support formal internally displaced person (IDP) resettlement?" Linkages among all these actions will impinge on timing for the best outcomes.

With this complexity in mind, we can develop a concept for LLO/LOE-based planning. Instead of breaking the operation into phases, we visualize the entire operation along lines. The first step is to view the entire operation from start to finish and not by phase. The next step is to identify the actual lines of operation and effort, even if most actions in a given line occur at a specific point in time. Using a generic scenario similar to OIF or Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) as a prototype, we can envision nine lines of effort and operation. The first is called "shaping," Phase 0 in the Joint doctrine, followed by an LOE called "deterrence." The next LOE is "project force." This LOE extends through the entire operation and encompasses reception, staging, onward movement, and integration (RSOI) and subsequent deployment and redeployment operations (such as OIF/OEF rotations).

We now begin to use lines of operation (as opposed to lines of effort). Phase II and III are "dominate" and "internal security." At this point, we return to the term "lines of effort" and use some FM 3-24 terms, such as "essential services," "governance," and "economic/infrastructure development." However, this does not address the actions and interactions at the strategic and national levels, which necessitates a political/military (POL/MIL) line. This line includes policy decisions and anticipated (or essential) strategic guidance and policy enabled by actions in other lines.

LOE: POL/MIL
LOE: Shaping
LOE: Deterrence
LOE: Project Force
LOE: Dominate
LOE: Internal Security
LOE: Essential Services
LOE: Governance
LOE: Economic/Infrastructure Development

Figure 2. Lines of effort.

Once we have identified the lines, we must identify the tasks. During the planning for Phase IV IDP resettlement in the CGSC division exercise, the planning staff used an ad hoc process, brainstorming the tasks for each line and then working backward through time to determine which events linked to other events. The staff repeated the process on each line, working forward through time. By conducting this "dual pass" approach, the planners could determine when they needed guidance from the POL/MIL line to identify decisions at this level.

While the example mentioned above only focused on one phase, one can extend this process to an entire operation by starting with the end state and working backwards to the beginning of the operation. By extending this paradigm to encompass the full spectrum of an operation, commanders and planners can identify linkages between different points in the operation and allow targeting processes to support the ultimate end state. Since everything in a military operation should work toward the end state, we must be cognizant of this at every phase of the operation.

Conclusion and Implications

Critics of this approach might say that plans based on LLO and LOE are more appropriate for operational or campaign planning, which are inherently joint and not subject to Army doctrine. While this may be true, it is important to keep in mind that we are looking to solve a problem based on the implications of full spectrum operations. To synchronize offense, defense, and stability effectively throughout the entire operation, we must envision the entire operation. We should use this type of planning model for all operations, not just campaigns. We must develop tools for commanders to predict and manage second- and third-order effects.

To synchronize offense, defense, and stability effectively throughout the entire operation, we must envision the entire operation.

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The use of LLO/LOE-based planning requires a wholesale reevaluation of the current MDMP. However, developing the specific processes to plan is beyond the scope of this paper. Instead, like Germany during the interwar period, we must first determine what aspects of our doctrine are no longer suitable. This aspect of German innovation was probably the most important factor to their early World War II battlefield successes. They based their doctrine on experimentation, battlefield performance, and a comprehensive understanding of the results from the past war.[8] Our current planning doctrine no longer supports the reality of full spectrum operations because it does not allow us to plan across the full spectrum of an operation. The only way to do so is to envision the plan from its conception to the commander's end state. By basing our plans on the phases of execution, we can desynchronize subsequent phases from future requirements. Moreover, this paradigm does not take into account that actions in earlier phases may be crucial for ultimate success. By abandoning phase-based planning in favor of an approach based on lines of effort and operation, we can address an entire operation and minimize the difficulty in transitioning between its phases.

I do not recommend that we abandon phases as a method of synchronizing execution. There is clearly a place for delineating stages of an operation, if the phases are built around key events or logical points of transition from one stage to another. Every operation must react to events on the ground caused by enemy and friendly forces, and every plan should be flexible enough to deal with unforeseen events. However, FM 3-0 "reflects Army thinking in a complex period of prolonged conflicts and opportunities." Our planning processes must move forward to meet this challenge.[9] ***MR***

Our current planning doctrine no longer supports the reality of full spectrum operations because it does not allow us to plan across the full spectrum of an operation.

NOTES

1. Carl von Clausewitz, *On War,* trans. Peter Paret (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), book 8, ch. 3, 704.
2. Joint Publication 5-0, *Joint Operations Planning*, 26 December 2006, IV-35. This article uses the Joint Operations Phasing Model as a point of departure. While not prescriptive, it provides a framework for operational design and is commonly understood.
3. This phrase was often repeated by General Bantz Craddock when he commanded 1st Infantry Division.
4. U.S. Army Field Manual (FM) 5-0, *Army Plans and Orders Production*, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, January 2005), figure 3-8, 3-28.
5. FM 3-0, *Operations*, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, February 2008), 6-12.
6. Ibid., 6-13.
7. Ibid., 6-14.
8. Williamson Murray and Allan R. Millet, *Military Innovation in the Interwar Period*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 41.
9. FM 3-0, viii.

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Relooking Unit Cohesion
A SENSEMAKING APPROACH

Major Geoff Van Epps, U.S. Army

My first wish would be that my Military family, and the whole Ar should consider themselves as a band of brothers, willing and re to die for each other.

—George Washington, writing to Henry Knox on 21 October 17

WHEN DID THE ARMY STOP emphasizing the importance of unit cohesion? As the excerpt from George Washington's letter to the first secretary of war of the United States illustrates, cohesion has been a fundamental objective for Army leaders since the founding of the institution. Yet current Army leadership doctrine virtually overlooks the importance of unit cohesion. This lapse is both surprising and troubling, particularly in a time of decentralized operations by small units often spread over great distances, on remote patrols, or manning secluded combat outposts, vulnerable to being isolated and overrun. The Soldiers in these units count on nothing with certainty except their fellow Soldiers immediately around them.[2]

Unit cohesion is an important consideration in the best of times. In the worst of times—for an encircled unit, low on supplies, out of communication, beset by foul weather, and facing overwhelming odds—unit cohesion may be the one attribute enabling it to hang on and survive until it can break out or be relieved. The "guarantees" offered by persistent intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR), modern communications, and other technologies make it tempting to conclude that it is impossible for American units to be cut off and destroyed. But we ignore this threat at our own peril, especially in light of the grave strategic consequences that would accompany such a disaster.

The 2006 Field Manual (FM) 6-22, *Army Leadership*, is an improvement over its predecessor, particularly in its embrace of the ambiguity and uncertainty of the contemporary operating environment. Unfortunately, the FM also continues the slow erosion of emphasis on unit cohesion's significance in doctrine. The previous 1999 edition of *Army Leadership* dedicated six pages to discussing team building and unit cohesion at the direct, organizational levels of leadership. By contrast, the latest edition contains only four short paragraphs on this important topic.[3]

Worse, the current edition completes a trend evinced in the 1999 edition by conflating teamwork and cohesion. It addresses both terms in the same section of the manual without defining either term or distinguishing between the two. Yet teamwork and cohesion, while closely related, are clearly distinct.

Teamwork is the collaboration or coordinated effort of a group of Soldiers toward common goals or objectives. Cohesion, on the other hand, is both more abstract and more basic. Cohesion means a bonding together of an organization or unit's members in such a way as to sustain their will and commitment to each other, the group, and the mission.[4] Cohesion binds an

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PHOTO: SPC Daniel Brooks and a fellow Soldier take a minute of downtime after gearing up for a combined dismounted patrol with Iraqi police in the Ghazaliya district of Baghdad, Iraq, 17 July 2008. (U.S. Army, SPC Charles W. Gill)

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organization together and enables it to function as a unified, integrated unit. Cohesion allows teamwork to occur under difficult conditions.

The seeming unimportance of cohesion in the latest FM is perhaps best reflected in the following understatement: "To operate effectively, teams, units, and organizations need to work together for common Army Values and task and mission objectives."[5] Soldiers deserve a better explanation. They need a deeper understanding of cohesion.

The rest of this article addresses steps the Army can take toward that end. I will outline the modern evolution of the Army's interest in cohesion and then introduce the ideas of Karl Weick, whose research into the connection between sensemaking and cohesion provides a more appropriate way of discussing it given today's ostensibly more complex and uncertain environments. In the last section of the article, I show how Weick's ideas help explain the differing fates of two U.S. units attacked by the Chinese in North Korea in late 1950.

The Rise and Decline of Interest in Cohesion

Until early in the last century, conventional wisdom held that panic caused military units to disintegrate. In the 1920s, the father of psychoanalysis, Sigmund Freud, turned that notion on its head through his studies of group psychology. Freud argued that the loss of cohesion incites enough panic that "none of the orders given by superiors are any longer listened to, and that each individual is only solicitous on his own account, and without any consideration for the rest. The mutual ties have ceased to exist, and a gigantic and senseless fear is set free."[6] Although novel at the time, Freud's insight has become part of the Army's understanding of how units function: when cohesion breaks down, panic sets in, and each Soldier is left to fend for himself.

Studies of combat units in World War II reinforce this perspective. In his classic, *Men Against Fire,* S.L.A. Marshall declares, "I hold it to be one of the simplest truths of war that the thing which enables an infantry Soldier to keep going with his weapon is the near presence or the presumed presence of a comrade... He would rather be unarmed and with comrades around him than altogether alone, though possessing the most perfect, quick-firing weapon."[7] In *The American Soldier,* a more scientific investigation of the attitudes of combat Soldiers in the European Theater, Samuel Stouffer found a strong link between the loyalty that Soldiers felt toward one another and their level of confidence in their comrades' abilities under combat conditions.[8]

Consistent with this point of view, leaders from the interwar period forward trained units in order to, among other things, build confidence and cohesion among their members. This paradigm was reinforced in the 1970s and particularly during the Vietnam War, when the individual replacement system was seen as disrupting cohesion and causing a decline in unit performance. In 1981, the Army instituted a unit manning system, whose key feature was COHORT (cohesion, operational readiness, and training) units that formed and trained together for three-year cycles. The idea of combat units based around a cohesive nucleus of Soldiers was a promising one, although officers and noncommissioned officers were not stabilized with the unit. However, by 1990 the Army deemed the COHORT experiment a failure and returned to individual manning.[9] Cohesion remained important, but the attempt to institutionalize its development fell out of vogue. A U.S. Army War College study concluded that "cohesion among Soldiers remains primarily the by-product of good leadership combined with important, fulfilling work."[10]

Around the time the COHORT system fell short of expectations in performance and building unit cohesion, the idea of "sensemaking" began to emerge in academic literature to complement discussions of organizational design and structure.

Sensemaking and the Collapse of Organizations

Sociologist Karl Weick was one of the first scholars to apply the concept of sensemaking to organizations operating in complex or ambiguous

Soldiers deserve a better explanation. They need a deeper understanding of cohesion.

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...by 1990 the Army deemed the COHORT experiment a failure and returned to individual manning. Cohesion remained important, but the attempt to institutionalize its development fell out of vogue.

environments. Weick argued that the ability to construct a coherent, shared explanation for events and circumstances enabled organizations to continue to function during times of great uncertainty. "The basic idea of sensemaking," he wrote, "is that reality is an ongoing accomplishment that emerges from efforts to create order and make retrospective sense of what occurs. People try to make things rationally accountable to themselves and others."[11] In other words, people and organizations use shared mental models to deal with disorder and ambiguity.[12] Weick explored this idea in order to determine what held organizations together and, conversely, what caused them to unravel during crises. He concluded, "What holds organization in place may be more tenuous than we realize."[13]

Weick determined that organizations are especially vulnerable to a collapse of sensemaking as a result of fundamentally unexpected or incomprehensible events. The low probability of such an incident occurring causes the organization and its members to be caught by surprise when it does, shattering their individual and collective understanding of the situation. If members of the organization do not quickly recreate a shared reality or adopt a new mental model to make sense of the chaos surrounding them, they will cease to function as a unified team. The organization's structure serves as a foundation to anchor sensemaking because it provides roles and interlocking routines that tie the people together into a team and keep them functioning while they rebuild a shared understanding of the situation they face. Sensemaking and structure are interrelated, enable cohesion, and allow an organization to keep functioning in the face of chaos.[14]

Weick notably applied this concept to analyze the deaths of 13 smokejumpers fighting a fire in Mann Gulch, Montana, on 5 August 1949. The event bears striking similarities to a disastrous military patrol by a platoon or squad. Fifteen smokejumpers, led by foreman "Wag" Dodge, parachuted onto the south side of Mann Gulch to meet a forest ranger who had been fighting the fire alone for about four hours. They had been told to expect a "ten o'clock fire"—one they could surround and completely isolate by 1000 hours the next morning. As they gathered up the supplies they parachuted in with, they discovered their radio equipment had been destroyed in the landing. After eating a brief dinner, the crew marched along the hillside toward the river, when Dodge noticed the fire had suddenly crossed the river and was moving uphill toward them. Dodge ordered the crew to turn around and headed them up the hill toward the ridge at the top. Calculating the fast-moving fire would catch the smokejumpers before they reached the safety of the ridgeline, Dodge ordered the crew to drop their tools, lit a small fire in front of the group, and ordered them all to lie down in the area he had just burned. No one obeyed. The entire crew ran for the ridge. Two smokejumpers made it to the top unharmed. One more made it to the top badly burned and died the next day. Dodge survived by lying in the area burned by his escape fire, as the main fire moved around and over it. The other 12 members of the crew were overcome by the main fire and perished in flames that jumped between the ridgeline and the area burned bare by Dodge's escape fire.[15]

Weick's analysis attributes the disaster to the twin collapses of sensemaking and structure in the smokejumper crew. First, he argues, the team experienced what he labels a "cosmology episode" when they ended up fleeing for their lives when they had only expected a "ten o'clock fire." Although the term is ungainly, it is important to understand because it signals the death knell of the organization. Weick explains:

...structure serves as a foundation to anchor sensemaking because it provides roles and interlocking routines that tie the people together into a team...

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> A cosmology episode occurs when people suddenly and deeply feel that the universe is no longer a rational, orderly system. What makes such an episode so shattering is that both the sense of what is occurring and the means to rebuild that sense collapse together.
>
> Stated more informally, a cosmology episode feels like *vu jàdé*—the opposite of *déjà vu*: I've never been here before, I have no idea where I am, and I have no idea who can help me.[16]

The smokejumpers never understood the threat the fire posed until it was too late. Events like Dodge turning them upslope as the fire jumped the river challenged their shared understanding of "ten o'clock fire" they thought they faced. The minor blaze they anticipated had suddenly become a threat. Their cohesiveness began to disintegrate. When Dodge ordered them to drop their tools, they lost their identity as an organization. What good is a firefighting crew with no equipment? Are they even firefighters anymore? Finally, when Dodge lit a fire in the middle of the only apparent escape route, their collective ability to understand the situation and respond to it disappeared. Lighting escape fires was an unknown technique at that time, and Dodge's actions were inconsistent with the crew's grasp of the situation. The crew had ceased to exist. It was every man for himself.

Weick's final analysis shows how the simultaneous collapse of structure and sensemaking led to disintegration of cohesion and, ultimately, disaster:

> [The fire crew] faced . . . the feeling that their old labels were no longer working. They were outstripping their past experience and were not sure either what was up or who they were.
>
> As the ties weakened, the sense of danger increased, and the means to cope became more primitive. The world rapidly shifted from cosmos to chaos as it became emptied of order and rationality. . .
>
> As their group disintegrated, the smokejumpers became more frightened, stopped thinking sooner, pulled apart even more, and in doing so, lost a leader-follower relationship as well as access to the novel ideas of other people who are a lot like them. As these relationships disappeared, individuals reverted to primitive tendencies of flight.[17]

Five days later, the efforts of 450 firefighters finally brought the Mann Gulch fire under control. Although the Forest Service had classified it as a Class C Fire, signifying an extent of between 10 and 99 acres, at the time the crew parachuted in to fight it, it was clearly not a "ten o'clock fire."[18] Deprived of external communications when their radio was destroyed during the jump, the smokejumpers could only rely on the information they were given before the mission to try to understand the danger they faced.

The next section of this paper will briefly examine two military units faced with conditions similar to those at Mann Gulch. Their abilities to maintain sensemaking and structure led to vastly different outcomes.

Sensemaking and Structure at Chosin Reservoir

In late fall of 1950, the American X Corps faced relatively light resistance in a rapid advance through North Korea toward the Chinese border on the Yalu River. Despite the winter weather and restrictive terrain, corps commander Ned Almond ordered a new offensive to begin on 27 November. This "ill-advised and unfortunate operation" was predicated on the assumption of continued light opposition in the corps zone.[19]

To the west of Chosin Reservoir, the 1st Marine Division's three reinforced regiments inched their way up the one road of any significance, pausing to consolidate after each successive move. On the night of 27 November, after hours of painfully slow progress, the division halted with the 5th and 7th Marine Regiments arrayed around the town of Yudam-ni and the 1st Marine Regiment securing key terrain on the main supply route in the division's rear.[20]

On the eastern shore of the reservoir, the 31st Regimental Combat Team (RCT) was the lead unit of the Army's 7th Infantry Division. The unit spent 27 November arriving at their attack position along the main route east of the reservoir and waiting for the arrival of their third infantry battalion, which lagged behind due to transportation delays. The regimental commander, Colonel Allan MacLean, confirmed that the regiment would attack to the north the following morning with whatever forces

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Astonished Marines of the 5th and 7th Regiments, who hurled back a surprise onslaught by three Chinese communist divisions, hear that they are to withdraw, Hagaru-ri, near Chosin Reservoir, ca. December 1950.

he had at his disposal. Consequently, the regiment did not prepare mutually supporting defensive positions or establish landline communication between units. MacLean dispatched the regimental intelligence and reconnaissance (I&R) platoon to scout the route ahead, and in an ominous development, it disappeared, never to be heard from again.[21]

As night fell, both the Marines and the 31st RCT hunkered down, intending to attack north the following morning. Signs of an impending Chinese assault were evident, but the Americans largely misread them. Then, that night, 27 November, three Chinese divisions attacked the 1st Marine Division west of Chosin Reservoir, and the 80th Chinese Division hit the 31st Regimental Combat Team on the reservoir's eastern shore. On both sides of the reservoir, the Chinese achieved nearly complete surprise, swarmed out of the hills, overran outposts, penetrated unit perimeters, and wreaked havoc. In desperate, often hand-to-hand fighting, the Americans fought off the Chinese attacks. With the break of day, the Chinese melted back into the hills and the U.S. units were left to tend to their casualties and figure out what to do next.[22]

Later in the morning of 28 November, Lieutenant General Almond flew forward to assess the situation for himself. After this, the fates of the two units—the 1st Marine Division and the Army's 31st Regimental Combat Team—began to diverge. Almond conferred with the commander of the 1st Marine Division, Major General O.P. Smith, who informed Almond that based on the previous night's intense action, he had cancelled the division attack northward. Smith's regiments were intact, but isolated and in jeopardy. He intended to order the 5th and 7th Marines to constrict their perimeters, hold their positions, and attack to the south to regain contact with the remainder of the division along the main supply route.[23]

Almond then flew to visit Colonel MacLean and the 31st RCT. MacLean had spent the night fighting alongside his lead battalion, the 1st Battalion, 32d Infantry, which suffered about 100 casualties, but which he judged to be in "pretty good shape." He had no word on the fate of his second infantry unit, 3d Battalion, 31st Infantry, which had also been hit hard the previous night. Nor did he have any news about when his third infantry battalion, still in transit, might arrive. Unaware that Chinese action prevented his regimental tank company from joining the regiment's main body, MacLean was "reasonably optimistic" about the situation and did not object when Almond told him the enemy was "nothing more than the remnants of Chinese divisions fleeing north." "We're still attacking and we're going all the way to the Yalu," Almond said. "Don't let a bunch of Chinese laundrymen stop you."[24]

But by nightfall on 28 November, the 1st Marine Division and 31st Regimental Combat Team held very different views of the tactical situation. The Marines had cancelled their offensive operations and focused on consolidating their positions on defensible terrain and reopening their lines of communication. The 31st RCT's orders remained to attack northward upon the arrival of its third infantry battalion, still expected at any moment.

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During the night of 28-29 November, the Chinese attacked again and the results were the same—high casualties on both sides during desperate fighting. Still the Americans held. Colonel MacLean of the 31st RCT came to the decision that the regiment needed to consolidate temporarily into a single perimeter until his last infantry battalion and his tanks arrived and he could resume the attack. Thus, early on the morning of 29 November, MacLean ordered the "temporary withdrawal" of 1-32 Infantry, his lead battalion, into the perimeter with 3-31 Infantry and other regimental units. The Soldiers would not destroy their equipment; they were ordered to remove critical parts and carry those parts with them so they could repair the equipment for use in the attack the following day.[25]

The withdrawal of 1-32 Infantry into the 3-31 Infantry perimeter happened, but not without difficulty. 1-32 Infantry fought its way south only to find the 3-31 Infantry situation just as precarious as their own had been. Tragically, MacLean misidentified a column of approaching troops and allowed the Chinese to take him prisoner. The senior battalion commander, Lieutenant Colonel Don Faith of 1-32 Infantry, assumed command of the 31st Regimental Combat Team.[26] Faith waited for help from his division or corps to arrive, but there was none to give. On 30 November, the Assistant Division Commander of the 7th Infantry Division flew into Faith's perimeter to tell him the 31st RCT was on its own. The regiment would have to fight its way back to safety.

By the morning of 1 December, the 31st RCT had survived four consecutive nights of brutal attacks by the Chinese. Its ranks were decimated. Several of the regiment's companies were utterly destroyed. Others had no officers left alive. Supplies and ammunition were critically low. Fatigue and the bitter cold pushed the Soldiers to the limits of human endurance. Faith concluded his men would not withstand another night of Chinese attacks and ordered a breakout. Soldiers would destroy all equipment that could not move. The remaining vehicles would carry the hundreds of serious casualties. Every Soldier who could walk—wounded or not—would fight dismounted.

The 31st RCT got underway around noon. Within minutes, a Marine pilot providing close air support dropped a canister of napalm short, killing several American troops. The situation worsened from there. The RCT had to run a gauntlet of roadblocks and blown bridges under withering enemy fire. Vehicles stopped running. Drivers were killed behind the wheels of their trucks. A Chinese grenade mortally wounded Faith, leaving no clear commander of the unit. The dismounted rear guard began to overtake the trail vehicles of the column, leaving them vulnerable to the pursuing Chinese. The unit began to disintegrate as Soldiers set out on their own across the frozen ice of the reservoir or onto the high ground along the roadway. Ultimately, the formation lost momentum and ground to a halt. Those Soldiers who could still move under their own power headed south toward friendly lines as individuals or in small groups, hoping to avoid the Chinese who stood in their way. Those who could not move were left for dead. The 31st Regimental Combat Team had ceased to exist.[27]

For its part, the 1st Marine Division had its own share of problems. The limited attacks to restore contact between the divisions's scattered elements failed. Nightly Chinese attacks decimated the ranks. On the morning of 1 December, the 5th and 7th Marine Regiments began their own breakout attempt, attacking southward from their consolidated position toward the remainder of the division. They came out as intact units in tactical formations, bringing their jeeps, trucks, trailers, and guns with them. Almost 600 wounded were piled in trucks or strapped across the hoods of jeeps, just as in the 31st RCT. The vehicles had to keep to the road, but infantrymen repeatedly maneuvered to seize the key terrain necessary to secure the force. It took three days of exhausting, bloody fighting, but the Marines managed to sweep aside countless ambushes and roadblocks to reach friendly lines at Hagaru. The 1st Marine Division was intact and had maintained enough combat power to resume its attack to the south three days later, after evacuating thousands of casualties.[28]

Why were the fates of these two units so vastly different? They faced similar tactical circumstances in terms of force ratios, terrain, weather, and resources available. Both the Marines and the 31st RCT enjoyed advantages over the Chinese in automatic weapons, heavy mortars, artillery, and close air support. And both were completely cut off and faced an untenable situation that compelled

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them to attempt a breakout to preserve their forces. Traditional explanations do not adequately answer why the Marines survived as a fighting force and the 31st RCT was defeated in detail.

However, by applying the ideas on sensemaking and structure described earlier, one interpretation emerges. The Marines were able to keep their structure and sensemaking ability intact and thereby maintain unit cohesiveness throughout their ordeal. On the other hand, the 31st RCT suffered the twin collapses of both structure and sensemaking, causing the unit to disintegrate into a rabble of small groups and individuals. Evidence from members of both units supports this perspective.

Within the 1st Marine Division, there was skepticism from the outset concerning the claims that the X Corps' attack to the Yalu River would face nothing but light resistance. One account describes how "Marines, from O.P. Smith on down, were exceedingly reluctant to proceed with the offensive" and how the Marine attack that began on 27 November was "unenthusiastic."[29] The caution that accompanied this skepticism meant the Marines were better prepared both tactically and mentally for the Chinese onslaught on the night of 27 November. Smith, the division commander, immediately cancelled the scheduled attack, thus abruptly signaling to his entire division that the situation had changed drastically.

Smith and his division leaders intuitively began to refine the collective understanding of the situation they faced, a key part of sensemaking. Lieutenant Colonel Ray Murray, the commander of the 5th Marine Regiment, said of his response to the heavy Chinese attack, "I personally felt in a state of shock. My first fight was within myself. I had to rebuild that emptiness of spirit," an apt description of the process of finding a mental model to explain the surprise that had befallen him.[30] The 5th and 7th Marines tightened their perimeters and tried to restore contact with the remainder of the division. When they could not, it became clear they would have to break out.

The Marines were able to keep their structure and sensemaking ability intact and thereby maintain unit cohesiveness throughout their ordeal.

Major General Smith explained how he attempted to communicate his new understanding of the situation to his division through tactical orders and up the chain of command to X Corps: "For two days, we received no orders from X Corps to withdraw from Yudam-ni. Apparently, they were stunned, just couldn't believe the Chinese had attacked in force."[31] But the Marines had quickly and effectively made sense of the situation, even though their higher headquarters continued to operate using a broken paradigm. The Marines' ability to quickly grasp the new situation they faced allowed them to develop a plan that suited it and kept the structure of the organization intact. They would consolidate their available forces, keep all of their vehicles and equipment functioning, employ their units in the sort of tactical maneuver for which they were designed, and fight for survival.

Unfortunately, the 31st Regimental Combat Team did not achieve similar success in grappling with the changing conditions. The 31st RCT moved into positions on the eastern edge of Chosin Reservoir with none of the healthy skepticism of the Marines. On 26 November, Lieutenant Colonel Faith misread the tactical picture and told his division commander that his battalion could attack north by itself the following day if the division could loan him a platoon of four tanks. Even when the entire regimental I&R platoon vanished without a trace on 27 November, Faith and his regimental commander, Colonel MacLean, showed no indication they understood the danger they faced.

On 28 November, after suffering heavy casualties the night before, MacLean agreed to the corps commander's order that the regiment would begin its attack the next morning. It took a second night of savage fighting against the Chinese on 28 November to convince MacLean to withdraw 1-32 Infantry to consolidate the entire regiment at one location, and even then, he showed a poor understanding of the situation by ordering the disabling (rather than the destruction) of equipment as part of the "temporary" withdrawal. Conditions were changing faster than the unit's ability to make sense of the situation. Then the unit's structure began to unravel as well, plunging the 31st RCT into a textbook "cosmology episode."

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Casualties among key leaders mounted during the initial Chinese attacks—a handful of company commanders and platoon leaders killed the first night, along with two battalion commanders wounded. The Chinese killed or wounded still more officers during the subsequent fighting, and then captured MacLean himself. Faith consolidated the RCT into one perimeter, but never retracted the order to be prepared to transition to the attack. This, of course, made little sense to Soldiers who had just spent three nights fighting for their lives against overwhelming numbers of attacking Chinese, who killed still more officers and noncommissioned officers during the fourth night of fighting.

Suddenly, on 1 December, the same Soldiers who had been repeatedly told they were going to resume the attack at any moment were told that the situation was hopeless and a breakout was necessary. They had already left much vital equipment behind when the regiment consolidated days before. The order to break out was inconsistent with what they had been told earlier, but their discipline and survival instincts allowed them to initiate the attempt. As the breakout convoy lurched forward, more leaders fell. Captains, and then finally lieutenants, commanded the remnants of battalions. The Marine aircraft accidentally dropped napalm on the convoy. Repeated delays in order to clear roadblocks and bypass downed bridges made the operation look more like a traffic jam than a breakout attempt.

Then Lieutenant Colonel Faith was killed. There was no one else left to explain the plan to the unit, and no internal communications available at that point anyway—nor any reason to suppress the instinct to flee. A historian has described the unit's cohesion at this point: "Virtually all the officers who tried to get the rank-and-file to follow them . . . commented on the reluctance, the surly unwillingness of the men to do so, and many men who were forced to act, soon deserted the effort. . . The men were no longer normal Soldiers. They were worn out; they no longer cared. All they had left was individual instinct for survival."[32] In the words of a survivor from the 31st RCT, "The chain of command disappeared. It was every man for himself."[33] The unit had abandoned much of its equipment, which contributed to its loss of identity as a fighting force. The chain of command was gone, and so was the cohesion that had held the unit together. Like the smokejumper crew at Mann Gulch, the 31st RCT had fallen victim to the collapse of sensemaking and structure.

Conclusion

The conduct of warfare has changed substantially since the savage battles near Chosin Reservoir in 1950. Technological, informational, and organizational innovations offer new means of waging war against our nation's enemies. Yet some aspects of warfare remain immutable, particularly its human dimension. While we have been fortunate in recent years not to have experienced a disaster on the scale of Chosin, the demands of the modern battlefield compel the Army to regularly place small units in remote locations where they are vulnerable to the same sort of isolation, danger, complexity, and ambiguity that the 1st Marine Division and the 31st Regimental Combat Team faced in late 1950. When technology fails or the enemy surprises us, human factors—particularly the cohesion that binds a unit together—may determine the unit's survival or destruction.

Understanding and fostering unit cohesion remain vitally important in today's operating environments, and Army doctrine should reflect that importance. The Army should update its views on unit cohesion, not cast them aside as useless or antiquated. It should incorporate new views, such as Weick's thoughts on sensemaking and structure, to flesh out the topic and restore the Army's traditional emphasis on such a critical subject. ***MR***

NOTES

1. George Washington, *The Writings of George Washington*, vol. XI, Jared Sparks, ed. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1848), 329.

2. For a harrowing account of an American patrol in Iraq in this very situation, see Jeff Emanual's article "The Longest Morning" from the November 2007 edition of *The American Spectator*, available online at <www.spectator.org/dsp_article.asp?art_id=12233>.

3. The bulk of the coverage in the 1999 edition is contained in paragraphs 5-102 to 5-119 and 6-132 to 6-139. In the 2006 version, the discussion is limited to paragraphs 8-23 to 8-26.

4. Defense Management Study Group on Military Cohesion, *Cohesion in the U.S. Military* (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 1984), ix. For an overview of the various definitions available and the ongoing debates in the literature (horizontal vs. vertical cohesion, social vs. task cohesion), see Robert McCoun, "What is Known about Unit Cohesion and Military Performance," in *Sexual Orientation and U.S. Military Personnel Policy: Options and Assessment*, National Defense Research Institute (Santa Monica: RAND, 1993), 283-331.

5. U.S. Army Field Manual 6-22, *Army Leadership: Competent, Confident and Agile* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2006), 8-6.

6. Sigmund Freud, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* (New York: Norton 1959), 28.

7. S.L.A. Marshall, *Men Against Fire* (New York: William Morrow, 1942), 42-43.

8. Samuel Stouffer, et al, *Studies in Social Psychology in World War II: The*

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American Soldier (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949).

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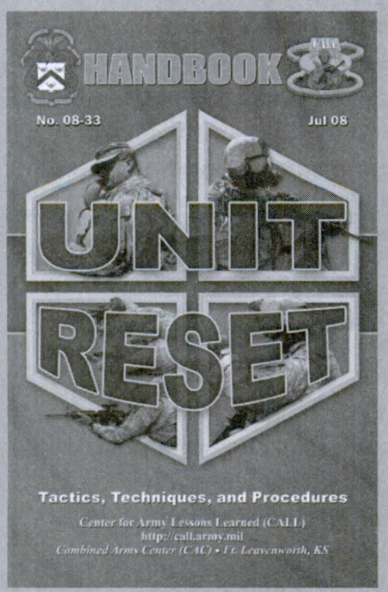
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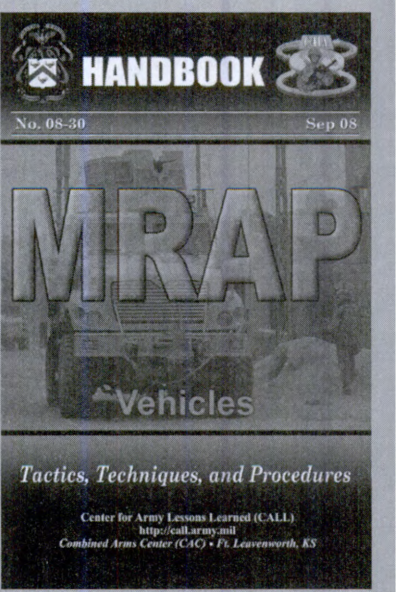
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RECONSTRUCTION: A Damaging Fantasy?

Amitai Etzioni

FRANK-WALTER STEINMEIER, the German foreign minister, took a break from his diplomatic duties during a recent visit to Washington, D.C., to attend a dinner with a small group of intellectuals and discuss what American society will be like circa 2050. The dinner conversation was a stimulating and affable give and take, until dessert was served and a discussion of Afghanistan began. One of the American dinner guests suggested that the conceit that the West could reconstruct Afghanistan was highly unrealistic—and so was the notion that the U.S. could do this in other countries from Iraq to East Timor to Haiti. Indeed, he argued, the resulting failures were damaging to the West's resolve and credibility. Steinmeier's aide responded passionately, arguing that reconstruction in Afghanistan was progressing very well indeed. He pointed to the 2,000 schools that have been built since the 2001 U.S.-led invasion, to the vast increase in the number of children educated (including 1.5 million girls), and to the 4,000 kilometers of brand new paved roads.

As the German aide's remarks indicate, while support for military intervention in Afghanistan is waning in Germany (and in Europe in general), support for reconstruction remains strong. According to a German Marshall Fund survey, 64 percent of Europeans support reconstruction efforts, but only 30 percent support their troops engaging in combat.

In effect, although rarely put in these terms, a division of labor is evolving inside of the NATO mission: the military side of the operation is increasingly falling to the United States, while other nations are focusing their contributions on reconstruction. This division of labor is driven, on the Europeans' part, by a commendable reluctance to kill and be killed, a sense of a moral duty to help a poor people whose nation has been occupied, and the belief that economic development is essential if Afghanistan and other such countries are to wean themselves from the influence of extremists and not serve as havens for terrorists. This view assumes that foreign powers can engage in large-scale social engineering overseas "just as the U.S. and its allies helped reconstruct Germany and Japan after World War II." However, these are deeply flawed notions. A different, humbler, and more realistic approach is called for.

Limits of Social Engineering

The neoconservatives are much discredited these days; they are widely held to be responsible for the doctrine that led to the reckless 2003 invasion of Iraq. Their doctrine centered around the concept that foreign powers can readily turn state-controlled economies into free markets, and tyrannies into democracies. These same neocons gained a wide following in the 1980s by insisting that

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PHOTOS: The Bamiyan Buddhas (destroyed by the Taliban) and the World Trade Center (destroyed by Al-Qaeda), juxtaposed above, are emblematic of the psychic gulf between world views, ancient and modern, religious and secular, East and West. Today, their ruins remind us of the irrationality of extremism and the difficulty of rehabilitating societies that embrace it.

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large-scale social engineering usually failed. Then, they were pointing to American cities where, one might add, the projects were undertaken under much more favorable circumstances than in Afghanistan.

The neocons alleged that most of the liberal Great Society programs introduced in the United States in the 1960s failed; the government failed to eradicate poverty, to help minorities catch up, to improve public schools, and to stop drug abuse. The neocons said that it was wrong to assume that a combination of well-meaning civil servants and oodles of money can solve social problems. Even so, in 2003 the same neocons applied basically the same liberal approach to far away Afghanistan and Iraq.

Champions of reconstruction also ignore the bitter lessons of foreign aid in general. An extensive 2006 report on the scores of billions of dollars that the World Bank invested since the mid 1990s in economic development shows that despite the bank's best efforts, the "achievement of sustained increases in per capita income, essential for poverty reduction, continues to elude a considerable number of countries." Out of 25 aid-recipient countries covered by the report, more than half (14) had the same or worsening rates of per capita income from the mid-1990s to the early 2000s. Moreover, the nations that received most of the aid (especially in Africa) developed least, while the nations that received very little aid grew very fast (especially China, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan). Other nations found foreign aid a "poisoned gift" because it promoted dependency on foreigners, undermined indigenous endeavors, and disproportionately benefited those gifted at proposal writing and courting foundation and foreign aid representatives, rather than local entrepreneurs and businessmen.



Above all, the World Bank and other students of development have discovered—surprisingly recently—that large parts of the funds provided are wasted because of widespread and high-level corruption. In *The White Man's Burden*, William Easterly systematically debunks the idea that increased aid expenditures in and of themselves can alleviate poverty or modernize failed or failing states, and points to the key roles that bad government and corruption play in these debacles. Steve Knack of the World Bank showed that, "huge aid revenues may even spur further bureaucratization and worsen corruption." Others found that mismanagement, sheer incompetence, and weak government were almost as debilitating.

One should add that not all the waste and corruption is local. Large portions of the aid budgeted for Afghanistan and other such countries are handed over to non-governmental organizations subject to little accountability, or spent on extraordinary profits to Western contractors and corporations for high-fee Western consultants. (American law requires that 100 percent of food for American foreign aid be purchased from United States farmers, and that U.S. freight carriers ship 75 percent of it.)

A 2008 study by *The Economist* found that one of the main reasons that Afghanistan's development is proceeding so poorly is the widespread corruption, cronyism and tribalism, lack of accountability, and gross mismanagement. *The Economist* recommended that the West lean on the president, Hamid Karzai, to introduce reforms. One cannot but wonder: How should Mr. Karzai proceed? Should he call in all the ministers and ask them to cease to take bribes and stop allocating public funds to their favorites? Fire them and replace them—and with whom? And if

Gold Coin of King Kanishka: Afghanistan 2000 years ago was the cultural crossroads of Eastern and Western civilization, thanks largely to Alexander the Great who subdued the region over 300 years earlier. Tribes driven from the borders of northern China settled in Afghanistan and assimilated Greek culture as the Kushans. This golden coin from Kaniska's Kushan empire (127 C.E.) displays Greek letters in a Persian dialect, reminding us of the confluence of cultures and religions in Kushan capitals at Balkh, Kabul, Begram, and Peshawar. Afghanistan under the Kushans became a center of Shaivism, Zoroastrianism, and later of Buddhist expansion into east Asia. Kushan descendents carved the Bamiyan Buddhas in the 6th century, dressing them in Hellenic tunics. Their multi-cultural legacy became a fertile conduit for the spread of Islam in the 7th century. Until Afghanistan was ravaged by the Mongols in the 13th century, and later by Turks under Tamerlane and by the Moguls of India, the region was a beacon to civilization. Once it was the home of fabulous libraries and famous philosophers, tradesmen, and artists, but the region's deeply ingrained ethnic and cultural divisions have hampered its recovery for centuries. Reconstruction will prove a monumental task.

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he did, what about their staffs? Many of the police, judges, jailors, customs officers, and civil servants in Afghanistan regularly accept bribes and grant strong preference to members of their family, clan, and tribal group. Most are poorly trained and have no professional traditions to fall back on. How is a president (even backed up by foreign powers) to change these deeply ingrained habits and culture?

One may argue that such reforms occurred in other countries, including in the West. Indeed, social scientists could do a great service to developing nations if they conducted a thorough study of how those nations succeeded in curbing corruption and gross mismanagement. The study would probably show that the process took decades, if not generations, and that it entailed a major change in social forces (such as the rise of a sizable middle class) and major changes in the education system—among other major societal changes. Such changes cannot be forced and must be largely endemic.

The same holds true for the reform of schools. Afghanistan now has many more schools and more students in them than a few years back, but educational reform requires much more than constructing buildings and filling classrooms. Also needed is a massive retraining of Afghan teachers, who themselves often have little modern education (especially in science and math) and little taste for modern teaching methods, preferring that children learn by rote from old texts. Retraining thousands of teachers (or preparing new ones) requires teachers' colleges or other such sizeable educational facilities that are currently unavailable. It also requires that the principals, school administrators, the various bureaucrats in charge of education—and even the parents—accept the new ways of teaching and the new content. None of this comes easily.

Traditional habits and values have been followed for centuries and are deeply ingrained in the other elements of the economy, polity, and society. Changing them is often a slow and difficult process that outsiders cannot impose—let alone rush along. Given that the United States has been unable to reform its own public schools from Washington D.C. to Los Angeles, why should we assume it can do so in Afghanistan? Given that the French are unable to cope with Muslim minorities in the outskirts of Paris, why would we expect them to do so in the outskirts of Kandahar? Nor have other

Given that the United States has been unable to reform its own public schools from Washington D.C. to Los Angeles, why should we assume it can do so in Afghanistan?

European nations shown great success in social reforms at home. Despite a trillion dollar investment by Germany in the "new lands" (formerly East Germany), the region is still lagging on many fronts, 18 years after unification.

Many conditions that are unlikely to be reproduced elsewhere led to successful reconstruction in Germany and Japan after World War II. First, both nations had surrendered after defeat in a war and fully submitted to occupation. Second, many facilitating factors were much more established than they are in countries in which social engineering is now being attempted. There was no danger that Japan or Germany would break up due to a civil war among ethnic groups, as is the case in Afghanistan and Iraq. No effort had to be expended on building national unity. On the contrary, strong national unity was a major reason change could be introduced with relative ease. Other favorable factors included competent government personnel and a low level of corruption. In *Liberal America and the Third World,* Robert Packenham cites, as core factors, the presence of "technical and financial expertise, relatively highly institutionalized political parties, skillful and visionary politicians, well-educated populations, [and] strong national identifications." And, crucially, there was a strong culture of self-restraint present in both Japan and Germany that favored hard work and high levels of saving, essential for building up local assets and keeping costs down.

Conditions in the donor countries were different as well. In 1948, the first year of the Marshall Plan, aid to the 16 European countries involved totaled 13 percent of the U.S. budget. In comparison, the United States currently spends less than one percent of its budget on foreign aid and not all of it is dedicated to economic development. Other nations are doing better, but the total funds dedicated to foreign aid are still much smaller than those committed to

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reconstruction at the end of World War II. In short, the current tasks are much more onerous, and the resources available are meager in comparison.

Max Weber, a sociological giant, established the importance of culture (a polite term for values) when he demonstrated that Protestants were more imbued than Catholics with the values that lead to hard work and high levels of saving, essential for the rise of modern capitalist economies. For decades, developments in Catholic countries (such as those in Southern Europe and Latin America) lagged behind the Protestant Anglo-Saxon nations and those in northwest Europe. These differences declined only when Catholics became more like Protestants.

Culture is also a major factor that explains the striking difference between various rates of development, especially between the South Asian "tigers" (that received little aid) and African and Arab states that received a lot of it. The thesis is *not* that these latter states cannot be developed because of some genetically innate characteristics of the people living there, but because their cultures stress other values, especially traditional religious values and communal and tribal bonds. These cultures can change, but, as the record shows, only slowly, and the changes involved cannot be rushed by outsiders.

When all is said and done, one must expect that reconstruction in nations such as Afghanistan will be very slow and highly taxing on all involved.

Economic Development Does Not Stop Terrorism

One may say that the West has no choice but to help develop Afghanistan and other such nations because if the masses involved do not have jobs and a decent income or own some land and homes, Afghanistan and the other nations will be fertile ground in which to grow terrorists. This is said to be especially true in undeveloped countries in which there are large numbers of young people because of the high birth rate and declining death rates.

Despite a widely held notion among progressive people that terrorism is linked to poverty and that development is the best antidote, most data show that there is no correlation between the two. For instance, a widely cited study by Alan Krueger and Jitka Maleckova of the National Bureau of Economic Research concludes, "The evidence we have assembled and reviewed suggests there is little direct connection between poverty, education and participation in terrorism and politically motivated violence."

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The 9/11 terrorists who attacked the American homelands came from middle class backgrounds, and several studied at universities. Bin Laden is a billionaire. F. Gregory Gause pointed out that "the academic literature on the relationship between terrorism and other sociopolitical indicators, such as democracy, is surprisingly scant."



Mahmud of Ghazni wrought an extensive empire in the late 10th century from regions of modern-day Afghanistan. He extended his realm into Iran, northwest India, and the lands of modern Pakistan. Mahmud is celebrated in Afghanistan and Pakistan as an Islamic hero. In India he is remembered as a war criminal and a piratical raider bent upon enslaving the Hindu population and destroying its culture. He is especially reviled for destroying sacred statues and icons of Buddhism in northern India. The Taliban seemed to imitate Mahmud in destroying the Bamiyan Buddhas. The name Hindu Kush, named for Mahmud's "slaughter of the Hindus," recalls the hatreds and cultural enmity that divide the region's inhabitants. These deep ethnic animosities are difficult for the West to understand, and they underscore the significant challenges of a Western cultural reconstruction.

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Moral Obligations: Not to Squander

Ethics often persuade individuals and nations who are privileged, whose incomes are well above those of other people or nations and who benefit from the past exploitation of former colonies, that they have a moral obligation to help the less fortunate. Some hold that this obligation is particularly strong for occupied nations because of the damage the occupiers do. When Colin Powell was the secretary of state, he reportedly quoted a Pottery Barn home furnishings store rule—"You break it, you own it"—and applied it to occupied states.

The fact is that Pottery Barn has no such rule. Nor is it obvious that when the West overthrows a tyrannical government of the kind imposed by the Taliban or Saddam, it owes anything else to the liberated people. Indeed, one may hold that they owe the West a resounding vote of gratitude. The extent that one agrees that the occupiers should make those occupied countries whole—for instance pay for doors that have been broken down in the search for terrorists—is limited by what the term "reconstruction" actually means. That is, restoring the conditions to the status that preceded the occupation—not constructing a whole new economy, polity, and society from A to Z.

Whatever conclusion one reaches on this last question, the occupier clearly has a moral obligation not to squander limited resources. Although this issue is hard to face, the truth is that however the West increases its foreign aid, it will never come close to providing the resources that are needed if it defines development—as the West is doing both in Afghanistan and Iraq—as remaking practically all aspects of the societies involved, including their economies; civil service, education, public health, and welfare systems; security forces; judicial agencies; media; and much else.

It is often argued that the United States had no plan for post-war Iraq. In fact, prior to the 2003 invasion, the State Department had prepared a massive 13-volume study, known as the "The Future of Iraq Project." The study provides plans for reconstruction projects for water, agriculture and environment, public health and humanitarian needs, defense policy and institutions, economy and infrastructure, education, justice, democratic principles and procedures, local government, civil society capacity building, free media, and oil and energy, among many others.

As a result of such a wide-ranging, scattergun approach, scores of projects were started, but very few have been completed. Indeed, many were abandoned because there were not enough funds to complete them. To reiterate, although progressive observers would respond with urgent demands to increase the aid given, however large the budget, there continues to be a great mismatch between the resources needed and those available, and many processes of change take a long time to mature (e.g., acculturation) and cannot be rushed. Once one fully faces this cardinal observation, one must conclude that asking where the limited funds will do the most good—and where they are likely to be wasted or even cause damage—is not merely a practical question, but a key moral one as well. All those who engage in medical triage face this issue, however reluctantly, and those who engage in social engineering must do so as well—that is, establish which projects are beyond repair and should be allowed to die, which are likely to make it on their own, and should not receive funds, and which select few should be given first priority.

What Might Be Done?

Development triage has not been tried and requires considerable deliberations. It cannot be rolled out here; however, it can be illustrated by providing some preliminary indications of suggested guidelines.

Make security the first thing. I have shown elsewhere (in *Security First: For a Muscular, Moral Foreign Policy*, Yale University Press, 2007) that basic security must be provided first. If oil pipelines laid during the day are blown up at night, oil will not

...asking where the limited funds will do the most good—and where they are likely to be wasted or even cause damage—is not merely a practical question, but a key moral one as well.

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flow very far. If electricity stations are constructed at great costs but not secured, they are merely another place resources are wasted. If professionals fear terrorists, they will leave the country to work elsewhere, and so on.

The term "basic security" indicates that it is not necessary to overcome all threats; indeed, even in Western cities there is some element of danger from both criminals and terrorists. However, such threats must be kept at a level at which the population feels that it can function and that resources are being put to work and accumulated rather than depleted.

The reverse argument, that development is essential for security and hence must precede it, is erroneous because without basic security, development cannot take place, and because, as we have seen, development per se does not provide security.

Prioritize humanitarian aid. On moral grounds, humanitarian aid should be provided in the form of basic supplies (of the kind provided after natural disasters) whether or not these lead to development, are lost in part to corruption, add to security, or have any other utility.

Go for easy wins. Short-term payoffs must be preferred to long-term ones. Providing better seeds, fertilizers or irrigation pays off within months; planting trees—within years; and primary education—a decade or more. These examples illustrate how difficult it is to accept the conclusions that triage can lead to. However, acting otherwise undermines the goals at hand.

Hone project profiles. Projects that have a high-multiplier effect are to be preferred over those that have low-multiplier effect, those that are labor-intensive and not capital-intensive over those that have the opposite profile, and those that use little energy or renewal energy over those that have the opposite profile.

Limit projects. In each given area, strong preference should be given to the completion of a small number of projects over starting a large number. (This is the opposite of the way development has been approached in Afghanistan and Iraq).

Retain old elements. As a rule, old elements should be left in place and fixed or reformed gradually rather than replaced. This holds true for equipment and for institutions and their staffs. For instance, tribal chiefs (in Afghanistan) and members of the governing party in public service (the Ba'ath in Iraq) should have been allowed to continue their leadership roles, as the United States did at the end of WWII by leaving the emperor in place in Japan.

Frame efforts more humbly. A radically different framing of development is essential. It entails abandoning the oversell and hype, including promises to flip a nation from poverty to affluence, from tyranny to democracy, or from terror to peace. Instead, repeated warnings are best issued to indicate that the road ahead is a long and arduous one. A major lowering of expectations is essential to avoid loss of support from donor countries and aid recipients, to encourage those involved to make whatever contributions they are able to make rather than rely on handouts, and to motivate them to reduce conflict and work out their differences via political channels. A sound indication that the proper framing has been achieved will be when those involved voice surprise that results have exceeded expectations.

Sympathetically imagine effects and perceptions. We rarely discuss the reality that Western social engineers are, in effect, seeking to turn Afghanistan and other such nations into Western societies and that this deeply offends the religious and nationalistic values of most of the people in these societies. The main problem is not that we are undermining the old values and the social relationships built around them, but that we do not address the resulting values vacuum. Instead, in effect, we promote Western forms of hedonistic materialism or consumerism; we measure progress by the increase in income per capita or the number of washing machines or TV sets the population owns. These values do not address spiritual, social, and moral issues that devout Afghanis care about. What is necessary is for their traditional values to be replaced or (more practically, transformed) into different, but positive social moral values, of the kind favored by moderate Muslims. What these new social moral values might be and how they can be fostered is a major and complex topic that cannot be treated here in passing. However, the fact that we are not addressing this problem is a major reason Western ideas of economic development are not as welcome there as we, their advocates, expect them to be.

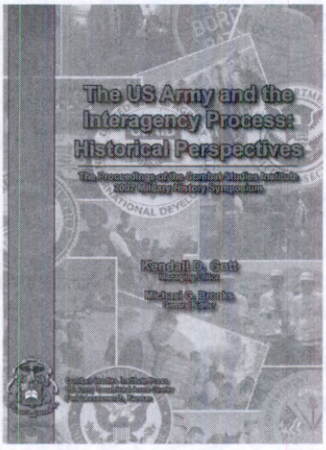
One may well provide different criteria to guide reconstruction triage. The record, however, leaves no doubt that an overly ambitious and scattergun

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approach is very likely to fail, and there are serious doubts about its moral worth because it leads to the squandering of scarce resources and increased alienation. In reconstruction, as in many other areas of human pursuit, less is more. If the Europeans are to take the lead in the reconstruction of Afghanistan, and if that country is to serve as a model for the development of other such nations, this cause would be better served if those who lead show humility, embrace triage, and replace hype with achievements that exceed promises, rather than greatly lag behind them. ***MR***

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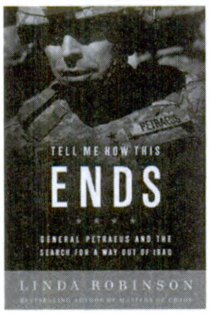
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MR Book Reviews



TELL ME HOW THIS ENDS: General David Petraeus and the Search for a Way Out of Iraq, Linda Robinson, Public Affairs, New York, 2008, 411 pages, $27.95.

As a rule, hyperbole is permissible for the "blurbs" on the jacket of books and not in reviews, but in the case of Linda Robinson's *Tell Me How This Ends*, it's a hard one to follow. Robinson's book is among the best written about the war in Iraq. Her aim is to provide "readers with a perspective of the conflict's entire dynamic," and to a large extent, she succeeds. General David Petraeus is the lead character, but Robinson makes it clear that Petraeus and Ambassador Ryan Crocker operated in tandem. Each brought superb skills and perseverance to bear on what even the trendiest pundits describe as a "wicked" problem.

The book looks at the Iraq war from the "top-down" and from the "bottom-up" by including the interplay of protagonists among Iraq's leadership, warring tribes, foreign fighters, coalition leaders, and units such as the much-traveled, well-worn Black Lions of the 1st Battalion, 28th Infantry.

Although Robinson's tone is neutral, she is not detached. Her account of the failed transition is more compelling because it is more dispassionate than the angry harangues of many earlier books, including, for example, Tom Ricks' *Fiasco*. Nor is she breathlessly reporting as though she personally overheard policy being made in the way that Bob Woodward does. In two crisply written chapters, Robinson argues that there was plenty of blame to go around, and not all of it goes to the "suits." She says Condoleezza Rice, Donald Rumsfeld, and Paul Bremer deserve most of the discredit but that Generals Tommy Franks, John Abizaid, George Casey, David McKiernan, Richard Meyers, and Peter Pace all deserve some of the blame, as does Ricardo Sanchez, despite his protests.

The bulk of the book examines the "surge" from General Petraeus and his close advisors' perspectives but within the context of decisions made by the president and Secretary of Defense Gates, and within the partnership forged with Ambassador Crocker. If the surge turned out badly, Petraeus would have borne the brunt of the disapprobation. It is also equally clear that, contrary to the myth, Petraeus is not the sole author of the surge or the inventor of counterinsurgency. Robinson shows clearly that the surge represented not just more troops but a sea change in how policy makers saw the role of the U.S. in Iraq. Prior to 2007, the administration and its generals saw the role of the U.S. as limited to finding the means to hand over the problem to the Iraqis. In that context, as General Abizaid put it, U.S. troops were part of the problem, so reducing their presence seemed essential. The surge is also how troops are used. Coupled with persistent efforts led by Ambassador Crocker to engage the Iraqi government, the U.S. effort since 2007 has assumed the "long war" approach and a more active involvement at lower tactical echelons by U.S. troops—to both provide an economic stimulus and carry the fight to the neighborhoods.

At the tactical level, troops led by first-rate officers such as Colonel Ricky Gibbs, commander of the 4th Brigade Combat Team, 1st Infantry Division, and Lieutenant Colonel Pat Frank, commander of the 4th Brigade's 1st Battalion, 28th Infantry, engaged local leaders at regional and local levels to learn what buttons to push within both the formal and informal power systems. Their troops waged and won hard tactical engagements, employing what a battalion commander in Bosnia termed "grunt" diplomacy. Other Soldiers, including Pete Mansoor and H.R. McMaster, debated the elements of the surge strategy and provided a foil for Petraeus as he considered what he had to do. Just as important, Lieutenant General Ray Odierno, who led the multi-national corps, adapted rapidly to the conditions on the ground and proved an able, if junior, partner to Petraeus and Crocker. Robinson concludes that Petraeus and Crocker brought three traits to Odierno's task that served them, the country, and Iraq well: intellectual rigor, the ability to lead, and persistence coupled with tenacity. Together, according to Robinson, Petraeus, and Crocker left Iraq better than they found it.

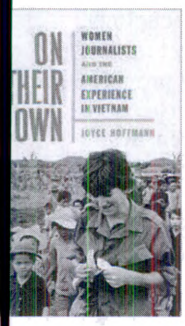
Robinson concludes that the story of General Petraeus is far from over. Victory in the sense of an unqualified success in Iraq seems unlikely. She argues that Petraeus either will have avoided failure as Ridgway did in Korea or will be compared to General Abrams, "whose efforts and innovations did not ultimately save the United States from defeat in Vietnam." What she did not say is that, despite the results, Ridgway and Abrams were heroes and so, too, is Petraeus.

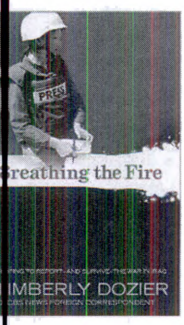
Colonel Gregory Fontenot, USA, Retired,
Lansing, Kansas

ON THEIR OWN: Women Journalists and the American Experience in Vietnam, Joyce Hoffmann, Da Capo Press, Cambridge, MS, 2008, 439 pages, $27.50.

BREATHING THE FIRE: Fighting to Report—and Survive—the War in Iraq, Kimberly Dozier, Meredith Books, Des Moines, IA, 2008, 288 pages, $24.95.

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Featured Reviews

War correspondents are a unique breed, attracted—even addicted—to adventure and danger. Trained to dispassionately observe and analyze, they maintain objectivity about and emotional distance from the often-horrific events unfolding before them. Each is, in not necessarily equal measures, part voyeur, First Amendment crusader, and ambitious pragmatist out to scoop the competition, score lead stories, and attract the attention of media bosses focused on the financial bottom-line.

Two recently published books examine in very different ways battlefield reporters' raisons de être. For journalist and university professor Joyce Hoffmann, gender is a central defining characteristic to be exhaustively examined; for CBS Correspondent Kimberly Dozier, her sex is largely incidental, a non-issue footnote in an intensely personal story about surviving the IED blast that killed her crew and a soldier escorting her.

Hoffmann spent more than a decade researching her vignette-laden study of female journalists, covering the Vietnam conflict from the 1950s to the war's end in the mid-1970s. Writing in the third person, often from transcripts and library files and only occasionally from first-hand interviews with a few of her subjects, Hoffmann delves into the lives, careers, and yes, loves of dozens of women who dared enter male domains, both military and journalistic. At times, Hoffmann's disciplined, scholarly documentation mixes uneasily with a breathless *Vanity Fair*-esque flash-back-flash-forward narrative style. However, it is fascinating to catch behind-the-scenes glimpses of how their roles as reporters and women evolved along with the conflict.

Hoffmann reveals that in pre-war, military-advisor, CIA-operative days, journalistic novices like Gloria Emerson often followed their boyfriends to Southeast Asia seeking romance, fame, and fortune. A 20-something glamour girl with scant credentials as a society page writer for New York's *Journal-American*, Emerson arrived in Vietnam in 1956 wide-eyed and optimistic, convinced the U.S., with the help of her CIA paramour, would save the people of South Vietnam from the communist scourge to the North. At first, she filed chatty Saigon-lifestyle stories for *Mademoiselle* and other publications. In 1970, she returned as an older, wiser correspondent for the *New York Times*, chronicling the destruction of the beautiful country she had so loved in her youth.

In sharp contrast to Emerson, reporter/photographer Dickey Chapelle was already a seasoned veteran of more than a half dozen wars and assorted revolutions when she landed in Indochina in 1961. Hard as nails and stubbornly independent, she thrived on covering the growing conflict from the foxholes and rice paddies side-by-side with the Soldiers and Marines she admired.

Hoffmann writes, "Devoted though she was to America and its military men, government meddling in her work as a journalist taxed even Chapelle's loyalty to the nation's leaders. Without the press, Chapelle insisted, the military would become the sole guarantors of the integrity of history, even though they were 'the least objective observers around.' Substituting government press releases for eyewitness observation, she added, 'has all the authenticity of a patent medicine ad.'"

The friction between the military and media that Chapelle experienced eventually soured the relationship and that result continues to the present day.

Marching with "my Marines" on a search-and-clear mission in 1965, Dickey Chapelle was struck by shrapnel when a young Marine on the jungle path ahead of her hit a booby-trap trip wire. According to Hoffmann, Chapelle, a sprig of pink flowers tucked into her trademark Australian bush hat, was the first American woman killed in action in Vietnam.

Forty-one years later, Kimberly Dozier narrowly escaped a similar fate in the war in Southwest Asia. In her harrowing memoir, *Breathing the Fire*, Dozier recounts the events leading up to the day a vehicle-borne IED exploded on a Baghdad street, and her torturous, ongoing physical and emotional recovery from injuries so extensive that doctors once feared she might lose her legs.

Writing in a crisp, clear, broadcast-news style, Dozier's account of the Memorial Day, 2006, incident is both personal and visceral, describing her excruciating brain and burn injuries as well as the pain surrounding the deaths of her two CBS coworkers, a U.S. Army Civil Affairs captain, and his Iraqi translator. Treated in a succession of military facilities including Bethesda Naval Hospital, Dozier reports that her family and employers decided military medical care offered her the best hope for survival.

"The surgeons advising us at Landstuhl felt military surgeons had the most experience with blast injuries and Bethesda had the most experience with blast-caused TBI (traumatic brain injury)," she explained in an interview. "CBS News' war insurance paid for all my treatment, throughout the stays."

In the last third of her book, Dozier paints a vivid picture of what it is actually like to be a war correspondent. Her description of running military checkpoints and dodging Iraqi troops in the initial race to Baghdad crackles with energy and virtually leaps from the page.

Now back on the air, Dozier won a George Foster Peabody Award in April 2008 for a CBS video report about two female American veterans who lost limbs in Iraq. A few weeks later, the Congressional Medal of Honor Society presented her with the Reagan "Tex" McCrary Award for Journalism, the first woman to receive the award.

"Receiving the McCrary award was stunning," Dozier told me in an email. "For the actual award ceremony, I walked up to the podium

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to speak, and the 37 or so Medal of Honor winners in attendance at the Atlanta event stood up for me, and the whole crowd followed. I found it hard to speak at that point—those guys are the real deal. It was an amazing honor that they would be applauding me."

Carol A. Saynisch, M.A., APR, former CBS News journalist, Seattle, Washington

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WE ARE SOLDIERS STILL: A Journey Back to the Battlefields of Vietnam, LTG(R) Harold G. Moore and Joseph L. Galloway, HarperCollins, NY, 2008, 272 pages, $24.95.

In 1992, Harold Moore and Joseph Galloway published *We Were Soldiers Once . . . and Young*, a book about the November 1965 battle between American and North Vietnamese soldiers in the Ia Drang valley, the first major clash of the two armies. The U.S. Army Command and General Staff Colleges' Department of Command and Leadership still uses the book to illustrate how the ability of direct and organizational-level leaders to employ the elements of battle command can result in success or failure of a unit on the battlefield.

We Are Soldiers Still records the journey of Moore, Galloway, and other veterans back to the Ia Drang Valley in 1993 to visit the battlefields at Landing Zones X-ray and Albany and to meet with their former enemies. The journey provided the old warriors, American and Vietnamese, an opportunity to exorcise the demons that have weighed heavily on their minds for close to 30 years. This book, however, is not a battlefield analysis. Although it presents the fighting in all of its brutal and gory details, the book is about people. It celebrates Soldiers, American and Vietnamese, and laments wars. Responding to Ronald Reagan's comment that the Vietnam War was a "noble" effort, Moore says:

"There has never been a noble war, except in the history books and propaganda movies. It is a bloody, dirty, cruel, costly mistake in almost every case, as it was in this war that would end so badly for us. However, the young soldiers can be and often are noble, selfless, and honorable. They do not fight for a flag or a president or mom and apple pie. When it comes down to it, they fight and die for each other, and that is reason enough for them, and for me."

The organizing narrative in the book is the trip back to the battlefields, but the narrative is interrupted by short, excellently conceived histories of the various American and Vietnamese Soldiers, when each appears in the narrative. General Moore's story should be particularly interesting to young American officers because it demonstrates that even one who had academic difficulties at West Point could have a successful military career through fierce determination and good judgment. Moore's story ends at his present age of 86 with his tribute to his wife, also a good "Soldier," who, among other "duties," ministered to the families of Moore's Soldiers who died in Vietnam.

The authors dedicate the book to their wives but address it to a new generation of American Soldiers consigned "to 'preemptive' wars of choice" and condemned "to carry their own memories of death and dying throughout their lives." These Soldiers will probably never have the opportunity, as did Moore and Galloway, to meet with, come to know, and even be friends with the adversaries they, with all their skills and determination, had tried to kill. Moore and Galloway tell a worthwhile and moving story.

LTC Matthew W. Broaddus, USA, Retired, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

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THE MOST DANGEROUS ANIMAL, David Livingstone Smith, St. Martin's Press, New York, 2007, 263 pages, $24.95.

In *The Most Dangerous Animal*, David Livingston Smith takes an original approach to examining the causes of war and proposes its origin is rooted in human nature. Smith's unique look at war and human nature through the lenses of psychology, anthropology, evolutionary biology, sociology, and philosophy provides an interdisciplinary approach to understanding man's inherent desire and capacity to wage war. While his work strives "to understand the irrational *allure* of mass violence," it is not essentially an antiwar book. Smith peels away the misleading language shrouding war and shows it is a not senseless pursuit but a purposeful venture, and that war is not a societal anomaly but a distinctively human endeavor. He examines the intriguing dichotomy of social praise for violating society's deepest taboos, of the Soldier's self-perception of both hero and murderer, and of the individual's desire to kill the enemy and its accompanying psychological duress.

The homicidal nature of man has been well documented throughout recorded history. Smith explores the creative language accompanying warfare, which is used to "insulate our minds from its hellish reality." In recent wars, bombs are referred to as ordnance, mistakenly killing your own Soldiers is fratricide, and dead civilians are collateral damage. He shows that in the minds of many, the enemy has no brave patriots or heroes and its forces are comprised of only ruthless, cold-blooded murderers committing inhumane acts of violence. Smith claims this dehumanization of the enemy attempts to justify our actions and to remove the moral stigma associated with killing another human being. Smith argues this self-deception is necessary for the general population to maintain its support for the war effort and is a mental buffer for those who actually kill the enemy. The use of this placid language serves to hide "the true human costs concealed behind fantasies of valor and righteousness."

Smith asserts that evolution has rewarded the victors in war through natural and sexual selection, thus passing their genetic material on to future generations. Thus, long ago pacifistic societies were likely removed from the gene pool. He also points to man's intelligence and cooperative capabilities as setting

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us apart from other species on the planet. These traits are used for both creation and destruction. Human beings have created both wonderful machines to help alleviate untold suffering along with the hydrogen bomb and its capability of causing untold suffering. He adds that human beings' cooperative nature begins to develop during youth. While virtually all young mammals engage in various forms of play pitting one individual against another, only human beings play games that pit one team against another. Smith claims this play "is a rehearsal for life." Thus, the one-on-one battles among most mammals serve to prepare the animal for its future territorial clashes, while team sports are preparing human youth for future wars.

Smith's look into human nature and man's propensity for war is insightful and thought provoking. The book's multifaceted approach to explaining war certainly presents the reader with a good foundation for further study and debate. The author goes to great lengths to explain complex scientific and philosophical concepts in a concise and understandable manner, allowing readers from diverse backgrounds to understand his logic and evidence in presenting his case on human nature.

LTC Randy G. Masten, USA,
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

DAY OF EMPIRE, Amy Chu, Doubleday, New York, 2007, 396 pages, $27.95.

Amy Chu's, *Day of Empire*, is an intriguing look at the rise and fall of "hyperpowers." According to Chu, hyperpowers are "remarkable societies, barely more than a handful in history, that amassed such extraordinary military and economic might that they essentially dominated the world." She states that a hyperpower possesses supremacy that surpasses all other rivals, is clearly not inferior economically or militarily to any other power, and projects its power to an immense part of the globe. As Chu writes, "To be dominant, a society must be at the forefront of the world's technological, military, and economic development."

Tolerance is the most important characteristic that the great hyperpowers share. From Alexander's conquest to the rise of the United States, Chu uses historical examples to support her premise. For example, Chu cites Genghis Khan's assimilation of Chinese engineers into the Mongol Army. She also notes Genghis responded to Muslim envoy complaints about Christian persecution in the city of Balasagun, modern-day Kyrgyzstan. Genghis attacked and killed the Christian leader and incorporated Balasagun into his empire. Likewise, Chu describes how the Ottoman Empire's tolerance of non-Muslims led to an "immense economic expansion" of the empire.

Conversely, Chu also points out that the lack of tolerance often led to the collapse of hyperpowers. In 1905, British viceroy Lord Curzon's policies led to marginalizing Hindus in India's Civil Service, a move that backfired. Although India remained under British rule for another 43 years, the seeds of dissension were sown, and eventually Britain's racial intolerance led to large-scale demonstrations against the crown. Chu also cites intolerance in the Japanese empire during World War II. Before Japan's invasion of Singapore in 1942, Singapore was a major international trade center. Chu writes, "As soon as they invaded, monopolies were awarded to large Japanese corporations. Hyperinflation, price gouging, and corruption soon led to economic collapse."

Chu concludes her book with a chapter titled, "The Day of Empire," pointing out that at the end of the Cold War widespread anti-Americanism replaced the worldwide democratic movement. Chu contends that championing of American enterprise does not "Americanize" other nations. Chu writes, "Wearing a Yankee's cap and drinking Coca-Cola does not turn a Palestinian into an American."

Chu's book is a fascinating look at hyperpowers. She has carefully researched her subject and her scholarship makes *Day of Empire* well worth the read. Whether you agree or disagree with the basic thesis of her work—that tolerance is the most important characteristic successful hyperpowers share—Chu's book is an interesting look at the history of those states.

Mike Weaver,
Assistant Professor,
Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas

TAIWAN'S STATESMAN: Lee Teng-hui and Democracy in Asia, Richard C. Kagan, Annapolis, MD, 2007, 231 pages, $30.00.

A good biography sketches its subject's life in a way that illuminates mysteries hidden beneath the surface. Richard Kagan's *Taiwan's Statesman: Lee Teng-hui and Democracy in Asia* examines the mercurial Lee Teng-hui, who as president of Taiwan successfully transitioned the country from authoritarian to democratic governance. Kagan introduces his book as more than political analysis, labeling it a character study.

Unfortunately, Kagan's lofty ambitions fall short. His inquiry into Lee's character produces trite ostentation and forceful pro-Lee bias, beginning with the title. Kagan intends the title, *Taiwan's Statesman,* to convey Lee's "ability to create a new identity for Taiwan." He persists with bombastic statements that the reader must blindly accept as fact, such as "Lee is a statesman because he reconceptualized Taiwan" and "through his efforts he was able to invent himself. And later, he used this self-made identity to invent a new Taiwan." Such gratuitous praise idolizes Lee's legacy but ignores many persistent fractures within Taiwanese society—especially over issues such as independence or reunification with China. The "new identity" that Kagan says Lee created is much less cohesive than Kagan admits.

Despite these flaws, *Taiwan's Statesman* succeeds where the author limits his writing to Lee's political career (exactly what Kagan

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intended *not* to do). Here, Kagan provides cogent analysis, such as his explanation of why President Chiang Ching-kuo brought Lee into his inner circle. As "a loner without a large or significant constituency," Lee could not "join a faction, engineer his own political power base, or pose a threat to Ching-kuo's authority or office." The book's best chapters appear toward the end, as Kagan analyzes Lee's presidential years. However, Kagan never manages to shed his pro-Lee bias. For military leaders who seek an understanding of the China-Taiwan debate and other strategic issues in Asia, Richard Kagan's *Taiwan's Statesman* provides a solid assessment of Lee Teng-hui's career and accomplishments, but Kagan's vigorous bias weakens his insights into Lee's character. If Lee's character is truly as remarkable as Kagan proclaims, Kagan should have kept to the facts and let Lee's life speak for itself.

1LT Brian Drohan, USA,
Fort Hauchuca, Arizona

VIETNAM'S FORGOTTEN ARMY: Heroism and Betrayal in the ARVN, Andrew Wiest, New York University Press, New York, 2007, 338 Pages, $35.00.

While tactical history can seem stilted and dry at times, Andrew Wiest, in *Vietnam's Forgotten Army,* presents an enriched and dynamic history of the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN) by chronicling the careers of two of ARVN's best young officers, Tran Ngoc Hue and Pham Van Dinh, as they fought in the Vietnam War. Wiest seeks to dispel the myth of the ARVN as an ineffective fighting force.

He argues that the ARVN suffered from many political and organizational obstacles, yet produced dedicated, professional, and competent officers who fought heroically for South Vietnam. Wiest uses the examples of Hue's and Dinh's military experiences fighting at Hue City, Dong Ap Bia, and Lam Son 719 to challenge the historical record of ARVN's poor performance. In each case, Wiest argues that the courageous and professional leadership of Hue and Dinh provides a glimmer of insight into the capabilities of ARVN. Even so, Wiest also calls attention to the severe corruption and political nepotism in the upper echelons of ARVN's command structure as a major cause of the ARVN's incompetence, argues that the ARVN had become deeply dependent upon U.S. forces, especially U.S. air power and artillery, and says that the United States sought to recast ARVN in the image of its own military. Both Hue and Dinh recognized these elements as substantial obstacles to the success of ARVN and yet could not overcome them even with their dauntless efforts.

The end of the story is tragic. Both Hue and Dinh faced a bitter defeat despite their gallant efforts. Dinh defected to the North Vietnamese Army, became a mid-level apparatchik, and then retired in 1989 to become a businessman. Hue, after 13 years in reeducation camps, lived in poverty until moving to the United States in 1991. The value of *Vietnam's Forgotten Army* lies in the author's appreciation for ARVN fighting prowess and the book's interesting perspective of the Vietnam War.

Sean N. Kalic, Ph.D.
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

THE NORTH KOREAN ECONOMY: Between Crisis & Catastrophe, Nicholas Eberstadt, Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, NJ, 2007, 329 pages, $39.95.

The post-Cold War North Korean economy has been a continuous disaster interrupted by catastrophe. Through exhaustive economic forensics, Korean political and economic scholar, Nicholas Eberstadt, illuminates the full extent of North Korea's economic situation and discusses its prospects for its future. Even though he faced North Korean government secrecy, poorly kept economic measures, quantitative data inconsistencies, self-deception of the country's economic policymakers, and falsification of information, Eberstadt cleverly utilizes "mirror statistics"—data on foreign trade trends reconstructed through trading partners' reports on international sales and purchases—to assess aspects of North Korea's economic performance that could not otherwise be analyzed. He meticulously fills information and data voids with viable, sophisticated economic deductions.

The book traces the origins of North Korea's economic troubles to its contentious, yet continuous, "military first" policy implemented in the 1970s—a policy that views military activities as securing regime survival and generating resources, not consuming them. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent loss of Soviet bloc-subsidized trade that North Korea so heavily depended upon exacerbated this misguided preservationist policy.

Eberstadt painstakingly details the macroeconomic factors believed to contribute to North Korea's current economic situation: no statistical system, the lack of a central planning apparatus, hyper-militarization of the national economy, a compressing consumer sector, demonetization of the national economy, the lack of financial intermediation, defiant nonpayment of international debts, and an apprehension of trade with "imperialist countries." North Korea's entire capital stock is worthless in the global marketplace, and its economic system is sustained only through external support and assistance. Even the agreement between North and South Korea to promote balanced development through economic cooperation essentially amounts to unconditional grants and subsidies from Seoul to Pyongyang.

North Korea's post-Cold War survival strategy is military extortion of trade subsidies, debt relief, and foreign aid—the export of international strategic insecurity in return for stability appeasement to the international community. Eberstadt believes the only viable way ahead for North Korea is to discard a security policy focused on regime security and international intimidation for a

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policy featuring economic growth and development along the lines of the Chinese or the South Korean models, something not likely to happen anytime soon.

This is a very insightful book, full of smartly crafted and interpreted North Korean economic data. It is also a significant contribution to knowledge of international politics and economics—and has been written for a scholarly academic audience. Prospective readers of this book should keep this in mind before choosing to read it.

LTC David A. Anderson, Ph.D., USMC, Retired,
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

1948: A History of the First Arab-Israeli War, Benny Morris, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2008, 524 pages, $32.50.

Conventional wisdom holds that the Arab-Israeli conflict is at the heart of the broader problems of the Middle East, yet the facts concerning this conflict remain in dispute. Many Americans, raised on the idealized image of Israeli settlers as persecuted and outnumbered heroes in a prolonged struggle against hordes of malevolent Arabs, find it difficult to understand the very different images commonly held in the Arab world.

Benny Morris, like Avi Shlaim and other recent Israeli historians, seeks to provide a more balanced reassessment of this shared Israeli-Palestinian past. His most recent effort is a detailed reconstruction of the 1948 conflict that secured the newly independent state of Israel against the simultaneous invasion of five Arab armies. In the process of recounting this war, Morris meticulously analyzes a number of contentious issues between the two sides.

First, he considers the widely held Arab belief that the Western powers imposed a divided Palestine on its population. In fact, Morris argues, those Western powers not only did not enforce the UN partition plan, but repeatedly hampered Israel's military actions, thereby saving the Arab states from defeat. He also contends that, although its foes outnumbered Israel, the Jewish state actually possessed more trained manpower and eventually more weapons than the opposing Arab armies did. While recognizing the valor of individual Arab soldiers, he notes that few Arabs actually fought in 1948, while their leaders were more interested in seizing territory than destroying Israel.

After carefully analyzing alleged atrocities on both sides, the author arrives at a disconcerting and unpopular conclusion. He asserts that, with some exceptions, the regular Arab armies obeyed the law of war, while Israeli forces murdered as many as 800 civilians and prisoners and raped a number of Arab women.

Perhaps the most contentious issue, then and now, is the problem of the Palestinian refugees who, for 60 years now, have been unable to return to their homes. Morris acknowledges that Israel encouraged this emigration, but offers a number of important caveats. First, he argues that prior to 1948, few Jews advocated such a refugee flow, whereas Arab leaders consistently demanded the expulsion of most Jews, a demand they carried out both by pressuring their own Jewish populations to move to Israel and by evacuating any Jewish settlement. Second, the author contends the initial expulsion of Palestinian residents happened only because their villages provided support for extremists who interdicted Israeli supply lines in the conflict. Even after these expulsions became routine, Israel did not enforce the policy consistently, resulting in some Palestinian groups remaining within the new Jewish state.

Overall, *1948* is a superb attempt to provide a reasoned assessment of a very contentious period. It is well worth study by anyone seeking to understand the Middle East that this war helped create.

COL Jonathan M. House, USA, Retired,
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

TANK MEN: The Human Story of Tanks in War, Robert Kershaw, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 2008, 462 pages, $39.70.

Robert Kershaw, a British historian and veteran infantrymen of the 1991 Gulf War, has amalgamated the wartime experiences of German, Russian, American, British, and Italian tank crewmembers into one book. Although it includes some World War I tank history and experiences, most of the book consists of stories from newly researched personal testimonies from World War II veterans. The intent is to capture the human story from ordinary tank crewmembers, specifically focusing on the theme of the human implications of tank-on-tank technical inequalities in combat.

Kershaw begins with the genesis of the tank in the First World War, including the history of the tank's initial design, and recollections from British and German soldiers seeing the metal monolith for the first time. Unique to this book is a vivid description of what it was like to be a tank crewmember in World War I, wearing the uniform and protective chain-mail mask, special helmet, and leather jerkin. He describes the life of the confined tank crewmember inside the early tanks, from the repressive heat and fumes to the techniques they developed to communicate between themselves over the din of battle, the roaring engine, and loud noise of tank tracks.

Kershaw discusses the tank's continued technical development between the wars in the areas of mobility, protection, and firepower, and reports how various nations envisioned fighting with these new tanks in future wars. As World War II begins, the book turns toward "day in the life" experiences from veterans of the 1940 German blitzkrieg in France to the African desert and Russian plains in 1941–1943 and Western Europe in 1944–1945. The first-hand accounts of combat from inside the tank are captivating and alone make the book worth reading. However, Kershaw has gone beyond creating an exclusively historical study of the human dimension in tank warfare to address issues that are still quite relevant. For example,

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he describes the challenges nations face when they field new systems in a hurried fashion to give their soldiers an edge over the enemy in mobility or protection. He examines morality in war, the psychological and physical trauma war causes, and the inadequate medical treatment of those who have been through the horrors of war. This is not an analysis of armored warfare in a tactical or operational sense, but instead it is a human history of men who fought inside steel machines and the issues they have had from 1916 to today.

LTC Scott A. Porter,
USA, Retired,
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

FROM STALINGRAD TO PILLAU: A Red Army Artillery Officer Remembers the Great Patriotic War, Isaak Kobylyanskiy, University Press of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, 2008, 328 pages, $29.95.

Over the past 20 years, there has been resurgence in the literature covering the Eastern Front in World War II. With the openness of post-Soviet Russia, numerous personal accounts have been published which supplement the typical battlefield narrative. *From Stalingrad to Pillau: A Red Army Artillery Officer Remembers the Great Patriotic War* provides the reader with a "gun sight" view.

In the last 20 years, there has also been a small outpouring of personal accounts from Russian soldiers who served during the war. Prior to the collapse of the Soviet Union, most personal accounts were couched in party dogma, but this work avoids this problem while still exploring the full gamut of a tactical officer's battlefield experiences.

It is not uncommon to find the commanding generals penning lengthy wartime memoirs justifying or vindicating their roles within a particular operation. All too often, the tactical echelon, where the bullet literally meets the bone, is ignored in pursuit of the big picture. *From Stalingrad to Pillau* is wholly based at the tactical level, offering the reader insight into one of the most underrepresented combat roles, direct support artilleryman, in the war.

Isaak Kobylyanskiy served as an officer in an artillery battery designated as direct infantry support. His battery was armed with the famous 76-millimeter (mm) artillery piece. This weapon served as the backbone for the anti-tank defense of the infantry divisions. Relatively mobile, rugged, and able to penetrate most German tanks, the 76-mm gun (in several manifestations) was the bane of German maneuver elements, and Kobylyanskiy provides a vivid account of the use of this weapon system.

Kobylyanskiy presents a well-rounded work covering many of the traditional aspects one would expect to find. His detailed descriptions of his battlefield encounters, both successful and unsuccessful, provide a candid recollection including the arduous, ever present foot marches as well as the horrors of being in the midst of a battlefield rout with a heavy piece of machinery to move and no horses. Kobylyanskiy verbally recreates many of the soldiers that he served with, making this a very personal account.

Stalingrad to Pillau also covers many less common topics. His book discusses politics in the military, training, life behind the front lines, and women in the Soviet military mostly in separate chapters. Kobylyanskiy's discussion of women in the Red Army is quite extensive. His exposure, at the regimental level, to women serving on the front lines should be interesting to Western readers for whom the experience is foreign. His brief discussions on mobilization, training, replacements, and demobilization also illuminate some of the other aspects of the Red Army with which western audiences might not be familiar.

A reader who seeks a ground's eye view of the war on the Eastern front will be well served by reading this book. The author's candid coverage of both the moral and military issues provides a critical missing piece to the literature of the war on the Eastern front.

SSG Jeremy Byers,
Topeka, Kansas

THE SECOND BATTLE OF THE MARNE, Michael S. Neiberg, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 2008, 232 pages $27.95.

Michael Neiberg's *The Second Battle of the Marne* fills a void in the written history of the World War I. He makes a great contribution to understanding that war by casting the Second Battle of the Marne in its proper and decisive place in history.

Neiberg begins at the beginning of the German offensive in the Marne with the disastrous compromise of their plan. In the hours preceding the offensive, a German officer conducting a reconnaissance on the Allied side of the Marne River was captured, and in his possession were the plans for that campaign. This compromise allowed the Allies to make last minute preparations and defeat the German attacks.

Not surprisingly, the Germans failed to achieve their objectives. The loss of surprise, Allied preparedness, a greatly rejuvenated French Army, and the introduction of the American Expeditionary Force (AEF) combined to present too great an obstacle. Neiberg describes the key events in the battle, including the defense along a section of the Marne River by the U.S. 38th Infantry Regiment, 3d Infantry Division, the "Rock of the Marne." His other descriptions encompass both Allied and German perspectives.

With this battle's conclusion, the entire character of the war changed. Due to tremendous losses in manpower, terrain, and resources, the German Army lost the ability to ever achieve its strategic objectives. The Allies were then able to seize the initiative and transition to operations more offensive in nature.

Neiberg's book poses new insights. He adds three new elements to the body of knowledge of the Great War: analysis of operational design; a more accurate understanding of the true character of the French Army and, more important, its leadership under General Foche; and a description of the AEF and its actions during the battle.

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In his analysis of Allied and German plans, Neiberg does a good job linking strategic, operational, and tactical concepts and illuminates the lack of linkage between these concepts in German plans. His analysis helps explain why many engagements during this period had no apparent supporting relationship to one another.

Another contribution Neiberg makes is his assessment of the French Army and its leadership during the period. Rather than dwell upon the mutiny and dissention with which many are familiar, he portrays a new French Army with discipline and professionalism. His analysis of General Foche is excellent.

Finally, the author gives an assessment of the AEF. He covers its levels of training and leadership and does an admirable job describing its integration into the operational and tactical levels of war. He describes numerous actions, and shows that despite an initial lack of preparedness, the AEF quickly developed into a superb fighting force.

Neiberg's re-casting of this epic battle and its importance in the war presents a valuable new perspective. His analysis, particularly of operational design and the French Army and its leadership, will give many readers a new understanding of this pivotal period during World War I.

LTC Thomas G. Meara,
USA, Retired,
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MR Letters

Amnesty, Reintegration, and Reconciliation in Rwanda

LTC Thomas P. Odom, *USA, Retired,* author of *Journey into Darkness: Genocide in Rwanda*—I certainly support study of the Rwandan civil war and genocide as a case of post-conflict resolution, reintegration, and reconciliation. As the U.S. Defense Attaché in Zaire from 1993-1994, and then Rwanda 1994 to 1996, I lived through the initial stages of that process. But the recent article in *Military Review*, "Amnesty, Reintegration, and Reconciliation in Rawanda" (AR2) by Major Jeffrey H. Powell (September-October 2008), suffers from errors of fact, superficial research, and poor analysis.

Errors of fact

"The calculated policies of Belgium, Germany, and France divided Rwanda against itself for easier colonial rule. These policies of 19th century rule had a lasting effect..."

- Germany and Belgium were the colonial powers in Rwanda, not France.
- Belgium did not become a colonial power in Rwanda until the 20th century.

"After independence in 1959..." Rwanda achieved independence in 1962.

"In August 1993, when regional and international actors arranged detailed peace negotiations to be enforced by the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), a brokered reconciliation effort began."

- The Arusha Accords were signed in August 1993; the negotiations began in July 1992.
- "UNAMIR's mandate was: to assist in ensuring the security of the capital city of Kigali; monitor the ceasefire agreement, including establishment of an expanded demilitarized zone and demobilization procedures; monitor the security situation during the final period of the transitional Government's mandate leading up to elections; assist with mine-clearance; and assist in the coordination of humanitarian assistance activities in conjunction with relief operations."* UNAMIR did not have an enforcement mandate and was not equipped or manned for such a mission.

"...Rwanda's President Habyarimana flew to Dar-es-Salaam, Burundi, to meet with other signatories of the accords. On his return flight, Hutu extremists in the Presidential Guard shot down his plane...."

- Dares-Salaam is in Tanzania, not Burundi.
- To date, there has been no definitive resolution as to who shot the plane down.

Depth of research

As a long time Rwanda watcher and author, I would recommend but one book as a must have for such a paper: Human Rights Watch, *Leave None to Tell the Story.*

Cloaking reality in hyperbole and doubtful analysis

The article is a classic case of making reality fit academic theory by cloaking reality in hyperbole and doubtful analysis. I would summarize by offering my own questions to resurface the reality of Rwanda.

- Genocide as an act of *"frenzy"*? You don't kill 11 percent of a population of 7 million in 100 days using small arms and machetes in a "frenzy." The Rwandan genocide was a coldly calculated act of political murder applied on a massive scale.
- Only a *"victor's justice"*? In the case of genocide committed during a civil war, as in Rwanda, exactly how and when should the post-genocide government offer amnesty? The signed Arusha Accords provided *defacto* and *dejure* amnesty for the new government that was to be formed under them.
- *"Like the former Hutu regimes, the RPF killed or exiled its adversaries*?" A statement that the current government is no different than the previous regime is morally bankrupt. Has the RPF reacted against its enemies? Yes. Has the RPF *stacked one million bodies? No.*

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• *"The policies of the current regime neither include nor forgive Hutus. They do not recognize that throughout the civil war both sides committed atrocities against each other"*? There have been and still are Hutus in the government and in the military. Paul Kagame told me personally that revenge killings had taken place. I knew RPA officers who went to prison for such events.

• *"The failure to grant amnesty has mired the reconciliation process"*? Frankly I was amazed at the restraint shown and my amazement grew over time. I would say that Rwanda is truly remarkable for the progress it has made since the genocide ended. One thing is relatively certain: for better or for worse no one man is more important to Rwanda than Paul Kagame. "Mired" is simply not a word I would apply to him or his leadership.

**Rwanda, UNAMIR Mandate*, United Nations.

Rwanda

COL Rick Orth, *USA, Retired, (Sub Saharan Africa Foreign Area Officer)*—The study of Rwanda has much to offer professional military officers, especially about civil war, genocide, difficulties of peace support operations, insurgency, counterinsurgency, and lastly how a post-conflict country rebuilt itself despite the good intentions of the international community. I have over 14 years working Rwandan issues, either directly or indirectly, first as an intelligence analyst covering Central Africa (1994-1996), then as the Defense Attaché to Rwanda (August 1996-October 1998), culminating as the military advisor to the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs (August 2006-May 2008). I wrote three articles concerning Rwanda: "Four Variables in Preventive Diplomacy: Their Application in the Rwanda Case," *Journal of Conflict Studies*, Spring 1997; "African Operational Experiences in Peacekeeping," *Small Wars and Insurgencies,* Winter 1996; and "Rwanda's Hutu Extremist Genocidal Insurgency: An Eyewitness Perspective." Major Jeffery H. Powell's recent *Military Review* article, "Amnesty, Reintegration, and Reconciliation," unfortunately distorts the valuable lessons Rwanda has to offer due to factual errors and flawed analysis. Detailed research might have alleviated these problems.

Factual Errors. The Rwandan case is complex and nuanced just as Rwandan society; therefore, any study requires in-depth research, which was apparently not done when writing this article: *"a genocidal frenzy"* the Rwandan genocide was not. Rather the Rwandan government used genocide as an instrument of counterinsurgency against the Rwandan Patriotic Front/Army. The Habyarimana government trained the militia (INTERAHAMWE) of the MRND party in insurgency and terrorist techniques. It planned on launching an insurgency/terrorist campaign against the Broad Based Government that would come to power as a result of the Arusha Accords signed in August 1993. Additionally, the government sponsored a sophisticated propaganda campaign targeting the peasant population. Furthermore, Rwanda historically is an ordered society respecting authority. The Hutu extremists who planned, then commanded, the genocide used these tools in a methodical manner.

"The Belgians, for instance, designated Tutsis as the administrators and Hutus as the workers under their rule." The Germans and Belgians initially relied on the ruling elite in Rwanda; they did not designate, but reinforced, the Tutsi already in power. Incidentally, The Rwandan Kingdom existed centuries before the Germans colonized Rwanda in the late 1890s. In fact, the areas of Gisenyi and Ruhengeri (later to become bastions of Hutu extremism) remained Hutu controlled and the Mwami (Rwandan king), only exerted control of these areas with the aid of German colonial troops.

"The genocide law passed in 1996 determined four levels of interahamwe." The 1996 Genocide Law determined four levels of genocidaire, not INTERAHAMWE. The author failed to mention the 100,000s in Rwanda jails accused of genocide and the huge burden this had on the Rwanda justice system, the government's use of Gacaca to ease the case back log.

Flawed Analysis. Using a model "amnesty, reintegration, and reconciliation AR2," and then trying to make the Rwandan case fit, distorted the reality of the Rwandan case presented in this article.

"The RPF also has not acknowledged facts pointing to the illegal actions of some members of the RPA during the conflict and the possible need to grant amnesty to them as well." This sounds much like the criticism of human rights activists and does not take into account the hundreds of RPA/RDF officers and soldiers sitting in military jails or since released having served their sentences for crimes against the Rwandan people. Then there are those who were executed under the RPA Code of Military of Justice, again criticized by the International Community, for criminal acts against the population. The system is not perfect but it is not one of impunity either.

"And without amnesty, reintegration, and reconciliation, Rwanda will face bleak prospects in the future, which could include another civil war. . . . The policies of the current regime neither include nor forgive Hutus." Rwanda has had a policy of reintegration. While the policy does not fit the AR2 model and is not perfect, the Rwanda experience has proven successful. Concerning *Ingando camps,* in early 1998 over 1,700 EX-FAR completed reorientation training. From this group over 400 were screened and immediately joined the RPA to fight the EX-FAR and INTERHAMWE. These new counterinsurgents knew the physical geographic and social terrain and, thus, defeated the insurgents. More recently, one of the biggest acts of forgiveness was the incorporation of a key EX-FAR Brigadier General into the Rwandan Defense Forces (the Government changed the name of the Rwandan Patriotic Army). If this is not amnesty, then what is?

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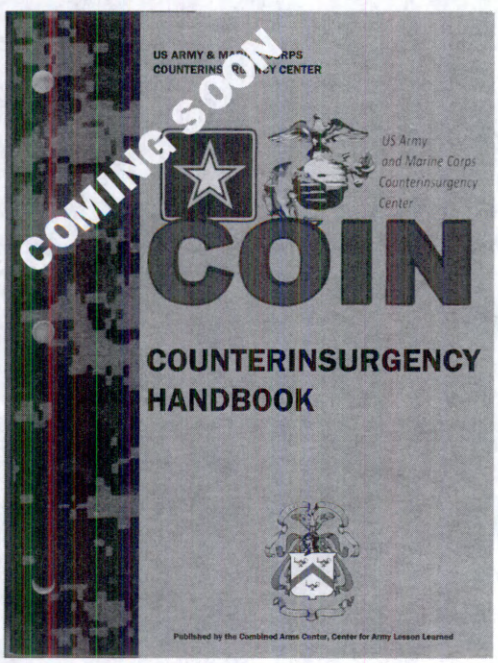
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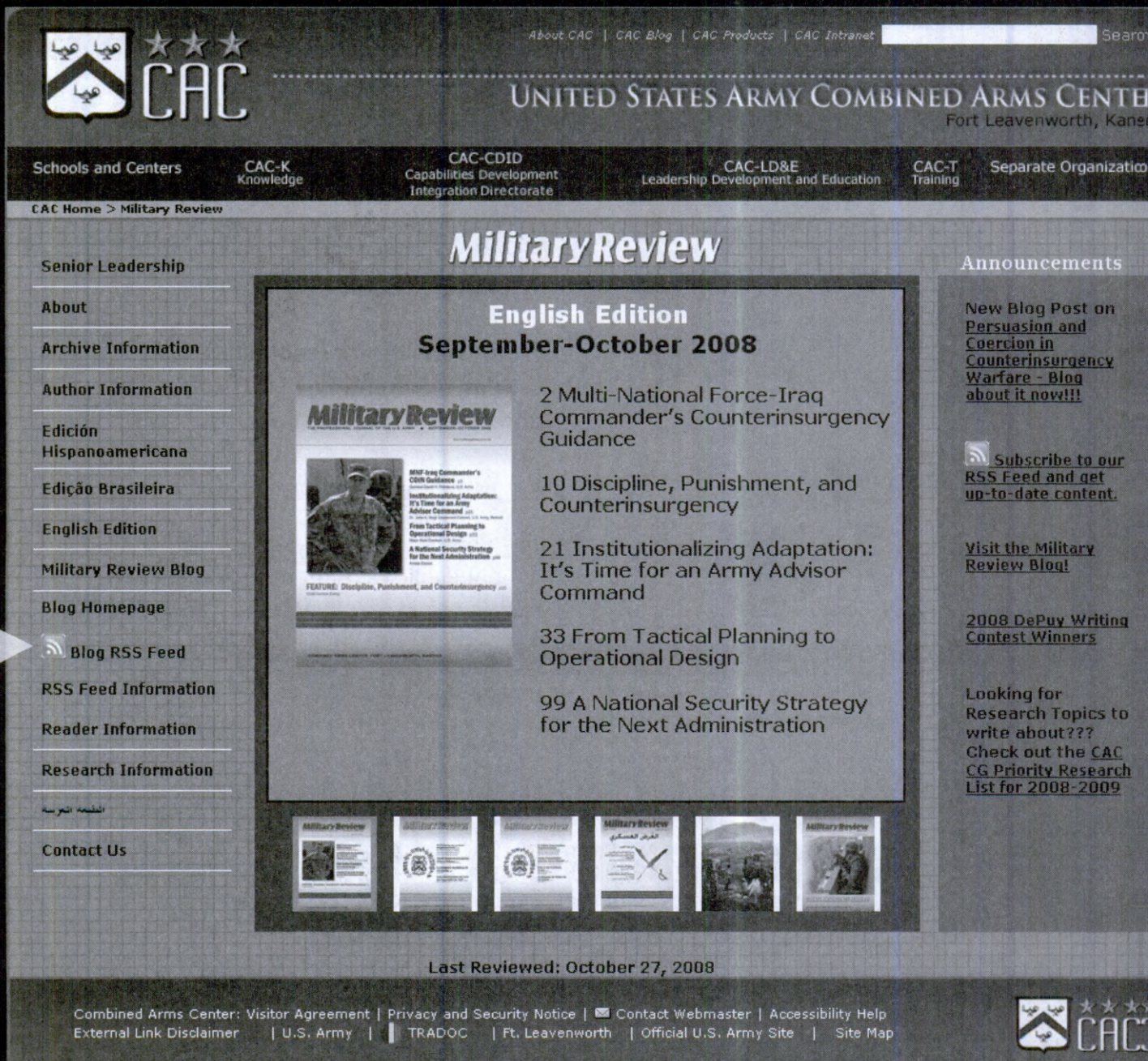
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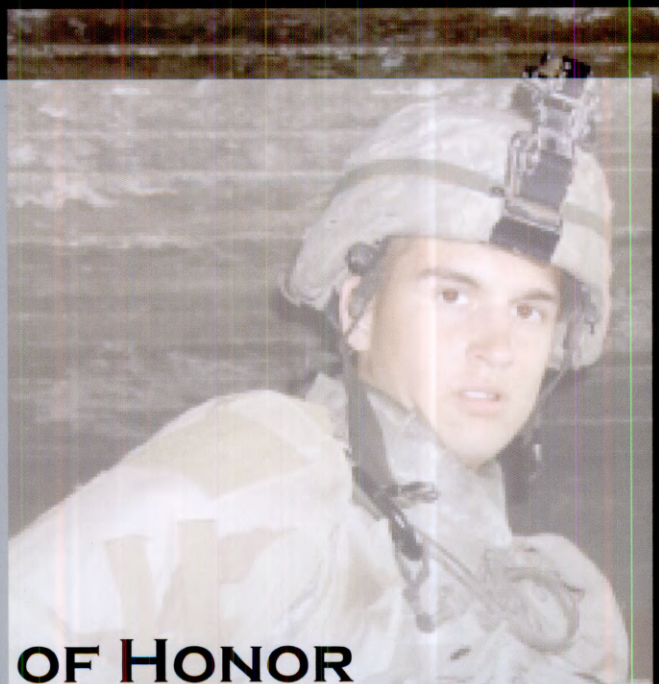
4. The name of the author shall not appear on the essay. Each author will assign a codename in addition to a title to the essay. This codename shall appear: (a) on the title page of the essay, with the title in lieu of the author's name, and (b) by itself on the outside of an accompanying sealed envelope. This sealed envelope should contain a typed sheet giving the name, rank/title, branch of service (if applicable), biographical sketch, social security number, address, and office and home phone numbers (if available) of the essayist, along with the title of the essay and the codename. This envelope will not be opened until after the final selections are made and the identity of the essayist will not be known by the selection committee.

5. All essays must be typewritten, double-spaced, on paper approximately 8 ½"x11". Submit two complete copies. If prepared on a computer, please also submit the entry on an IBM compatible disk, indicating specific word-processing software used.

6. The award winners will be notified in early Spring 2009. Letters notifying all other entrants will be mailed by 1 April 2009.

7. The author of the best essay will receive $3000 from the U.S. Army War College Foundation. A separate prize of $1500 will be awarded to the author of the second best essay and a prize of $500 will be awarded to the author of the third place winner.





The Medal of Honor

Specialist
Ross A. McGinnis
United States Army

The family of U.S. Army Specialist Ross A. McGinnis accepted the Medal of Honor, awarded posthumously, during a ceremony at the White House on 2 June 2008. He was also posthumously promoted from Private First Class to Specialist.

For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty:

Private First Class Ross A. McGinnis distinguished himself by acts of gallantry and intrepidity above and beyond the call of duty while serving as an M2 .50-caliber machine gunner, 1st Platoon, C Company, 1st Battalion, 26th Infantry Regiment, in connection with combat operations against an armed enemy in Adhamiyah, Northeast Baghdad, Iraq, on 4 December 2006.

That afternoon his platoon was conducting combat control operations in an effort to reduce and control sectarian violence in the area. While Private McGinnis was manning the M2 .50-caliber machine gun, a fragmentation grenade thrown by an insurgent fell through the gunner's hatch into the vehicle. Reacting quickly, he yelled "grenade," allowing all four members of his crew to prepare for the grenade's blast. Then, rather than leaping from the gunner's hatch to safety, Private McGinnis made the courageous decision to protect his crew. In a selfless act of bravery, in which he was mortally wounded, Private McGinnis covered the live grenade, pinning it between his body and the vehicle and absorbing most of the explosion.

Private McGinnis's gallant action directly saved four men from certain serious injury or death. Private First Class McGinnis's extraordinary heroism and selflessness at the cost of his own life, above and beyond the call of duty, are in keeping with the highest traditions of the military service and reflect great credit upon himself, his unit, and the United States Army.

President George W. Bush
Commander in Chief

For more information, see http://www.army.mil/medalofhonor/mcginnis/

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Local Abna'a Al Iraq (Sons of Iraq) gather for a joint clearing operation with U.S. Army Soldiers from the 3d Infantry Division, Salman Pak, Iraq, 16 February 2008. (U.S. Army, SGT Timothy Kingston)

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